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The moral economy of 'Respect' in Chilean Society

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Abstract

This thesis interrogates the experience of respect and disrespect in everyday life from a sociological perspective, with the aim of elucidating the relationship between respect and inequality. It involves a theoretical exploration of the phenomenon of respect as well as an empirical study, which focuses on Chilean society. This study analyses the meanings, practices and narratives associated with, as well as the distribution of, the experience of respect and disrespect in Chile. It involves a mixed method study which includes secondary data analyses together with semi-structured interviews of people of different ages, sex and class in Santiago de Chile. Based on both deductive and inductive criteria, the thesis suggests that respect is the norm, the language and the practice through which we communicate value to others, which is culturally situated and changes historically according to how value is defined in any given context. It claims that there are three main types of respect: categorical, positional and performance and it argues that looking at the tensions between these three types of respect is a fruitful way to read cultural changes regarding the expectations of treatment that are formed in social interactions. Following this approach, the thesis depicts the 'moral economy of respect' in Chile, by describing how the participants experience different types of respect. It demonstrates that the experience of respect and disrespect is unequally distributed, but the structure of advantage and disadvantage involved in this experience becomes evident when looking at the process, rather than the outcome, of getting respect. The thesis identifies two main processes of securing respect: earning and commanding respect, both of which demonstrate the importance of agency in the achieving of respect. Finally, the thesis concludes by suggesting that studying respect is productive in the understanding of the experience, consequences and reproduction of inequality.

Keywords: respect, recognition, class, gender, morality, agency, moral economy

*This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my grandmother, Blanca (1918- 2018),
and to Christian and Mila, for the future... with love.*

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Introduction

One thesis, three invitations

This thesis interrogates the experience of respect and disrespect in everyday life from a sociological perspective. In particular, it analyses the meanings, practices and narratives associated with, as well as the distribution of, the experience of respect and disrespect in Chilean society. This is undertaken by carrying out a mixed method study which involves secondary data analyses together with a phenomenological analysis of respect and disrespect based on semi-structured interviews of people of different ages, sex and class in Santiago de Chile.

This thesis is motivated by three aims, and therefore, it puts forward three invitations to the reader. First of all, it is an invitation to think sociologically about the experience of respect and disrespect. This invitation is triggered by the conviction that respect has not received enough systematic attention in sociological research, which is something I consider striking in light of its centrality in everyday language, and - if language is to be understood as a sort of 'mirror' of the social - its likely centrality in social experience.

Respect is not absent from sociological reflection, but it has a rather undertheorized presence, in that many sociological works refer to it without offering a systematic attempt of defining its features and dimensions. Most of the time, respect is used as a sort of taken-for-granted concept, a shared horizon of value, or it is depicted as a self-evident claim. In contrast, I suggest that it is a complex phenomenon which refers to a multidimensionality of experiences and it has a strong historical and contextual nature. Part of this complexity has been addressed in some remarkable sociological works which have either focused on respect in itself or some of its

dimensions (e.g.: Bourgois 2003; Lamont 2000; Lamont et al. 2016; Lawrence-Lightfoot 1999; Sennett 2003; Skeggs 1997) but it is fair to say that, unlike other disciplines, there is no a sociological tradition of thinking on 'respect' which fully embraces and interrogates its complexity.

This invitation to engage sociologically with the phenomenon of respect is not only based on the belief that respect has been to some extent overlooked by sociological thinking. It is also related to a 'heuristic bet': that doing more systematic research on respect might be fruitful for sociological analysis, in particular, for improving our understanding of the experience, reproduction and consequences of inequality. Therefore, this thesis is also an invitation to a dialogue about a dimension of inequality that is usually less emphasised in traditional sociological research, but becomes evident when respect is used as a lens. This dimension, which -for theoretical reasons that I will discuss in Chapter 1- I will call an 'inequality of value', refers to the fact that in many dimensions of social life people are treated differently by others according to their perceived 'worth' and that treatment is usually considered 'unjust' by those who, as a consequence of that treatment, feel hurt or devalued. This dimension of inequality has its own dynamics, but it also intersects with and reinforces traditional forms of inequality, such as income, gender, age or class inequality.

To some extent, this thesis as a whole can be read as an assessment of this heuristic bet, and I will reflect thoroughly on both its advantages and shortcomings.

Finally, this thesis is an invitation to think about Chilean society from the perspective of this heuristic bet, which for reasons that I will further elaborate, is an interesting case to assess the performance of the approach that I put forward. In a country which is known for its high-level of income inequality, I hope this will shed light on the suffering associated with inequality, a suffering that goes far beyond the restriction of opportunities or the deprivation of material goods, but is condensed in the experience of being seen as someone with less value.

But to show why and how these three invitations are related to each other, I should start by explaining the journey that led me to focus on respect, and to bet for its heuristic potential.

The starting point

My interest in studying respect began six years ago when I was participating as a researcher for the Human Development Report on subjective wellbeing in Chile (PNUD, 2012).¹ A finding of that report was that one of the elements that increase the subjective wellbeing of Chileans is 'being respected in dignity and rights' (Ibid, pg. 22). That finding came from a qualitative study based on focus groups in which a sample of Chileans from different age, sex and socioeconomic status were invited to discuss a list of 'elements' for having a 'good life' and to select the ones they considered as most important. One of the elements of that list was 'being recognized and respected in dignity and rights', which had been included by the research team based on its theoretical importance,² along with many other elements, such as 'being healthy' or 'feeling secure'. During the course of the focus groups, 'being treated with respect and dignity' was constantly selected by the participants as an essential element for what was considered as a good life, but its selection triggered a conversation which was tinted with malaise and allusions to inequality and injustice, above all among participants from lower social classes.

This finding echoed other studies which had previously asserted that, for middle and lower class people, socioeconomic inequality was resented, above all, because it involved being treated with less respect or dignity than others (e.g.: Araujo, 2013b 2013a; Espinoza & Guzmán, 2013). This was a curious finding in a country well-known for its high level of income inequality, the expectation therefore being that inequality of 'resources' more than inequality of 'dignity' (P Güell, 2008; PNUD, 2004) or 'treatment' (Araujo, 2013b, 2013a) would be the cause of malaise among citizens. It should be noted that these studies showed that there were many concepts and expressions used by people to describe this unease, such as: being disrespected, humiliated, discriminated or looked down upon. Overall, however, 'respect' tended to be the normative ideal that people appealed to when justifying their unease with this unequal treatment. To give an example, the Human Development Report for Chile in 2000 concluded that more than 'socioeconomic equality', what people aspired to in Chile was 'human equality' (*igualdad humana*). To achieve this form of equality, the key was to ensure 'more respect to others' (PNUD, 2000, p. 244).

¹ The Human Development Reports in Chile provided analyses of Chilean society and culture since 1996 from the perspective of several topics. For this reason, I draw on them at several points during this thesis. I have also co-authored some of those reports. For a review on these reports see PNUD (2017a).

² This list drew on the work, for instance, of Martha Nussbaum, who argues that one of the fundamental capabilities for a good life is "Having the social bases of self-respect and nonhumiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others" (2003, p. 42).

Coming back to the Human Development Report 2012, the finding that ‘being treated with respect and dignity’ was important for people’s wellbeing was also confirmed by the analysis of a nationally representative social survey which looked at the correlation between indicators of subjective wellbeing and several indicators that were designed to operationalize the list of elements for the good life that had been drawn from the focus groups. This analysis established the statistical correlation between subjective wellbeing and the feeling of being treated with respect and dignity. However, it also showed that almost the same proportion of people across the different socioeconomic groups –near 60%- disagreed with the statement “I feel that in this country the rights and dignity of people like me are respected” (see Table 1).

This outcome seemed at odds with the form of malaise that the focus groups revealed, which could be taken to suggest a very unequal distribution of this statement in the population according to class. This made me question whether this outcome had been produced by a problem in the wording of the survey questions or by the complex reality of experiences that the survey could not account. I wondered, in particular, if every respondent had the same understanding of respect or dignity. I also wondered whether it made sense to think of respect and dignity as something that could be ‘distributed’ in any way and I realized I was not aware of many sociological discussions of respect or dignity which could help me to answer these questions.

Table 1: “Level of agreement with the statement: ‘I feel like in this society the dignity and rights of people like me are respected’” (sample: Chilean Population over 18 years)

	Upper Class	Middle Class	Lower Class ³	Total
Strongly Agree	6,9%	6,5%	5,5%	6,2%
Agree	40,7%	33,1%	34,7%	34,7%
Disagree	45,0%	45,7%	46,8%	46,0%
Strongly Disagree	7,4%	14,8%	13,0%	13,2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

(Source: UNDP Public Survey, Chile, 2011)

After the report was published, we presented the findings to different audiences. On one occasion, we presented it to a high ranked person in the government. He was very interested in understanding how we could translate these findings into policy. Focusing on the alleged

³ In this survey socioeconomic status was measured following the AIM system. Therefore, what I call upper class corresponds to ABC1; middle class corresponds to C2+C3, lower class corresponds to D+E. An explanation of this system is provided in Chapter 2.

importance of respect for people, he asked us an apparently simple question: “so how do we do it? How do we make people feel respected? Is it about, for instance, greeting them more often at work?” We were not entirely sure what to answer. Could be there any connection between ‘rights’, ‘dignity’ and something as apparently banal as ‘greeting’?

That question, along with my own doubts about the topic, have been haunting me ever since, and they are at the origin of this project. What is respect? Why is it so important? What do people mean when they claim they are being respected or disrespected? What are they appealing to when they demand more respect or more ‘dignified’ treatment? How can respect be enacted?

Respect is everywhere

Respect is very elusive, but at the same time, it is heavily present in everyday life. We can talk about it without defining it, because we all have a certain intuitive understanding of its meaning. If we take a few moments to think about it, we quickly realize that there are references to it almost everywhere. In everyday language, people speak of respect to refer to a variety of subjects, practices, expectations and processes, which are usually connected to the way in which we think we should treat others and the way we should be treated by others in return. Respect can be a noun, a verb and even an adjective; it can be something that is ‘expected’, ‘demanded’, ‘neglected’, ‘given’. People ‘grant’ respect to others and ‘receive’ it from them; they ‘gain’ it and ‘lose’ it; sometimes, they even ‘struggle’ for it. At the same time, there are actions which are judged as conveying respect or disrespect. People think of themselves and others as ‘respectful’, ‘disrespectful’, or ‘not respectful enough’.

Respect does not, however, operate only at the discursive level. Respect is something that is enacted. There are rituals, practices and signs of respect. Due to this performative dimension, people usually ‘know’ whether they are being respected or not by others; although as an experience, respect is mostly ‘felt’. The experience of respect, and above all its negative opposite, the experience of disrespect, has a strong emotional component. This experience can be more or less painful, as there are different kinds and intensities of disrespect.

To complicate things further, respect is something that it is usually granted and received by persons, but it can also be granted by and to different entities, such as institutions, nature or objects. Every time I enter the university library I see a poster asking me to “respect the library”,

and we are constantly surrounded by campaigns asking us to “respect the environment” or respect certain institutions, such as the government or the police.

Respect is, therefore, not just something we expect or want, it is a norm and a mandate, it is something we are forced to give, that we ‘owe’ to persons or objects. In the case of persons, there seems to be a moral consensus that every human being ‘deserves’ respect. At least, this is established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which commands “the promotion of *universal respect* for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms” (the italics are mine).⁴

At the same time, however, it seems legitimate to ask for certain forms of ‘special’ respect for some roles or people in particular contexts. We are, for instance, asked to show special respect for teachers, parents, women or the president of a nation. And we express *high* respect for colleagues, artists, musicians or intellectuals. Are all these forms of respect connected?

Of all the different features of respect, there is one which is probably the most salient: respect is something that people value and care about, and it is intertwined with issues of politics and even justice. Aretha Franklin made the song *Respect* an anthem of the civil rights movements in 1967. Fifty years later, a columnist asks “What do Donald Trump voters really crave?” And his answer is just the same than Aretha’s: they crave “Respect”.⁵ How could a Donald Trump voter crave for the same thing as the black minorities ostensibly denied by the Trump’s discourse and identified in the words of the ‘queen of soul’?

Respect seems to be central to the dynamics of social life. So how come there is no such thing as a ‘sociology of respect’? Is this subject not worthy of sociological attention?

What is respect? An initial definition

The status of respect as a matter of sociological interest is difficult to define, as due to its elusiveness, respect has not always been addressed in explicit terms by social sciences (Finkelstein, 2008). Or to put it in other words: it has been addressed through other languages

⁴ Extracted from <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> [accessed 09-08-17].

⁵ Arnade (2017). “What do Donald Trump voters really crave? Respect”. In *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/30/what-do-donald-trump-voters-want-respect> [accessed 09-08-17]

or concepts that can be thought of dimensions or expressions of 'respect' and 'disrespect'. This is related to the multidimensionality of the experience of which the concept is an expression.

Almost every academic work devoted to respect begins by acknowledging how difficult it is to define, because in both theory and everyday life there are different experiences which are named as respect. In moral philosophy, which has the longest tradition of thought regarding the subject, it is usually understood as referring to two different phenomena. On the one hand, respect is associated to the acknowledgement of human *dignity*, an association which comes from the work of Kant (1991 [1785]). This understanding of respect has been very influential, in fact, it is the cornerstone of the human rights discourse. On the other hand, respect is related to *status* or even *admiration* (e.g.: Cranor, 1975), as it is argued that people grant respect to others only when they value some particular characteristic possessed by them.

The discussion between understanding respect as a general moral disposition driven by shared humanity or a particular attitude driven by status or achievement is at the heart of the theoretical and normative discussions on the topic. In a highly influential work, Darwall (1977) argued that at the core of this discussion lies the fact that there are two different phenomena which are called respect, one of which is deemed as universal (he calls it 'recognition respect'), and one which is not (he calls it 'appraisal respect'). This alleged bi-dimensional nature of respect has been addressed in many ways in the literature and it will be thoroughly discussed in this thesis. However, some recent works have called it into question (Middleton, 2006) by noting that in everyday use respect refers to far many more experiences and dimensions. A good example is provided by Langdon (2007) who shows that in psychological research there are four recurring but very different kinds of understandings of respect: a) respect as social power (obedience to authority and recognition of status), b) respect as a social rule (politeness), c) respect as caring (considerateness), and d) respect as equality (accepting of differences).

The 'fuzziness' of respect is one of the reasons why it might have escaped sociological analysis.⁶ In this context, an important aim of this thesis is trying to come to terms with this fragmentation by exploring its roots and offering a way to theoretically address it.

⁶ Although there might be other reasons. Middleton (2004), for instance, argues that left-wing intellectuals have failed in understanding its importance because of their prejudices with issues of morality, which would be regarded as a 'bourgeois concern'. This argument is in line with Sayer's (2011) reflection who claims that social scientists have failed in understanding that human beings are sentient and evaluative beings, who constantly face normative issues in their everyday lives.

Respect as a matter of academic concern

In spite of its fuzziness, respect has received explicit academic attention. In fact, there are different disciplinary traditions to think about respect. Two of them are particularly strong. On the one hand, the tradition of moral philosophy offers theoretical definitions as well as normative discussions of the subject (Darwall, 1977; Fiocco, 2012; Kant, 1991). On the other hand, in social psychology there is also a quite established tradition of empirical research, which has emphasised, for instance, that the understanding of respect differs according to social and cultural differences (Buttny & Williams, 2000; Hulley, Liebling, & Crewe, 2011; Sung, 2004).

Beyond these two traditions, over the last twenty years there has been a growing acknowledgment in academia that respect has become a pressing problem (Margalit, 1996; Sennett, 2003; Taylor, 1994), and therefore, there have been more works devoted to it. This is linked to the observation that the concept of respect is increasingly used by socially or culturally excluded groups when expressing their demands for social justice (Vidal, 2003). As a consequence, respect has become both a policy concern (e.g.: the Commonwealth Commission on Respect and Understanding) and an increasingly important subject in academic discussions, the clearest example being the debates prompted by the theory of recognition (Fraser & Honneth, 2003), which is one of the strongest recent theoretical frameworks on respect (Fraser, 2000; Honneth, 1995; Taylor, 1994; Todorov, 2001).

This renewed interest in the topic has produced more works devoted explicitly to respect. But interestingly enough, almost all of them depart by claiming that there is a scarcity of social scientific or systematic reflection on the phenomenon. This has been argued by authors from different disciplines, such as philosophy (Fiocco, 2012), anthropology (Finkelstein, 2008), psychology (Langdon, 2007), political theory (Middleton, 2004) and sociology (Schirmer, Weidenstedt, & Reich, 2012). Usually, these claims are accompanied by attempts to construct overarching theories of respect, as well as of careful argumentation about why respect should be considered as a subject of research in its own right in each of those disciplines.

These claims should be clearly nuanced, in the sense that there is both theoretical and empirical research in the area. Yet, how respect is defined and operationalised varies greatly, making dialogue between disciplines and approaches difficult. Thus, fragmentation instead of scarcity is a more accurate description of the 'state of the art' of the topic; a fragmentation that is, nonetheless, starting to decrease, inasmuch as some academics are trying to bridge the differences in order to construct respect as a relevant subject for empirical research (e.g.: Reich,

Schirmer, Hamann, Council, & Life, 2009; Van Quaquebeke, Henrich, & Eckloff, 2007). This thesis adds to the efforts of bridging the differences between different approaches, by offering a sociological reading of respect which can be fruitful for empirical research.

Turning Respect into a Sociological Object

In order to provide a reading of respect which can be fruitful for empirical research, this thesis promotes a dialogue between different theoretical and empirical works which have either focused explicitly on respect or on related and/or similar concepts. As noted, respect has been many times addressed through other languages. Therefore, several of its features have been explored through the analysis of related phenomena, such as 'status', which can be considered as the typical or the closest language through which sociology has thought about respect since the works of Weber (1978 [1921]) onwards (e.g.: Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007). However, this language has usually missed the moral dimension of respect.

In the last twenty years, there have also been new sociological insights on respect because of the assimilation into the discipline of the 'theory of recognition' (Fraser, 2000; Honneth, 1995; Taylor, 1994; Todorov, 2001), which has been particularly fruitful in the context of cultural class analysis (Lamont, 2000; Sayer, 2005a, 2005b; Sennett, 2003; Skeggs & Loveday, 2012). As Devine & Savage (2005) have noted, those works have advanced new understandings of class identity, frequently, by also drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1977, 2010) whose work also offers some resources to think about respect.

Finally, there have been some specific empirical works on the subject, which have improved our understanding of respect (e.g.: Bourgois, 2003; Lamont et al., 2016; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1999; Schirmer, Weidenstedt, & Reich, 2016; Sennett, 2003; Skeggs, 1997; Van Quaquebeke et al., 2007; Vidal, 2003). These works have offered new theoretical understandings as well as empirical evidence of the importance and contextual nature of the phenomenon. Still, there are many gaps in the literature, which I will discuss in detail. In particular, a unified theory of respect is still missing, one which is capable of facilitating the analysis of the several dynamics involved in the experience of granting and withholding of respect at the level of everyday life.

Drawing on these works, as well as on insights from my empirical data, I offer an analytical framework to think sociologically about respect. Instead of ruling out respect as an object of sociological observation because of its 'fuzziness', I suggest embracing its complexity and trying

to understand what is the *commonality* across all the experiences that are signified as respect as well as what differentiates them. A key argument in my proposal is that this multidimensionality is not just a coincidence of language. By building on the work of Honneth (1995) and Taylor (1994), who have argued that an analytical distinction between the two main forms of respect has become necessary due to a *historical* process, I argue that respect is the language and the practice through which we communicate 'value' to others, a language and a practice that changes historically according to the way in which value operates in any given society.

Once we understand this, I claim that we can take advantage of the multidimensionality of respect and turn it into a fruitful methodological device. In particular, I hope to demonstrate that studying respect allows us to understand the hierarchies of value that people construct in their everyday lives (why they assign more value to some people than others), as well as the expectations of treatment they bring to social interactions based on those hierarchies (what they think they and others deserve in terms of treatment). To analyse the diversity of practices of granting and withholding respect, I draw on tools from pragmatic sociology – in particular Boltanski (2008) – which is useful to understand how the meanings of respect are enacted and actualized in concrete social situations.

Thinking of Inequality through Respect

Respect cannot be conflated with equality (Finkelstein, 2008). But there are forms of respect, such as those driven by the acknowledgement of human dignity, which are considered to be egalitarian, which is why it is not unusual to find theoretical or political arguments in which respect and equality are tied together. Respect has been discussed, consequently, in the context of theories of justice, being sometimes defined as a minimum of a just (Rawls, 1973), a decent (Margalit, 1996), or an equal society (Anderson, 1999).⁷

Beyond this partial egalitarian nature, respect is something that is *valued* by people, and as anything that is valued, the question of its possession and distribution becomes pertinent from a sociological perspective (Bottero, 2005). That is one of the reasons why the study of respect is relevant for the understanding of inequality. But it is not the only one. On my reading, there are

⁷ To be precise, for Margalit (1996) a 'non-humiliating' society is a requirement of a decent society more so than a 'respectful' society. At the same time, Rawls (1973) grants a particular importance to 'self-respect' in the context of a just society, for which granting respect to others is a pre-condition. Still, both authors discuss 'respect' in the context of their theories.

two reasons why the connection between respect and the problem of inequality becomes relevant, both of which have been, to certain extent, suggested in the literature.

On the one hand, it has been argued that respect is unequally distributed in the population (Sayer, 2005a; Sennett, 2003), and therefore, it constitutes a particular 'dimension of inequality' that should be interrogated in its own right. The clearest exponent of this argument is Therborn (2006), who – based on the work of Sennett and Honneth - has argued that inequality is a multidimensional phenomenon compounded by three dimensions: 'resources inequalities', 'life inequalities' and 'existential inequalities', the latter being concerned with the unequal distribution of respect and recognition. In this argument, the inequality of respect is thought of a dimension of inequality which deserves to be studied in *itself* with its own specificities, although it also interacts with other forms of inequality. Key questions here are: how and why is respect unequally distributed? To what extent and how is the inequality of respect reinforced by other forms of inequality?

On the other hand, some authors have pointed towards the connection between respect and inequality in explanatory terms. In this argument, the inequality of respect would explain the reproduction of traditional forms of inequality, such as economic or power inequality. This is a more analytical argument which will be carefully discussed in this thesis. It involves several dimensions, but in brief, it points towards the possibility of thinking on respect, and in particular, on the logic *behind* the process of granting or withholding respect to others, as a force that helps to explain the reproduction of any form of inequality, for instance, by making it legitimate (Ridgeway, 2014). Key questions in this context are: who is considered as deserving respect and why? How is this defined?

Answering these questions involves interrogating respect as a 'resource' that is valuable and it is in dispute, as it facilitates access to other valued resources, such as income or power. A very important issue to address in this context is how respect is *signified* or operationalized, something that is unavoidably mediated by power (Butler, 2004). This involves paying attention to the dominant 'hierarchies of value' behind the definition of respect, namely, which are the dominant attributes that define people as worthy of respect and disrespect in any given context.

An interesting argument in this regard, which will be discussed in this thesis, is that people construct 'hierarchies of value' based on the forms of value that they can attain. Lamont (2000), for instance, has shown that the working class construct their sense of self-worth by replacing the relevance of money with the relevance of morals (e.g. 'being decent'). This argument is

important as it sheds light on how the meanings of respect are constructed. But it is also important because it has been suggested that this displacement of 'money' by 'morals' might have unexpected consequences, such as the underestimation of income inequality (Prasad et al., 2009; Vidal, 2003). This suggests that how hierarchies of value are constructed can have sociologically unexpected impacts on people's attitude to income inequality. And, therefore, that the interplay between demands of distribution and recognition can be very complex.

For all these reasons, I claim that researching respect is necessary and productive in the understanding of inequality. Based on this, I will interrogate the structure of advantages and disadvantages (Bottero, 2005) behind the distribution of respect, but I will also pose the question whether this structure of advantage and disadvantage helps to reproduce other forms of inequality.

Yet, I should emphasise that studying respect also helps to illuminate myriad other phenomena which are not directly connected to the question of inequality, but are equally relevant, such as the moral nature of social experience, the dilemmas involved in the exercise of hierarchy and the importance of 'norms' in everyday experience. To think about inequality through respect, these other issues will also be addressed, as they form part of the rich but complex phenomenon of the 'experience of respect'.

The Chilean Case

This thesis puts forward an invitation to think sociologically about respect and its connection with the problem of inequality, with the hope of motivating a debate that transcends a particular national context. However, the research questions of this thesis are focused on a specific cultural context, which is Chilean society.

The choice to focus on Chile has been made for biographical and practical reasons, but also for theoretical ones.

One of the most important features of Chile is its level of economic inequality. The Gini Index for Chile stands at 0.476, which means that Chile is one of the most unequal countries in the world (CEPAL, 2016). As a consequence, inequality is a preoccupation of Chilean scholars (e.g.: Larrañaga & Valenzuela, 2011). In sociological studies, there has been a particular emphasis on the description of its dynamic and structure (Espinoza, Barozet, & Méndez, 2013; Torche,

2005b), although there is an emerging interest in the analysis of its experiential and subjective dimensions (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2011, e.g.: 2012; Castillo, Carrasco, & Miranda, 2010; Espinoza, 2012; e.g.: Mac-Clure & Barozet, 2015; Mayol, Azócar, & Azócar, 2013; PNUD, 2017b).

In this latter trend, the relevance of thinking on issues such as respect for the better understanding of inequality in Chile is starting to be acknowledged. For instance, there are several works in recent years in which the 'inequality of respect', 'dignity' or 'treatment' is starting to be addressed (Araujo, 2013b, 2013a; Frei, 2016; P Güell, 2008; PNUD, 2012, 2015, 2017b; Verdugo, 2015; Zilveti, 2016). These works have suggested that the experience of being disrespectfully treated seems to be specially relevant in the narrative of inequality of the lower and the middle class (e.g.: Espinoza & Guzmán, 2013; Mayol et al., 2013; PNUD, 2015); which means that the 'relational' dimension of inequality is sometimes more important in people's experiences than the 'material' dimension. It has also been suggested that respect seems to have a special importance for some groups of the population, particularly, those from more disadvantaged backgrounds (Martínez & Palacios, 1996; Verdugo, 2015).

This thesis engages with these different approaches and expects to contribute to that literature by helping to bring new insights into the debate on respect and inequality in Chile.

Furthermore, by focusing on Chile, this project contributes to the international discussions on respect by bringing into the debate empirical outcomes from a non-European country. This is a valuable goal, the urgency of which has already been highlighted by non-European scholars (e.g.: Vidal, 2003). In fact, the relationship between respect and inequality is being currently addressed by Chilean researchers in ways that do not always coincide with European analyses (Araujo, 2013a 2013b; Espinoza & Guzmán, 2013; Mayol et al, 2013).

An important discussion in this context is the extent to which the relevance of this dimension of inequality in Chile—i.e. the inequality of respect— is due to cultural specificities. For instance, it has been argued that distributive inequalities in the country are the expression of a very rooted cultural sense of 'dignity inequalities', based on the specific colonial past of the region (Güell, 2008). In a different fashion, it has been argued that inequality of respect should be understood as an expression of a specific type of inequality, i.e. 'interactive inequality', which is particularly sensitive in Latin America due to 'sociability' being a key aspect of social experience in this continent (Araujo, 2013a 2013b). These arguments can be contrasted with those of Sayer (2005b) who writes about the risk of overemphasising cultural specificities in the study of morality. Or with Souza's argument (2011), that there are commonalities in the structure of

symbolic domination – of which the experience of respect is part of - that sociology has failed to address and go beyond the Latino American context. Focusing too much on cultural specificities might hide this.

In conclusion, this thesis aims to offer an original contribution to both the international and the Chilean academic literature by offering a sociological analysis of the experience of respect and disrespect, as well as its relationship with the problem of inequality. Hence, along with a systematic theoretical exploration of the topic this thesis includes an empirical study which focuses on Chilean society, in particular, in Santiago de Chile. This empirical study aims to analyse the meanings, practices and narratives associated with, as well as the distribution of, the experience of respect and disrespect. It looks at how people of different classes, gender and ages understand, experience, grant or withhold respect and disrespect and whether it is possible to derive a structure of advantages and disadvantages in these experiences. It also analyses whether the experience and expectations that people have regarding both respect and disrespect relate to their interpretations and attitudes to inequality.

By doing this, and borrowing the famous concept of Thompson (1993) as expanded by Fassin (2009), I expect to show how there is a whole ‘moral economy’ of respect that embeds the ‘moral economy of inequality’, an economy in which certain individuals have better resources than others to assert and defend their ‘value’. If something, I hope this thesis contributes to make this economy visible, and make justice of people’s struggles for being respected, and therefore, valued.

Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is divided in 9 chapters:

Chapter 1 ‘Literature Review’, discusses how respect has been addressed from different perspectives. It offers a working definition of respect and it distinguishes three of its main forms (categorical, positional and performance). It argues that respect is a norm, a language and a practice which refers to the kind of interaction that people expect to have with others in light of an assessment of the value held of themselves and others, an assessment that change historically as it is shaped by institutional and cultural elements. The chapter then addresses the relationship between respect and inequality. It argues that there are several ambiguities in the literature regarding this relationship, although there are some current theoretical approaches

that help to clarify it. In connection with these ambiguities, the chapter advances this project's theoretical proposal and it introduces the research questions.

Chapter 2, 'Methodology', details the epistemological and methodological assumptions of this study. Epistemologically, it suggests the developing of a phenomenology of respect and disrespect in Chilean Society. Methodologically, it argues that a mixed-method strategy is the best approach to answer the research questions. It describes the quantitative stage (secondary data analysis) and the qualitative stage (semi-structured interviews), including sampling, analysis strategy and fieldwork experience. It discusses the ethical implications of the project.

Chapter 3, "The Chilean context: political economy, democratic system and cultural repertoires of a neoliberal country", provides some contextual information about Chile which is important for the understanding of the empirical findings. First, it delineates key features of the political economy of the country and its connection with neoliberalism. Second, it describes the main trends regarding income inequality, which is one of the main heritages of the 'Chilean model'. Third, the chapter reflects on the country's democratic system, which is a key framework to understand people's claims on respect. Fourth, the chapter discusses the cycle of social mobilization that started in the country in 2011, as this is the immediate social and political context in which this research took place. Finally, it discusses the extent to which the Chilean model has produced a 'neoliberal subjectivity', and how the demand for a 'more respectful treatment' challenges or complements this neoliberal ethos.

Chapter 4, "The perception of being respected: what is at stake?" presents the main findings of the secondary data analysis regarding the perception of being respected and disrespected in Chile. It focuses on the analysis of The Missing Dimensions of Poverty Survey (OPHI, 2009). The chapter shows that even though there are some variables which are associated to the perception of being (dis)respected, this perception seems to have a weaker correlation with income inequality than the literature suggests. The chapter suggests that the structure of advantage and disadvantage of respect might be more complex than it seems, and it should be elucidated through the qualitative study.

Chapter 5, "The nature of respect in Chilean society" offers a general view about the nature of respect in Chilean society, its meanings and relevance, in the voice of the participants of the qualitative study. It explains that respect is a strongly normative object, as there is a moral imperative of 'respecting others' which usually people acknowledge as something that is primarily learnt at home. It explores the 'memory of respect' of the interviewees, the several

‘mandates’ and ‘rules’ that they learn. It offers an analytical scheme to make sense of the different meanings of respect that people activate, based on the typology previously introduced in chapter 1. It also shows the normative tension between the different forms of respect.

Chapter 6, “Chilean society through the lens of respect: three struggles, two nostalgias”

describes the perception that people have regarding Chilean society from the perspective of respect. It shows how this perception tends to be very negative and is usually associated to the idea of a ‘struggle’. It also shows how this struggle is focused on three dimensions: (1) *the lack of courtesy* 2) *the crisis of authority* and 3) *the experience of inequality*. It also addresses the role of nostalgia in this narrative. It identifies two clear forms of nostalgia: *communitarian nostalgia* and *authoritarian nostalgia* and reflects on why there is no form of nostalgia associated with the experience of inequality.

Chapter 7, “The self-image of being (dis)respected and the experience of (dis)respect”

analyses the self-image of the interviewees as receivers of respect and disrespect; namely, it demonstrates the extent to which they feel treated with respect or disrespect by others. It also shows how this self-image varies according to the social position of the interviewees. In the second part, the chapter focuses on the experience of disrespect. It shows how the experience of disrespect is not exclusive of some interviewees over others, although the reasons why they feel disrespected, as well as the intensity, frequency and consequence of this experience, tend to differ greatly according to social position. Also, the resources the interviewees have to act in the context of these experiences are very different.

Chapter 8, “The temporal nature of respect: between ‘earning’ and ‘commanding’ respect”

shows the processual nature of respect, which opens the possibility of thinking on respect as a ‘resource’ that can be accumulated. It explores two temporal logics: ‘gaining respect’, which is associated to a meritocratic/moral logic and ‘commanding respect’, which is associated to a game of power, imposition or sometimes defence against potential abuse. It illustrates different tactics or strategies for ‘gaining respect’ and ‘commanding respect’ that are described by the interviewees. In doing so, it put special emphasis upon the different forms or criteria by which the interviewees think they can gain or lose respect. This chapter shed lights on the ‘agency’ of interviewees in their struggles on respect and disrespect.

Chapter 9, “The self-image of the giver of respect: the biographical exception” analyses the self-image that the interviewees have regarding themselves as givers of respect to others. It shows how they usually describe themselves as ‘exceptions’ in the context of the ‘crisis’ of

disrespect which was described in Chapter 6. The chapter interrogates this 'narrative of exceptionality'. It identifies two forms of exceptionality: being exceptional in the context of the everyday experiences of lack of courtesy or consideration, and being exceptional in the context of the practices of disrespect between people from different social classes. The chapter also explains how this exceptionality differs according to social position. Finally, the chapter focuses on the reasons that the interviewees provide to justify their exceptionality, and it shows that they are usually linked to their biographical experiences. It shows how 'being respectful' towards others is a source of 'value', which means, in some contexts, that respect can play a role in 'subordination'.

Finally, the **Conclusion** summarizes the main findings of this study, in its connection with the research questions that guided it. It reflects on the main contributions that can be drawn from it, and it suggest further avenues for research. Finally, the chapter offers a reflection on the extent to which respect was a subject worth studying to shed light on the experience, reproduction and consequences of inequality.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a critical examination of the literature on respect and disrespect. The first section shows how respect has been addressed from different perspectives and it considers the difficulties in defining the concept by discussing its alleged bi-dimensional nature. The section then focuses on how social sciences have theorized respect and suggests that there are two traditions of thought which are useful to construct a sociologically informed notion of the phenomenon: the theory of recognition and identity class analysis.

The second section addresses the relationship between respect and inequality. It argues that there are two reasons why addressing this relationship is relevant: first, because respect seems to be unequally distributed, and therefore, the inequality of respect should be interrogated as a relevant dimension of inequality; and second, because the distribution of respect might act as a force that reinforce other forms of inequality, such as income or power inequality. The section argues, however, that there are several ambiguities in the literature regarding this relationship, which are mainly due to some confusion between the theoretical, normative and empirical dimensions in the analysis of respect. The section argues that there is the need to create a stronger analytical framework to think on the relationship between respect and inequality.

The third section advances this thesis's theoretical proposal. It offers a working definition of respect and distinguishes three of its main forms (categorical, positional and performance). It argues that respect is the norm, the language and the practice through which we communicate value to others, a norm that changes historically as it is shaped by the institutional and cultural elements that inform social interaction. Finally, the section offers a reflection on how this

theoretical proposal invites more empirical research and presents the research questions of the thesis.

1.2 What is Respect?

1.2.1 The elusive nature of respect

As noted in the Introduction, defining respect is a complex matter. Respect is an elusive concept, which tends to be defined in multiple ways. This multiplicity can be quickly grasped by looking at a couple of dictionaries. For instance, the Oxford Dictionary of English defines respect as “a feeling of deep admiration for someone or something elicited by their abilities, qualities, or achievements”⁸, and also as the ‘due regard for the feelings, wishes, or rights of others’. The Royal Academy of Spanish Language, in turn, defines respect as relating to issues such as ‘consideration’, ‘deference’ and ‘veneration’ but also to ‘courtesy’ and ‘fear’⁹. Why does a concept refer to so many different experiences?

To make sense of this multiplicity, it is enlightening to analyse the etymology of the word. Respect comes from the Latin word *respectus*, which comes from the verb *respicere* which means ‘look back at’ or ‘regard’ (*respicere* is made of *re* (back) + *especere* (look at)). The usual interpretation by etymologists is that the concept of respect conveys the action of ‘looking again’, and that is the reason why it tends to be used to express ideas such as ‘regard for others’ or ‘consideration’. Based on this, it has been argued that the essence of respect is the ‘attentive gaze’ (Esquirol, 2006); to look at others and express due consideration for them.

Another productive route to start thinking on respect is to analyse its philosophical roots. The philosophical approaches, however, tend to combine conceptual elements with normative ones, which adds extra complexity to the task of defining respect. One of the most influential definitions has been provided by Kant (1993 [1785]), who connected it normatively to the phenomenon of dignity: ‘Respect... is the acknowledgment of the dignity of another man [sic], i.e., a worth which has no price, no equivalent for which the object of evaluation could be exchanged’ (Kant, 1991 [1800], p. 254). As several authors explain (e.g.: Buss, 1999; Darwall, 1977; Hill, 2000) this means that Kant believed that people should be respected *as such*, since persons are ‘ends in themselves’, as long as they are rational and not only sensuous beings.

⁸ Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/respect>

⁹ Retrieved from <https://dle.rae.es/?id=WC6OLMQ>

In the Kantian definition, then, respect is a moral disposition which is independent of the particular features of any individual. In other words: every human being deserves respect. Although with some variations, this understanding of respect has been followed by several authors in the philosophical literature and, as noted in the Introduction, is the foundation of the Human Rights Discourse. Still, this definition can be operationalized in multiple ways. Cranor (1975), for instance, shows that there are at least three different kinds of philosophical definition of respect which share this framework. The first kind is associated with a disposition of taking into account the needs of others before acting; the second one is related to having an attitude of sympathy toward others, and the third one, which is present, for instance, in Rawls's theory of justice (1973:337), is related to considering the other's point of view.

The Kantian approach, however, is not the only available normative framework to think on respect. Cranor (1975) himself criticizes it and claims that people grant respect to others only when they highly value some particular characteristics that the others possess. That is why he defines respect as: '...a complex relationship holding between four elements: a person who respects (a respecter), a respected object, some characteristic in virtue of which the object is respected (the basis of respect) and some evaluative point of view from which the object is respected' (Cranor, 1975, p.310). This kind of definition is not untypical. In more recent accounts, it is shared by authors such as Benditt (2008) and Fiocco (2012). The last one, for instance, claims that inasmuch as respect is a matter of value, granting respect to everyone is beyond human capabilities.

The difference between understanding respect as a general moral disposition driven by shared humanity or a particular attitude driven by exceptional features, is at the heart of the philosophical discussions on the topic. This is a conceptual discussion, but also a highly normative one: the underlying question deals with the issue of whether or not respect is something to which all individuals are entitled to. Understanding this discussion is essential. As Darwall (1977) points out, at its core lies the fact that there are two different phenomena which are called respect, one of which is considered universal, and one of which is not. The first one, that he calls 'recognition respect', occurs when someone gives especial consideration to some particular features of an object before acting, such as her feelings, her roles or her humanity. This is the sort of respect which is involved in respecting persons 'as such'. The second one, that Darwall calls 'appraisal respect', occurs when someone grants respect to an object because it possesses some particular features that are admirable. In this case, respect is related to 'virtue'.

Darwall's distinction between 'appraisal' and 'recognition' respect has been very influential. Drawing on it, most authors agree that respect has a *bidimensional nature*, although some of them have changed the names of the components or added some subtle differences to them.

A clear example, coming from the procedural justice literature, is Janoff-Bulman & Werther (2008). These authors suggest the distinction between 'categorical respect' and 'contingent respect'. The first one is granted equally to anyone who belongs to a community; it is based on membership to an in-group. Human rights, for instance, would be based on the categorical respect which is granted because of the membership to the human community. The second one is driven by status; it is granted only to people with certain social positions, so it is based on standing in a particular community. Interestingly enough, the authors show that this distinction is useful for empirical research. They demonstrate that both kinds of respect have different consequences on issues such as legitimization of authorities and social justice.

In social and political theory, in turn, where the concept of 'recognition' has been used more often than the concept of respect, this bidimensionality has also been kept. Sayer (2005b), for instance, following Taylor (1994), has distinguished between 'unconditional recognition' and 'conditional recognition'. The first type would be driven by features such as shared humanity and the second type by features such as virtues or values. Similarly, Honneth (1995) has suggested the distinction between 'legal respect', which is based on the acknowledgement of moral responsibility and rights, and 'esteem', which is based on the acknowledgement of traits and abilities. It should be noted that Honneth suggests a three-dimensional understanding of recognition, as he also adds the dimension of 'love', which is based on the acknowledgement of needs and emotions. However, in terms of what is usually considered as 'respect' he keeps a bi-dimensional notion: 'legal respect' v/s 'esteem'. Finally, Todorov (2001) has argued that there are two moments of recognition: 'recognition' on its most narrow sense (i.e. being recognized in your existence) and 'confirmation' (i.e. the confirmation of your value). The first (being recognized) would be a precondition of the second (being valued), as someone can only be valued if she has, first, been acknowledged.

As it can be observed, although with subtle differences, all these conceptualizations point toward the same idea: that there are forms of respect which are considered as universal and granted to *everyone*, and others which are considered as particular and might be legitimately granted to only *a few*. The authors who have tried to transcend the bi-dimensional notion of respect, have added further distinctions to the 'sources' of respect, but this key principle, i.e. that there are universal and non-universal forms of respect, is always maintained. A good

example here is Middleton (2006), who argues that it is better to distinguish between three types of respect: ‘human recognition’ (based on common humanity), ‘status recognition’ (based on social position and membership) and ‘appraisal recognition’ (based on esteem and capabilities). This proposal is particularly interesting, as it involves the possibility of distinguishing between different sources of ‘non-universal’ respect: on the one hand, position and membership, on the other hand, esteem and capabilities. Still, the key principle remains: there are forms of respect which are universal, such as human recognition, and forms which are not, such as status and appraisal recognition.

Table 2: The bidimensional nature of respect in the literature

Author	Universal Forms of Respect	Non-Universal Forms of Respect
<i>Darwall</i>	Recognition Respect	Appraisal Respect
<i>Janoff-Bulman & Werther</i>	Categorical Respect	Contingent Respect
<i>Sayer-Taylor</i>	Unconditional Recognition	Conditional Recognition
<i>Honneth</i>	Legal Respect (+ Love)	Esteem
<i>Todorov</i>	Recognition	Confirmation
<i>Middleton</i>	Human Recognition	Appraisal + Status Recognition

Beyond the accuracy of these distinctions, which I discuss further in the following sections, it is important to emphasise that they all shed light on the fact that *there are different types of social experiences that are named as respect*. This is so for both academic research and everyday life. For instance, in psychosocial studies, respect has been extensively studied as a key element of social interaction (e.g.: de Cremer, 2002; Sung, 2001). However, the theoretical definitions and empirical operationalisations of the concept differ enormously across the literature. For instance Langdon (2007) shows that in psychological research there are four recurring but very different kind of definitions: a) respect as social power (obedience to authority and recognition of status), b) respect as a social rule (politeness), c) respect as caring (considerateness), and d) respect as equality (accepting the differences). This situation is very problematic considering that respect is usually operationalised for empirical research. The consequence, as Quaquebeke et al. (2007) have pointed out, is that there are plenty of empirical conclusions about respect, but we cannot be entirely sure that they all refer to the same phenomenon. In fact, what can be

generally observed is that the definition of respect varies according to the specificities of the subjects of research which are under study.

To add even more complexity to this picture, it should be noted that one of the most typical findings of qualitative studies on respect is that the meanings of respect vary according to social and cultural differences. For instance, Buttny and Williams (2000) study discourses of respect and disrespect by African Americans in interracial interactions; as an outcome, they show that respect is a 'protean' concept which has multiple meanings for them. There are also studies which focus on cultural differences. Sung (Sung, 2004) for instance, shows how the practices by which the young respect the elderly share similarities but also have differences between American and Korean people. Finally, there are studies which show the differences between institutional and social meanings of respect. Hulley et al. (2011), for instance, show how the institutional meaning of respect in British Prisons –as stated in the 'Prison Service's statements'– differ from the meanings and expectations that the prisoners have about respect.

In conclusion, the literature review sheds light on three main features of the concept of respect. First, that respect is a multidimensional concept which encompasses several phenomena, ranging from the acknowledgement of dignity, the recognition of status, the appreciation of abilities, the enactment of politeness and several forms of consideration. Second, that there are forms of respect which are considered as universal and forms of respect which are not. Third, that respect seems to be a socially and culturally situated language and practice, as there are differences in the way that different groups understand, use, and above all, put it into practice.

1.2.2 The language of Respect in social sciences

As noted in the Introduction, the concept of respect has not always been addressed in explicit terms in the social sciences. One of the few explicit examples, as noted by Lussier (1998), can be found in the work of Durkheim, who used the concept explicitly to name the sacred feeling that society elicits in individuals when explaining the origin of the religious experience (Durkheim, 1995 [1912]). Yet, considering the connection between respect and status, it is possible to argue that all that has been written in the social sciences about status, since Weber (1978 [1921]) onwards, has somehow involved an implicit treatment of respect, at least in its 'non-universal' dimension. In this sense, as we shall see in the next sections, there are different theoretical tools that can be found in social sciences which can be helpful in order to analyse the phenomenon. I will highlight two: the theory of recognition and identity class analysis.

The theory of recognition

During the last twenty years, respect has been addressed in more explicit terms in political and social theory, mainly because of the appearance of social movements based on identity claims – such as gender and race - instead of class claims (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Miller, 1993; Taylor, 1994). These movements turned respect into a ‘political issue’ and, therefore, helped to bring it to the attention of social sciences. In this literature, however, the problem of respect has been addressed through the concept of ‘recognition’, which comes from the Hegelian rather than the Kantian tradition.

On a terminological note, I should explain that this is the reason why some authors use the concepts of ‘respect’ and ‘recognition’ interchangeably (e.g.: Sayer, 2005b). On my reading, however, the concept of recognition is attached to *one* particular theoretical tradition to think of the phenomenon of respect, i.e. the Hegelian tradition. Although this tradition is certainly powerful, and I draw on it, it does not incorporate the analysis of *all* the possible dimensions which are involved in the *everyday* experience of respect. For instance, it excludes the analysis of phenomena such as courtesy or authority.¹⁰ Therefore, since I am interested in the understanding of the everyday experience of respect embracing *all* its dimensions, instead of using both concepts interchangeably, I have decided to use the concept of respect in this thesis and to refer to the concept of recognition only when I am addressing this tradition.

The theory of recognition is interesting because it sheds light on, at least, three aspects of the phenomenon of respect: 1) its conflictual nature, 2) its connection with the process of identity formation, and 3) the normative character of social experience, all of which are key aspects to understanding why respect matters so much to people.

One of the best exponents of this tradition is Honneth (2009; 1995), who, building upon the work of Hegel and Mead, elaborates a theory of recognition in the context of his attempt to unveil the moral logic behind social conflicts. Honneth defines recognition as a positive affirmation of the capacities of subjects or groups, arguing that its importance relies on the fact that it constitutes the precondition of self-fulfilment and autonomy. This assertion is based on a relational conception of the self which is inspired by the work of Mead (1934), himself influenced by Hegelian philosophy. As Taylor (1994:33) explains, Mead lay the foundations for understanding the connection between recognition and identity, by pointing out the dialogical

¹⁰ Taylor (1994), for instance, argues explicitly that recognition is much more than ‘just’ courtesy or consideration.

character of human nature. He argues that '[w]e define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us' (1994: 33). That is why recognition - and therefore respect - matters so much to people, which is something that the theory of recognition is capable of explaining. Recognition is the cornerstone of our process of identity formation. This has been also highlighted by philosophers such as Rawls, when arguing that self-respect is dependent on respect accorded by others (1973, p.178).

In Honneth's account, our process of identity formation is dependent on three forms of recognition: *love*, *rights* and *esteem*. All of these forms of recognition appeal to a particular dimension of personality: *needs and emotions*, in the case of love; *moral responsibility*, in the case of rights; and *traits and abilities* in the case of esteem. Consequently, each of them affects one dimension of the practical relation we hold with our-selves: *self-confidence*, in the case of love; *self-respect* in the case of rights, and *self-esteem* in the case of esteem, and their denial involve a specific form of disrespect: *abuse*, when love is denied, *exclusion*, when there is a violation of rights, and *denigration*, when esteem is not granted. In the end, the denial of any of those forms of recognition produces 'social suffering' and can foster social conflicts.

As noted in the previous section, the theory of recognition tends to replicate the 'bidimensional' understanding of respect. This is also true for Honneth, although he uses the concept of 'rights' to name what it is usually understood as the 'universal' form of respect, and the concept of 'esteem' to name the 'non-universal' form of respect. Moreover, he adds a third dimension, i.e. love, which is interesting to expand the analysis of recognition to the intimate and family spheres. On my reading, love occupies a middle-ground position in terms of the distinction between universal and non-universal forms of respect. It is certainly universal in that love - or, to be precise, the denial of abuse - is protected, for instance, in childhood. However, in legal terms, there is no a categorical mandate of loving 'everyone', which indicates that there are forms of love which are legitimately considered as contingent or non-universal. It is for this reason that I do not conceptualize love as a third dimension of respect, but as a 'principle' of respect related to 'caring'. I will resume this point when discussing my own understanding of respect in Chapter 5.

Another element of Honneth's theory which is particularly relevant, is that, like Taylor (1994), he provides a historical justification to treat rights and esteem as distinctive phenomena. According to Honneth, both concepts should be analysed separately because, in modernity, rights and esteem became separated. Whereas in the past rights were bound up with social standing through the notion of 'honour', with the expansion of universal human rights legal

recognition became detached from social esteem. As Taylor (1994) explains, this is the reason why recognition became more important in modern times. The collapse of social hierarchies means that now recognition has to be gained, and as a consequence, individuals can 'fail' in their attempts to get it. This is particularly problematic in the 'era of authenticity', in which the ideal of 'self-fulfilment' dominates the normative understanding of the self.

The importance of this thesis is two-fold. On the one hand, it shows why the struggle for esteem has become more important in modern times. On the other hand, it enables us to understand why the concept of respect has multiple meanings. Before the detachment of rights and esteem, respect as a claim meant only the recognition of honour. After the detachment of rights and esteem, respect meant the recognition of rights *or* the recognition of esteem. On my reading, this indicates that respect is the language through which we communicate 'value' to others, and this language adapts historically according to how value is defined in any given context.

Another key element of the theory of recognition is that it highlights the conflictual nature of respect, and how the different claims for respect can be in tension. For instance, an element that adds complexity to the realm of recognition is the emergence of multiculturalism. As Taylor (1994) explains, this produces a shift from a 'politics of equal dignity' – which is based on a claim for recognition of equal right to citizenship - to a 'politics of difference' – which is based on a claim for recognition of legitimate differences. Both claims can be sometimes contradictory, which poses a great challenge for the 'politics of recognition'. From the perspective of social movements, this means that they do not only have claims for legal recognition or the acknowledgement of their dignity, they also struggle for social esteem, i.e. for vindicating 'the neglected significance of the traits and abilities they collectively represent' (Honneth, 1995: 127). This is why the Kantian understanding of respect, which is at the heart of the human rights discourse, is insufficient to think of the problems of recognition nowadays. The acknowledgement of dignity is not the only trigger that mobilizes discourses on respect.

Class analysis and the struggle for social value

One of the impacts of the debate of recognition on social sciences, along with the cultural turn, has been the development of sociological works which offer new theoretical frameworks to address the topic of respect. This is particularly clear in works focused on the subjective and experiential dimension of class. This might sound surprising at first, considering that I just said that the topic of respect became more salient in social sciences precisely with the appearance of

social movements based on what is known as 'identity' *instead of* 'class' claims. However, the cultural turn in sociology produced a movement in class analysis in which the connection between the issue of class and identity became more salient.

As Devine & Savage (2005) have noted, at least in British sociology, those works have advanced new understandings of class identity, frequently, by drawing on the work of Bourdieu (2010[1984]). Bourdieu's work has been particularly useful because it provides a new concept of class 'identification', which is more consistent with the relational conception of the self highlighted by the framework of recognition. As the authors explain: '...identification, for Bourdieu, is not based on recognising oneself as a belonging to a given position, but as differentiating oneself from others in a field, through comprehending and playing the game with its various stakes and players' (2005: 14). Due to his understanding of the social space as a space of 'social distances', Bourdieu sheds light on the fact that actors relate to each other through process of differentiation by creating distinctions between 'them' and 'us'. In fact, it is useful to remember that Bourdieu asserts that the 'habitus' [not only] 'implies a 'sense of one's place' but also a 'sense of the place of others' (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 131).

A very good example of how this framework has been useful to think of class identity is the work of Skegss (1997) who shows how the definition of 'respectability' has been a central mechanism of class distinction. Who is 'respectable' and who is not, is a key mechanism in the reproduction of class inequality. Thank to works like this it has become clear that the problem of respect is not only at stake in multicultural contexts, as it might be thought from the framework of recognition. In other words, that the experience of a lack of respect is not only intrinsic to the experience of inequality of gender and race but also to the experience of class (Fraser, 2003; Sayer, 2005a).

Something interesting about some of these works is that following a Bourdieuvian conception of identity, they have depicted the relational process through which actors develop their own sense of value. A prominent example is the work of Lamont. In 'The Dignity of Working Men' (Lamont, 2000) she explores how working class men construct their sense of self-worth, how they perceive social hierarchies and how they develop 'boundary work' (Ibid. pg.3). i.e. which schemas of evaluation and moral categories they use in order to differentiate themselves from others. This framework enabled her to discover how the definition of self-worth produced a displacement of value in the working class which informs the relevance that they grant to respect and recognition.

Another good example comes from the work of Skeggs and Loveday (2012) who provide a conceptual framework to understand how class distinctions and class distances operate through struggles of moral value. The authors also show how the problem of value becomes more acute in recent times, when 'the social subject is increasingly asked to perform its worth publicly as evidence of its value' (Ibid. p. 477). In order to perform this task, the self needs to have access to particular sources of value. As a consequence, the self is involved in a process of value-accrual that, in Bourdieu's terms, can be thought as a process of accumulation of different sorts of capitals. However, they make a very interesting point by arguing that Bourdieu's model does not enable us to understand how people who cannot have access to these sources of value –i.e. capitals- create their personhood and sense of self. Thus, they propose a different model of 'person value' which include the socially excluded: 'we need to think of value economically (the distribution of resources) and relationally, as a more general ethos for living, for sociality and connecting to others' (Ibid, p. 476). With this frame of reference they conducted empirical research in order to understand 'how subjects generate value for themselves when positioned outside of dominant circuits for person value' (Ibid, p. 477). They concluded that socially excluded people have their own ways of creating value: instead of struggling for distinction and investing in the self, they seek engagement with others. That is why the poorest define 'true respect' as related to concepts such as loyalty and caring.

What is important about these works is that they show that a fruitful way of addressing the phenomenon of respect from a sociological perspective, is through its connection with the *social construction of personal value*. In fact, following this framework, Skeggs and Loveday are able to offer a new understanding of respect, as a 'temporary authorization of value' (Ibid, p. 480): '[r]espect is an evaluation built into a relationship and can thus be an offer of value that can easily be withdrawn. It is not a permanent property of the person but something that has to be continually earned/won/offered/given' (Ibid, p. 480). The dynamics of respect reflect a socially determined structure of valuation. Thus, when addressing the problem of respect, one of the key sociological tasks is to analyse the processes behind the construction of value.

In conclusion, when thinking on respect from the perspective of social sciences, either from the perspective of the theory of recognition or class analysis, there are two main elements that become evident: on the one hand, respect is a claim -and therefore a language - that changes historically; on the other hand, this claim is related to the process of the construction of 'value'.

1.3. The relationship between Respect and Inequality

I have claimed that researching respect is relevant in the understanding of inequality. In this section I reflect further on this issue, which is directly connected to the 'heuristic bet' at the heart of this thesis. My argument has two levels. On the one hand, there is ground to think that respect is 'unequally' distributed. Therefore, if we take into account that respect is something that is 'valued' by people, it is crucial to interrogate the dynamics behind its distribution. On the other hand, there is ground to think that the unequal distribution of respect helps to reinforce other forms of inequality, such as income or power inequality. Both arguments have been, to some extent, suggested in the literature. However, the gaps in the theory of respect become evident when trying to address them.

1.3.1 The unequal distribution of Respect: how and why?

One of the most typical assertions in the literature about respect, is that respect is unequally distributed. Considering the impact of disrespect on people's life, this assertion is also accompanied by the normative claim that this inequality should be tackled. However, there are several elements involved in this assertion which tends to be confusing, partly because the literature is lacking on a comprehensive theory of respect which address all of its dimensions.

The first one is related to the supposedly egalitarian nature of respect. This point can be clearly seen in one of the most influential recent sociological accounts of the topic, which was developed by Sennett (2003). In this work, Sennett argues that inequality is an obstacle to the development of mutual respect. His argument is based on the claim that there are inequalities which are 'intractable', like the inequalities of talents, which render almost impossible the equalization of respect. Even though this argument points correctly to the difficulties associated with the equalization of 'esteem' or 'appraisal respect', it involves a contradiction. Sennett understands respect as an inherently mutual or symmetric experience. This vision is not atypical, being shared by sociologists such as Lawrence-Lightfoot (1999). However, respect is not necessarily a symmetric experience (Reich et al., 2009) neither is it synonymous of equality (Frankfurt, 1997). If we aim to account for all the dimensions involved in the *everyday* experience of respect, we should acknowledge that respect can be both symmetrical (mutual) and asymmetrical (hierarchical). At the same time, we should acknowledge that there are inequalities of respect which might be considered illegitimate but others which may be

considered as legitimate. The normative concern with the unequal distribution of respect should not prevent us from understanding this double character of the phenomenon.

In this regard, an important element in any sociological account of respect should be to clarify how respect intersects with the phenomenon of 'hierarchy'. To move in this direction, Goffman's work (1972) is enlightening. As Finkelstein (2008) has noted, Goffman produced an explicit reflection on the phenomenon of 'deference'. Even though he does not focus explicitly on respect, the analytical framework he produces in order to understand deference is useful to advance a sociological informed notion of respect. Goffman understands deference as a 'rule of conduct', being defined by the interplay between expectations and obligations. According to Goffman, '[r]ules of conduct impinge upon the individual in two general ways: directly, as *obligations*, establishing how he is morally constrained to conduct himself; indirectly, as *expectations*, establishing how others are morally bound to act in regard to him' (1972: 49). Goffman also argues that there are symmetrical (mutual) and asymmetrical (hierarchical) rules of conduct. This framework is useful to think on the phenomenon of respect, as there are forms of respect which are crosscut by a sense of obligation. Using Goffman's categories, it is possible to assert that respect is an expectation which sometimes entails symmetrical obligations (e.g.: legal recognition) but sometimes involves asymmetrical obligations (e.g.: deference to authority). Being aware of this is crucial when thinking on the inequality of respect, as it opens the possibility of understanding that there are inequalities of respect which can be legitimized *because* they are mediated by hierarchy or power.

Building on this, it is important to acknowledge that there are inequalities of respect which might be considered as legitimate for various reasons. As Dubet (2009) explains, in every society there are inequalities that are considered just and others which are considered unjust. This is certainly the case for the distribution of certain types of respect, such as those mediated by hierarchy (e.g.: respect in relations of authority) but also for those mediated by achievement (e.g. esteem). The key sociological task is to understand which forms of respect are unequally distributed in a way that is perceived as just, and which ones in a way that is considered as unjust. In this sense, when theorising on the inequality of respect it is important to incorporate a reflection on the 'sense of fairness' involved in this experience (Boltanski, 2008).

The second element which still requires clarification regarding the relationship between respect and inequality, refers to the connection between the inequality of respect and other types of inequality, in particular, income inequality. For some authors, inequality of respect is an outcome of economic inequality. Sayer (2005a), for instance, argues that inequalities in

resources and opportunities grant unequal access to practices and goods that enable people to be the subject of respect and recognition. That is the reason why, for Sayer, the experience of having a lack of respect is essential in the experience of class inequality. However, other authors like Sennett (2003) emphasise that equality of respect should not be seen as an automatic outcome of material equality. In Sennett's view inequality of respect has its own logic; that is why he claims that the creation of respect depends on the development of 'rituals of mutual interaction', not in the equalization of material goods.

To some extent, this last position is shared by the main representatives of the theory of recognition when debating the relationship between redistribution and recognition. It is important to notice that the debates on recognition have also highlighted the political dimension of respect and the problem of its distribution (Miller, 1993; Middleton, 2004). This has prompted the well-known debate about the relative importance of recognition in comparison with 'redistribution' in the achievement of equality and social justice (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). In the context of this debate, both Fraser and Honneth acknowledge that recognition cannot be considered as a mere by-product of economic redistribution, whilst also differing strongly about the connection that should be established between the two. To Fraser, both misdistribution and misrecognition are conditions of subordination. Thus, redistribution and recognition should be understood as two irreducible dimensions of justice ('perspectival dualism'). Honneth, on the contrary, understands recognition as the central category and redistribution claims as one particular kind of claim of recognition. On his reading, any struggle for redistribution can be understood as a problem of valuation, based on the perceived unfairness of the prevailing evaluative schemata for achievement and contribution. Still, their disagreement is mainly normative. In terms of the relationship between redistribution and recognition, they both argue that recognition is not the automatic outcome of economic equality.

Clarifying the connection between economic and respect inequality is a pending task. So far, a typical solution has been to acknowledge the multidimensionality of inequality. That is why some authors such as Therborn (2006) have argued that the experience of lack of respect should be considered as one particular dimension of inequality, which is related but still different to other kind of inequalities. Therborn suggests naming this dimension of inequality as 'existential inequality' and claims that it can both reinforce and be reinforced by other types of inequalities, such as 'resources' and 'life' inequalities.

In conclusion, the connection between economic and respect inequality is contested. In fact, in the Chilean context there are also different interpretations regarding the relationship between

both types of inequalities. For instance, it has been argued that distributive inequalities are the expression of a very rooted cultural sense of 'dignity inequalities', based on the colonial past of the region (P Güell, 2008). Also, it has been argued that the inequality of respect should be understood as a particular type of inequality, i.e. 'interactive inequality', which is particularly sensitive in Latin America due to 'sociability' being a key aspect of social experience in this continent (Araujo, 2013). Finally, Espinoza & Guzmán (2013) and Vidal (2003) have pointed out that the perception of being disrespected is the particular way in which economic inequalities are *experienced* in social interaction, mainly by the socially excluded groups. A different reading of this finding is that inequalities produce malaise above all when they involve experiences of humiliation, and as a result, a respectful treatment could be an important ingredient in the legitimation of economic inequality (Mayol et.al, 2013).

The relationship between respect and income inequality is complex and its elucidation should be informed by empirical research. Still, if we understand respect as a phenomenon connected with the process of construction of value, the connection between the distribution of respect and *any* process of distribution of value become obvious. As a consequence, it is possible to hypothesize that the inequality of respect intersects with almost all types of inequality, not just income inequality. In this context, the question of intersectionality becomes relevant (Anthias, 2005) as it is likely that the intersectionality between different kind of hierarchical categories - either of class, gender or race, among many others - can reinforce the intensity of (dis)respect.

1.3.2 Respect as *explanans* of traditional forms of inequality

If we agree that the inequality of respect can not only be reinforced by other types of inequalities, but also *reinforce* other types of inequalities (Therborn, 2006), understanding its dynamic becomes even more essential. If this is correct, then the inequality of respect could help to explain the reproduction of traditional forms of inequality, such as economic or power inequality. This argument has been made by several authors although for different reasons. But it is my contention that all of them point towards the explanatory capacity of respect when thinking on the reproduction of inequality.

For instance, Ridgeway (2014) has emphasised that sociology has underestimated the importance of status in the explanation of inequality, which is precisely the language by which sociology has usually addressed the issue of respect. From her perspective, the inequality of status – which she defines as the inequality of respect and esteem - helps to reproduce income

and power inequalities through several mechanisms, for instance, by contributing to legitimize them. This is an interesting argument to start thinking on how the distribution of respect could help to reinforce other forms of inequality: if the distribution of respect reflects a structure of valuation, then understanding this structure is relevant as it constitutes a cultural repertoire that helps to legitimize any form of inequality. For instance, if certain attributes are more likely to trigger respect than others (e.g.: 'effort') and the possession of those attributes is framed as one of the explanations of income inequality (e.g.: wealth is the outcome of effort) then it is more likely than income inequality is going to be naturalized and legitimized.

A similar argument can be found in Lamont, Beljean and Clair (2014), who advance a very interesting hypothesis about the role of cultural processes in the reproduction of inequality, which is also useful to think on respect as an *explanans* of inequality. According to these authors, the sociological literature on inequality has focused on both the structural as well as the cognitive processes that help to explain the production of social inequalities. However, there is a dimension missing: the meso-level cultural processes which connect cognitive and macro structural processes. The authors suggest that the missing link can be found on cultural processes related to the development of classificatory schemas, such as evaluation, standardization and racialization, between others. This argument is pertinent in this context, because, as noted, respect can be theoretically linked to the process attribution of value, and therefore, its dynamic reflects a structure of evaluation. If Lamont et. al. (2014) are right, then understanding the mechanisms behind the distribution of respect could help to strengthen our understanding of the reproduction of inequality in all its dimensions. Certainly, this does not mean that culture is the only dimension involved in the explanation of inequality (Fraser, 2003). But it is important to shed light on the schemas of evaluation that feed inequalities.

Thinking on respect in this way involves critically interrogating the structure of valuation behind any understanding of respect. How is this structure of valuation produced? Who define who is worthy of respect and how? And which are the consequences of this?

A key issue to discuss in this context is why respect seems to be more important for some people over other. One of the most intriguing outcomes of recent literature is that there are some particularities involved in the importance that people in more disadvantaged positions grant to respect. This finding has been highlighted in sociological works focused on the experience of poverty as well as on the experience of class. It involves two dimensions. In the first place, at a very descriptive level, it is usually emphasised that the experience of disrespect, or similar phenomena such as shame and humiliation, is intrinsic to the experience of poverty

(Sen, 1993) and also to the experience of class (Sayer, 2005a 2005b; Fraser, 2003).¹¹ As a consequence, it has been argued that respect is a *language* used by the poorest to claim for their demands. Vidal (2003) for instance argues that respect is the key concept around which the Brazilian poor urban citizens articulate their social and political discourse.

A second key issue is the suggestion that respect might be *particularly* important for the poorest, not just because they experience a lack of respect more often, but because they attribute a greater relevance to respect in the definition of their identities. Authors such as Lamont (2000) have shown that the working class construct their sense of self-worth by replacing the relevance of money by the relevance of morals ('being decent'). This would explain why the importance of the language of respect. Martínez and Palacios (1996) found something similar in the Chilean context. After carrying out qualitative studies, they concluded that the poorest draw a sort of 'estamental difference' between the decent and the indecent poor. The decent poor are entitled to respect because they are driven by their effort; the indecent poor, on the contrary, choose the 'easy way' (i.e.: delinquency) so they are not entitled to respect. 'Respect is the social mirror of the poor's effort'¹² (Ibid. p.23), the authors assert. That is why the poorest suffer for being treated disrespectfully in spite of their 'decent' behaviour. Another form of this argument can be found in Skeggs (1997) who claims that respectability is only of concern to those who are actually judged by it.

What these studies show is that the importance that people grant to respect can be related to their source of self-worth. And also, that these sources of self-worth can be stratified. This is a very interesting outcome that should be integrated in any inquiry about respect. Yet, what still requires clarification is the consequence of this issue.

There are two elements to interrogate here. First, there is the question regarding the impact that this displacement of 'morals' over 'money' has upon the normative attitude that the poorest have on income inequality. According to Lamont (2000), this displacement is accompanied by an egalitarian ideology and a rejection of the dominant values. However, Prasad et al. (2009) found that the relevance attributed to 'morals' over money' can produce an underestimation of the relevance of economic redistribution, which is one of the reasons why

¹¹ For this reason Sen claims that the 'ability of go about without shame' should be considered as a fundamental capability. Indeed, following Sen, The Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) incorporated the experience of 'shame' as one dimension of the multidimensional poverty's concept and, as a result, quantitative indicators have been developed to measure and track it (Zavaleta, 2007).

¹² The translation from Spanish to English is mine.

the conservative parties can still have strong support in the low income population. This apparently counter-intuitive outcome was also present in Vidal's study (2003): he showed that a respectful and non-humiliating treatment is more important than the reduction of income inequality to the poorest. A finding that is also consistent with the well-known finding that the normative attitude that people have to inequality is not necessarily directly associated with their socioeconomic status (Castillo C., Miranda, & Carrasco, 2011; Runciman, 1967).

The second element that should be addressed in this context is whether the claim for respect can involve an act of subordination. This is a sensitive issue which has been heavily highlighted in what it is understood as the 'negative' tradition of recognition (Klikauer, 2016). The key question in this context is 'who' define the criteria according to which recognition is granted, and therefore, who has the power to provide recognition. If the dynamic of recognition is mediated through power, the claim for respect can be interpreted as a practical response to domination, or as an attitude of social conformity in which the non-dominants ask for recognition from the dominants.

This ambiguous element of recognition can also be grasped in Bourdieu's theory. As Devine & Savage notes, from Bourdieu's theory it is possible to see that the 'claims to recognition are claims by subordinate groups to be taken as agents within a field, and can have the paradoxical effect of validating the rules of the game as a whole' (Devine & Savage, 2005: 15). The concept of 'symbolic struggle' is crucial in this context: 'symbolic power is a credit; it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition' (Ibid., 1994: 138), to name the criteria according to which social value is granted.

The ambiguous effect of respect has been also highlighted in empirical research. Vidal (2003) for instance points out that, in the Brazilian population, the demand for respect aims to vindicate certain forms of equality (fully fledged citizenship, symbolic integration) but also certain forms of hierarchy (dependency in paternalistic relationships).

Respect can be, then, an ambiguous political resource. This is a conclusion that has also been advanced in psycho-social studies. Simon, Lucken and Sturmer (2006), for instance, found that people with restricted rights have better attitudes to their groups (e.g.: disposition to cooperate) when they feel respected, whereas people with full rights do not vary their level of commitment to their groups if they feel respected or not. The authors are reflexive about the political consequence of this finding: 'Yet, the possibility remains that intragroup respect may

be used merely as a tactic to charm disadvantaged group members into accepting their unfortunate position and thus to prolong exploitation' (2006: 544).

In conclusion, another pending task for sociological analysis is to clarify which are the narratives that sustain the claim for respect and what is the impact of this claim. In order to do that, it is very important to flesh out the theoretical work on respect with empirical work and to bring to the table new theoretical approaches.

1.4. Towards a Sociology of Respect

The literature review carried out so far has shed light on the relevance of 'respect' as a subject of sociological research. In spite of the diversity of approaches reviewed, it has become clear that respect is a key element of social interaction which is relevant in understandings of inequality. Additionally, it has shed light on the fact that there are at least three ambiguities in the literature regarding the relationship between respect and inequality. These are related to: 1) the definition of respect as an inherently egalitarian phenomenon, 2) the relationship between inequality of respect and economic inequality, and 3) the relationship between the relevance that people attribute to being respected and their normative attitude to inequality.

It is my contention that these ambiguities are produced because there are several confusions in the literature, on the one hand, between the theoretical and normative understandings about respect and inequality, and, on the other hand, between these understandings and the uses in everyday language of both concepts. This thesis aims to clarify these different levels by suggesting an analytical framework to think sociologically on respect and its relationship with the experience of inequality. In so doing, it is expected to contribute to clarifying what the 'demand for respect' actually entails and how should inform the understanding of inequality.

1.4.1 A preliminary definition and typology of Respect

As a first step to create this analytical framework, in the following section I offer a working definition of respect, as well as a general typology of forms of (dis)respect. This definition, as well as this typology has been informed by my reading of the literature, but also by the analysis of the empirical data produced for this thesis. I will flesh out this typology with empirical

examples based on the data in later chapters, but it is important to introduce it here due to its centrality in my understanding of respect.

As I showed in the previous section, most of the ambiguities in the relationship between respect and inequality are due to a confusion between the theoretical, normative and empirical levels in the analysis of this phenomenon. It is my contention that the only way to overcome this is by combining deductive and inductive criteria in the definition of respect. In this regard, I share the critique that Schirmer et al. (2012) advance to some attempts at defining respect either as an *a priori* category without connection with its everyday meaning (e.g.: Sennett, 2003) or as a fuzzy concept based only on the intuitive meanings people assign to it (eg: Langdon, 2007). In this subject, a middle ground between induction and deduction is needed.

1.4.1.1 A preliminary definition of Respect

First of all, I argue that “respect” is the *norm, the language and the practice through which we communicate ‘value’ to others*; a norm, a language and a practice that changes historically according to the way in which the distribution of value operates in any given context.

As a norm, and therefore as a language, respect conveys always an *‘expectation of treatment’*. It refers to the *kind of interaction that people expect to have with others in light of an assessment of the value held of themselves and others*. This assessment is informed by cultural and institutional understandings of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’, that might add elements of *obligation* to the form of that interaction. That is why respect is deeply affected by the level of *symmetry* involved in any interaction, as there are symmetrical and asymmetrical forms of respect.

This working definition of respect enables us to understand why there are so many different definitions of respect, or to be more precise, why there are so many ‘forms of respect’. As the ‘assessment of value’ involved in respect is contingent, the meanings of respect are unavoidably contextual and vary according to *who* the interaction takes place with and the *realm* in which the interaction takes place: the public domain (the workplace, the street, the nation) or the private domain (the household, intimate relationships).

Furthermore, respect does not only operate at the discursive level. Respect is actualized through concrete *practices*, which adds more complexity to the task of defining respect, as this is sometimes defined through its practical expressions. The practical dimension of respect should not be dismissed as unimportant. As Goffman reminds us, the self is ‘in part a ceremonial thing,

a sacred object which must be treated with proper ritual care and in turn must be presented in a proper light to others' (Ibid, p.91). Respect is enacted in the rituals of everyday interactions.

For instance, as a norm in the context of legally defined symmetric relations (e.g: citizens), I can define respect as recognition of the equal dignity of the 'other' and I can actualize this principle through the granting of equal rights. Whereas in the context of culturally defined asymmetric relations (e.g: from the young to the elderly) I can define respect as obedience to the other who has a greater status and actualize this practically by constraining my actions according to the elder's opinions. In the context of everyday interactions, I can normatively define respect as courtesy, and as an actual practice, I can understand it as salutation. Or in the private domain I can define it as acceptance and express this practically by supporting a friend's life choices.

As a rule of thumb, respect is affected by any process of distribution of value. Therefore, the distribution of respect intersects with all forms of inequality -either class, gender or income inequality- as they all involve processes of distribution of value that can be experienced as unjust. Still, there are inequalities of respect which are considered *illegitimate* and others which are considered *legitimate*. To clarify this, and similar to Middleton (2006), I suggest it is useful to distinguish three forms of respect. The key to understand the difference between these 3 forms of respect is the following question: what does the other *deserve* in terms of treatment, and *in virtue of what*? Or, thinking from the perspective of the 'receiver' of respect and disrespect the main question to be posed is: why do I feel respected or disrespected and based on what?

These three forms of respect are experienced together, and they are in permanent tension. However, it is important to distinguish them as each of them involves a particular connection with the experience of (in)equality. On my reading, understanding the difference between these three forms of (dis)respect might help us to clarify how the language of respect is mobilized in connection with the experience of inequality.

1.4.1.2 A preliminary typology of Respect

a) 'Categorical Respect'

Categorical Respect pertains to all the forms of respect that are owed to people in virtue of their human dignity or their intrinsic moral worth. It refers to that that *everyone deserves* in terms of treatment and resembles the Kantian definition of the concept (Kant, 1993 [1785]) or what

Honneth (1995) calls 'respect' and Darwall (1977) 'recognition respect'. Following Janoff-Bulman & Werther (2008), I think it is useful to name this form of respect 'categorical', as it is the only form of respect which conveys a universal mandate. For the same reason, this is the only form of respect which is inherently egalitarian, in that it is agreed that absolutely every human being deserves it.¹³ Inequalities of categorical respect are usually considered illegitimate.

The clearest operationalization of this notion of respect are human rights. As it is expressed in this framework, it is believed that nobody deserves being harmed, being denigrated, being discriminated. Therefore, when someone faces any of those experiences, the form of disrespect that is experienced is considered as a violation of categorical respect, namely, a violation of human dignity.

The limits of categorical respect are in constant negotiation. Because the key to understanding categorical respect is the word 'everyone', *who* is part of 'everyone' and *which forms of treatment* are those that everyone deserves is a political issue. In fact, there are many historical and present struggles that can be read as a fight for the expansion or contraction of categorical respect to certain groups (e.g.: slaves, migrants, women).

In this regard, an important form of categorical respect is contained within 'citizenship' rights, which entail that respect is due to citizens for belonging to a political community. What is particular about this kind of respect is that it is egalitarian in nature but only for the people who belong to the political community. Therefore, this type of respect is still unequal in that it excludes people who do not belong to that community (e.g. migrants). This could be reason enough to classify it under the heading of positional respect (see below), but citizens' rights are experienced as a translation of the principle of human dignity in the political community. Certainly, both the contents and limits between positional respect associated with belonging and categorical respect based on humanity are constantly in tension and are subject of permanent struggle. In fact, thanks to the expansion of human rights, forms of respect which were exclusive of citizens are nowadays considered as categorical (e.g. the right to physical integrity).

¹³ Some might argue that this should apply to other species (e.g. respect for nature, respect for animals), but the framework I am developing here apply only to human beings

Categorical respect is usually translated into legal frameworks. When this happens, a claim for the acknowledgement of universal dignity becomes a 'right'. That is why there is a strong connection between respect, dignity and legal rights (Habermas, 2010).

It should be noted, however, that there are forms of categorical respect that are negotiated in everyday interaction and are not necessarily expressed in legal frameworks. Some rules of courtesy, for instance, may be considered as expressions of categorical respect if it is believed that everyone, just for the fact of *being a person*, should be subject of certain forms of consideration; therefore, when these rules of courtesy are not accomplished, the lack of respect is experienced as the violation of a form of categorical respect. For instance, when someone is not acknowledged by another – for instance, is not greeted - this experience may be experienced as a form of disrespect which violates categorical principles. If this is the case or not, depends of the rules of courtesy of the particular cultural setting in which the experience takes place. But for a rule of courtesy to be considered as an example of categorical respect, this rule should be applied to any 'person' in spite of her membership to the community; if the rule is applied based on membership, the type of respect we are talking about is no longer categorical but positional.

Stressing this point is really important as it is not always clear in the theorization about respect. For instance, in Honneth's theory of recognition, 'legal rights' are separated from 'esteem', and therefore, the acknowledgement of 'dignity' seems to be located only in the legal side. This obscures the possibility of thinking of 'dignity' as a status that is not accomplished only by legal means, which is crucial in understanding the 'experience' of respect and disrespect.

b) 'Performance Respect'

I define as 'Performance Respect' all the forms of respect that are granted to people in virtue of their behaviours or ways of being: their achievements, their talents, their virtues, their attitudes, their values. This form of respect is what is called 'appraisal respect' (Darwall, 1977) or 'esteem' in Honneth's work (1995), and it is associated to the recognition of the particular abilities of someone. I think the idea of 'performance' is useful here, as, following Skeggs and Loveday (2012), in current times the self is constantly asked to 'perform' their value. That is why I am suggesting calling this form of respect as 'performative'. In this context, what is being respected is a feature of a person that is considered valuable according to a specific valuation repertoire (morality, achievements, talents). Unlike categorical and positional respect, the feature that is valued here is obtained by the person herself, based on her merits or

achievements. This form of respect is operationalized through practices of recognition (verbal, formal, factual, among others).

Performance respect has a complex relationship with the issue of equality. On the one hand, this form of respect is inherently unequal, as there is no categorical mandate to appreciate the performance of every person. In this sense, inequalities of performance respect can be considered as legitimate. On the other hand, there is the issue of *why* those inequalities are created. That is why inequalities of performative respect can still be experienced as unjust. If the feature that triggers performative respect is distributed in a way that it is considered unjust (e.g.: educational achievement), then it is likely that performance respect will be also experienced as unjust. When Sennett (2003) argues that inequality of talents is an obstacle in the development of mutual respect, he is reflecting from the perspective of performative respect.

Performance respect intersects with the other forms of respect. For instance, a boss can be 'specially respected' by her subordinates because she is fair or because she is smart, but at the same time she is subject of positional respect because she is the boss. A mother can be 'specially respected' by her children because she cares for them, but at the same time she is subject of positional respect because she is their mother. A doctor can be highly respected because he is 'a doctor' (positional respect) but he can be specially respected by his colleagues because he is a very good doctor and a good person (performance respect).

c) 'Positional Respect'

Positional Respect encompasses all the forms of respect that are owed to people in virtue of the position they hold in any form of hierarchy or structure of difference, based on roles, identity or belonging. What inspires respect in this context is neither the person herself nor her achievements, it is her role –usually in the context of an institution- or her identity. The form of respect that is owed to people in virtue of their position arises from a sense of *obligation*. This form of respect is inherently unequal, and that inequality is usually considered legitimate (at least by one of the actors involved in the interaction). Not everyone but only a few deserves positional respect. Certainly, what is considered legitimate in terms of positional respect is culturally specific, and more importantly, it is open to change and it is subject of disputes and negotiation. Forms of positional respect which were considered fair in the past, are not considered fair in the present. This is related to the interaction with categorical respect.

The clearest form of positional respect is related to roles. In this context respect is due to someone because that person occupies a particular role in a particular institution, such as the household, the workplace or the polis. Here it is possible to locate the form of respect that is due to people in positions of authority, for instance, the 'president' in a democracy, the 'boss' in the workplace, the 'parents' in the household, the 'officer' in the street or the 'teacher' in the classroom. At the same time, there are forms of respect that are specifically due to people in subordinate positions, such as the form of respect that is due to 'voters' in a democracy, to 'workers' in the workplace, to 'children' in the household, to 'civilians' in the street and to 'students' in the classroom. Positional respect operates in all directions of any given hierarchy: there are forms of respect which are owed to someone because this person is placed in a higher position in a particular hierarchy and there are forms of respect which are owed to someone because this person is placed in a lower position. There are also forms of positional respect which are symmetrical (the form of respect that is owed between classmates, between colleagues or between the seller and the buyer). But in all these cases, respect arises from the role, not from the person.

Because the key to understanding positional respect is hierarchy, all the forms of respect which are asymmetric in nature: either linked to 'authority' or 'deference', should be classified here. Some forms of positional respect are not linked to formal institutional roles, but to issues of identity. In this context respect is due to someone because that person has a particular identity-feature which elicits a special form of treatment. Here it is possible to locate, for instance, the form of respect that in certain cultures are due to 'women' instead of men, or the form of respect that it is owed to the 'disabled' or the 'elderly'. The key to understand this form of respect, is that the sense of obligation arises not from a role but from a particular feature of the person's identity which demands a particular form of treatment. At the same time, when a boy is taught that he should 'respect girls' and not beat them up, he is being taught a form of categorical respect. But when he is taught that he should 'respect girls' and 'open the door for them' he is taught a form of positional respect, that, to make things even more complicated, can be interpreted as a sign of disrespect for some girls.

Positional respect has been under-theorized in both the theories of respect or the theories of recognition. With the exception of Middleton (2006), who argues that it is useful to distinguish this form of respect, other authors have either ignore it or excluded explicitly. For instance Sayer (2005b) insinuates that these forms of respect which are cross-cut by relations of domination are 'anomalies' of recognition. From the perspective of the theory of recognition, I understand this exclusion, but due my interest in theorizing the experience of respect and

disrespect I it is important to add this dimension, as Goffman (1972) adds in the analysis of deference.

In conclusion, based on my reading of the literature as well as the analysis of my data, I have suggested that it is useful to distinguish three forms of respect. I have also suggested that these three forms of respect intersect and have different relationships with the issue of inequality.

1.4.2 Towards a Phenomenology of Respect

In the previous section I have provided a working definition of respect which involves a general definition as well as a typology of three forms of respect. The use of these analytical distinctions has mainly a heuristic purpose. By drawing on them, it is expected to clarify some of the ambiguities involved in the concept of respect and its relationship with inequality.

This does not preclude, however, looking at new relevant distinctions from empirical data. I believe that doing empirical research on respect is essential. Therefore, in this section I reflect on how the literature review carried out so far opens avenues for empirical research and leads to the empirical study at the core of this thesis.

The analytical framework that I am suggesting begins from the premise that respect is a socially and culturally situated language and practice which changes historically. It is the language and practice through which we communicate value to others, so researching respect should lead us to understand how different process of value attribution operate in any given context.

In this regard, even though there is evidence that respect is a multidimensional concept, I believe that is worth studying this phenomenon inductively, without forcing its connection with any specific type of respect. The key question in this context is understanding how people in everyday interactions use and apply this concept, and in particular, how and why people experience respect and disrespect. That is why I suggest pursuing a 'phenomenology of (dis)respect' in everyday life which might inform our sociological thinking on the subject (for a methodological description see Chapter 2).

By taking this approach, I expect to be able to unveil the hierarchies of value that people construct in their everyday lives (why they assign more value to some people than others), as well as the expectations of treatment they bring to social interactions based on those

hierarchies (what they think they and others deserve in terms of treatment). Moreover, because there are symmetric and asymmetric forms of respect, as well as egalitarian and inegalitarian forms of respect, I expect that studying the experience of respect should lead us to understand how expectations of treatment which are mediated by hierarchy intersect or clash with expectations of treatment which are mediated by aspirations of equality.

In this context, there are several empirical questions which are worth asking and remain open.

First, there is the question of how the *meanings* of respect operate in everyday life. In this context, there are several issues to address: Do the types of respect identified in the literature map onto everyday narratives? Which types of expectations of treatment are mobilized when talking about respect? In which contexts is respect understood as an asymmetric or a symmetric experience? How do people experience different forms of respect and disrespect?

Second, it is important to analyse the *distribution* of the experience of respect and disrespect. Is respect and disrespect unequally distributed? And if so, how? Understanding this feature of respect is essential in order to clarify some of the puzzles involved in the relationship between respect and inequality. In the Chilean case, for instance, as I showed in the Introduction, a study showed that almost the same proportion of people from the upper, middle and working classes felt that their dignity and rights were not respected (PNUD, 2012). This is a counter-intuitive outcome in light of the alleged relationship between respect and income inequality. Data like these can only be interpreted by designing studies which enable the conjoint study of the distribution of the perception of being treated with respect and the meanings attributed to the concept.

An important element to explore in this regard is whether and how the language of respect differs across different social groups. On my reading, there is enough evidence in the literature to suppose that respect is a stratified language (eg. Skeggs and Loveday, 2012; Lamont, 2000; Hulley et al, 2012). Or at least, there is evidence that the relevance that different groups attribute to respect might differ. There are also studies which have stressed commonalities in the meanings of respect in national contexts. For instance, Schirmer et al's (2012) found some universal features in the understanding of respect in Swedish society (i.e. respect as the recognition of agency). Therefore, it is crucial to understand whether and how the language of respect differs among social classes. This has not been deeply explored in the literature. Although there are studies which analyse the meanings of respect in socially excluded populations (eg. Skeggs and Loveday, 2012; Lamont, 2000), or compare the meanings of respect

between different cultures (e.g. Sung, 2004) and groups (e.g. Hulley et. al, 2012), there are no studies which analyse how different claims for respect clash or intersect among social classes.

In order to clarify whether the importance of respect varies according to social position, I believe the narrative on respect should be analysed in the context of the struggle for the construction of self-worth and social value. Therefore, along with the analysis of the 'meanings' of respect, it is important to analyse how those meanings are produced, i.e. which are the subjective mechanisms behind their production. As noted, some works have shown that the meaning of respect is related to the source of self-worth that people have (Lamont, 2000; Skegss and Loveday, 2012). Therefore, when analysing the meanings of respect, it is important to consider the narratives that people have about their own sense of value, and how they draw moral limits between 'them' and 'others'.

Third, there is the question of how the *narrative* of respect connects with the narrative of inequality. Do the demand for respect mobilize expectations of equality? How? Which type of equality is expected? In which contexts?

An interesting issue to explore in this regard is whether and how some groups of the population think of themselves as deprived of respect in relation to others. In this context, it might be interesting to observe the choice of reference group that people make when talking about respect when assessing their own situation. This is consistent with a relational approach to the self and its operation in social space. Following a Bourdieusian approach (1977), the narratives of respect should be analysed in connection with the experience of 'social distance'.

Finally, an important challenge is to analyse which narratives sustain the claim for respect, and what the influence of this claim is on the normative attitude to inequality that people have. Does the claim for respect downplay the importance of redistribution? At the same, there is the challenge of identifying whether the claim for respect might lead to subordination.

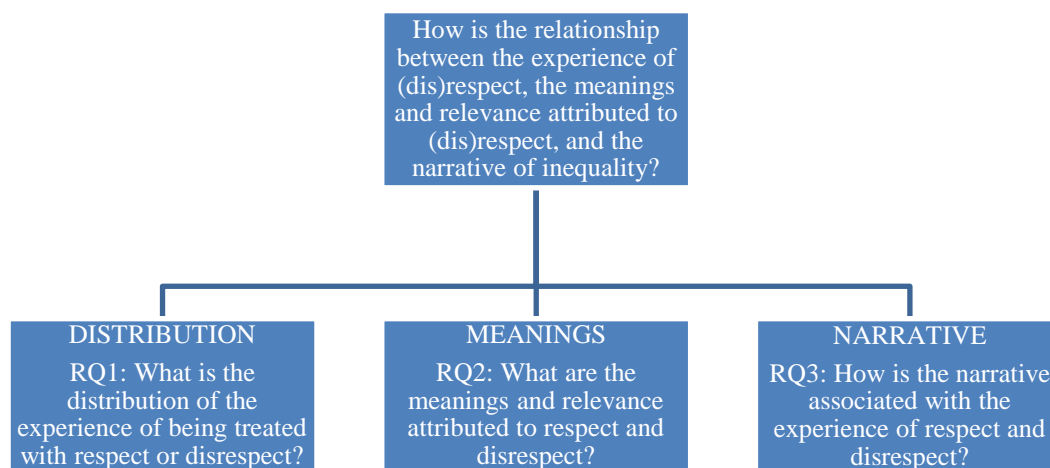
1.4.3 Research Questions

In the previous section I have delineated an analytical framework for thinking sociologically on respect as well as its connection with the problem of inequality. In this section I would like to explain how this framework translates into research questions that guide the empirical study of this thesis. As I have explained, the analytical framework already presented comes from my

reading of the literature as well as from my reading of the data. To arrive to this framework, I approached to the study of respect empirically with the aim of understanding the *everyday experience* of respect and disrespect and its connection with the phenomenon of inequality. I defined three aims: first, to understand how the meanings of respect operates in everyday life, second, to understand the structure of advantage and disadvantage behind the experience of (dis)respect, and third, to clarify how the narrative of respect connects with the narrative of inequality.

Considering that the empirical study is focused on the Chilean case, I defined the main research question as the following: *How is the relationship between the experience of (dis)respect, the meanings and relevance attributed to '(dis)respect' and the narrative of inequality in Chilean society?* This question involves an analysis of the experience of (dis)respect in three levels: its *meanings*, its *distribution* and its *narrative*. Thus, this research question can be analytically broken down in three sub research questions (see Diagram no.1):

Diagram 1: Research Questions



RQ1: What is the distribution of the perception of being treated with respect or disrespect in the Chilean Population?

RQ1 is related to the question about the distribution of respect and disrespect in the Chilean Population. In this context, I am trying to understand the structure of advantage and disadvantage involved in this experience. Key questions in this context are: To what extent people do feel respected and disrespected in their everyday experience in Chilean Society? Does the perception of being treated with respect vary according to demographic variables such as class, gender, educational level, age occupation?

RQ2: What are the meanings and relevance attributed to respect in the Chilean Population?

This research question is related to the 'meanings' that people attribute to respect in the Chilean Population. Are these meanings related to the distinctions advanced in the literature? Key questions in this context are: Are those meanings symmetric (mutual), asymmetric (hierarchical) or both? What are the reasons why people grant or withhold respect to others? Are those reasons based on 'recognition' or 'appraisal' understandings of respect or both? What are the reasons why people demand being treated with respect by others? Are those demands situated in the realm of esteem, rights, love or other reasons? What is the relevance that people attribute to being respected? Is the relevance that people attribute to being respected related to their source of self-worth?

RQ3: What is the narrative associated with the experience of respect and disrespect?

This research question is related to the narrative associated with the experience of respect. How is the narrative of being respected or disrespected articulated with a broader narrative of inequality? Is there a perception that (dis)respect is unequally distributed? Are there forms of respect which people think should be considered egalitarian? Are there forms of respect which are legitimately unequal? Who are the 'others' people refer to when talking about their experiences of being respected or disrespected?

With these research questions I started the empirical journey to study the experience of (dis)respect in Chilean society. In the next chapter, I describe this journey and the methodological choices I made during the process.

1.5. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a theoretical exploration on the phenomenon of (dis)respect. In the first section I have shown that respect has been usually understood as a bidimensional phenomenon, as there are forms of respect which are considered to be universal - and therefore egalitarian in nature - and forms which are not. In the second section I have shown how the social sciences have usually understood the phenomenon of respect. Based on my reading of the theory of recognition, as well as identity class analysis, I have concluded that respect is a language through which we communicate value to others, a language that changes historically.

In the third section I have discussed the connection between respect and inequality. I have shown that there are descriptive and explanatory reasons why studying respect in connection with the question of inequality is relevant. However, there are ambiguities in the literature that should be addressed in order to fully account for this relationship.

In the fourth section, I have presented an analytical framework for thinking on respect. I have identified three main forms of respect: categorical, positional and performance, and I have suggested that each of them involve a particular relationship with claims of equality/inequality.

In the final section, I have discussed how this analytical framework can be translated to the Chilean case and guide the empirical study of this thesis. In the next chapter I discuss this study in detail and the methodological choices I made during the process.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This thesis aims to interrogate the experience of respect and disrespect in everyday life from a sociological perspective. It involves a theoretical exploration of the phenomenon of respect as well as an empirical study, which focuses on Chilean society, in particular, in Santiago de Chile. This chapter focuses on the empirical study and provides details on the epistemological assumptions as well as the research strategy that I followed. In the first section, I discuss my epistemological standpoint and I explain my intention of developing a phenomenology of respect and disrespect in Chilean Society. In the second section, I describe my research strategy. I argue that a mixed-method strategy was the best approach to answer the research questions of the thesis. In the third and fourth sections, respectively, the quantitative and qualitative stages of the project are fully described in terms of methods and analytical strategies. In the final section, the ethical implications of the project are discussed.

2.2. Epistemological reflections: a phenomenology of (dis)respect in Chilean society

This section discusses some epistemological assumptions involved in the empirical study of this thesis. In line with the research questions already presented, the aim of this study was to explore *the relationship between the experience of (dis)respect, the meanings and relevance attributed to it and the narrative of inequality in Chilean Society*. This involved an analysis of the experience of (dis)respect on three levels: its *meanings* (RQ2), as I was trying to understand what people understand by respect and disrespect; its *distribution* (RQ1), as I aimed to establish whether there is a structure of advantage and disadvantage involved in this experience; and the *narrative* associated with it (RQ3), as I looked to clarify how this experience connects with the narrative of inequality.

To address these three levels, I combined different methodological approaches. I developed a mixed method study, involving a quantitative phase (secondary data analysis) as well as a qualitative phase (semi-structured interviews). There is one epistemological challenge, however, which underlies and precedes all these three levels of analysis, and I would like to start by reflecting on it: the challenge of *empirically grasping the experience of (dis)respect*, in a way that *accounts for all its variations*, and in a particular cultural context: *Chilean society*.

How to empirically grasp the experience of (dis)respect? Answering this question was not easy. As noted in Chapter 1, respect is a multidimensional concept, therefore, a key challenge for this study was how to account for this variation. I decided to study respect inductively, without forcing its connection with any specific type of respect. The key question in this context was understanding how people in everyday interactions use and apply this concept, and in particular, how and why people experience respect and disrespect. That is why I suggest pursuing a 'phenomenology of (dis)respect' in everyday life which might inform our sociological thinking on the subject.

Certainly, there have been some productive attempts in the literature to apply deductive procedures in the study of the meanings of respect (eg: Shirmer et al. (2012)). However, they involve the risk of forcing the participants to connect respect with specific meanings, whereas studies that follow inductive strategies enable the natural meaning of respect to emerge (eg: Skeggs and Loveday (2012), Lamont (2000)). Also, deductive studies tend to be based on previous inductive studies; however, when I did my fieldwork- there was not enough evidence

about the meanings of respect in Chilean Society in order to develop hypothesis-testing designs¹⁴.

Choosing an inductive approach was also consistent with my theoretical approach. As discussed in Chapter 1, I started this study with the assumption that respect is more than just a ‘fuzzy’ concept. I believed that the multiple meanings of respect could be organized in a coherent way if there was a systematic exploration on the experience of respect and disrespect. This belief was motivated by Honneth’s and Taylor’s assertion that the meanings of respect became separated in modernity due to the separation between legal rights and esteem. If there was a historical reason to explain the multiplicity of meanings of respect, then respect was more than a random language. Respect was a historically situated language, and therefore, there could be heuristic potential in studying the different meanings attached to it.

It should be noted that my intention was, on the one hand, to understand the different meanings associated with respect but, on the other hand, to grasp the unity behind them. I wanted to reach a definition of respect that could encompass its different variations. For the sake of clarity, I already presented this definition in Chapter 1, but it is only through the empirical analysis that I was able to understand it. As noted, I came to understand that the experience of (dis)respect always involves the confirmation (or violation) of an expectation of treatment which is based on the assessment of value that is held by an individual. I also concluded that this assessment can involve a categorical, positional or performative form of value. In this chapter I describe the empirical journey that allowed me to understand this.

To address this epistemological challenge, and in line with my theoretical approach which draws on the work of authors such as Mead and Goffman, I took inspiration from what can be understood as different ‘microsocial theories’(Roberts, 2006), ranging from symbolic interactionism to phenomenology. In particular, I took inspiration from the phenomenological approach. As noted by Creswell (1997, p. 51) “phenomenological studies describe the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or phenomenon”, in order to find out the *structure* of that experience, namely, what it is common to it. This approach acknowledges that the meanings of experiences can vary, as they are unavoidably linked to the person who experiences it. However, at the same time, it acknowledged that there is a certain unity in that experience that might be reconstructed.

¹⁴ I came across with only 2 studies which have addressed the meaning of respect in Chile. One was published after I did fieldwork and focused on the meanings of respect for the poorest (Verdugo, 2015). The other one focused on intergenerational differences and was of a very small scale (GENERA, 2008).

It is in this sense that I developed what I understand as a *phenomenological account of the experience of (dis)respect*. I mean by this that my aim was to understand the structure of the experience of (dis)respect, namely, what was common to that experience, even though (dis)respect could be experienced and signified in different forms in different domains.

Following this approach, the key question I had to answer is how an individual comes to understand a particular experience as conveying respect or disrespect. This led to the following question: how do individuals associate meaning to experiences? According to Schutz (1967), people associate meanings to experiences based on memory, image and thought. Therefore, I assumed that there was a certain unity behind the experience of (dis)respect which is represented within language and memory. In light of this, my epistemological intention was to understand the unity of the experience of (dis)respect in Chilean Society through my empirical study. And building upon that, I hoped to answer my research questions regarding how the meanings, distributions and narratives of disrespect relate together.

In relation to this, it is important to comment on the nature of the unit of analysis of this study, as my aim was to empirically grasp the experience of disrespect in *Chilean society*. The reasons why Chilean society has been chosen as a case study for the empirical study of this thesis has been discussed in the Introduction. To briefly recall them here, I have explained that Chile is an interesting study case due to the combination of two factors: a) its historically high level of income inequality, and b) the reported finding in several studies that the everyday experience of inequality in Chile is cross-cut by an experience of mistreatment. I consider this finding to be particularly relevant as the language of (dis)respect is sometimes mobilized by social actors to convey the contours of that experience. In Chapter 3, I provide contextual information for the reader in order to grasp some of the main features of Chilean culture that might affect the findings of this thesis. However, it is important to reflect here on the extent to which this thesis can arrive to conclusions regarding Chilean society as a whole.

I have chosen to speak of 'Chilean society' as the unit of analysis of this study as I understand that I am analysing a situated language and a practice. Chilean Society is therefore the cultural context of this study and most of its features have explanatory capacity for the findings of this thesis. However, the sample limitations of this study should be considered when assessing the findings. As will be explained later on, the qualitative study of this thesis is based on a sample of participants with very specific features: they all lived in Santiago, they were all working and they were all adults (older than 28 years old). The quantitative study, for its part, draws on a

dataset with a much larger sample, which involve respondents from different cities, working conditions and of different ages. Still, and due to the preponderance of qualitative data in this study, the claim that this study is representative of Chilean society should be used with caution, and this should be understood as an exploratory attempt to delineate the moral economy of respect in this country.

2.3. Research Strategy: a mixed method study

To develop a phenomenological account of (dis)respect, I used a *mixed-method approach*. I developed a sequential design, involving a quantitative phase followed by a qualitative phase. The main aim of the quantitative phase was to address the question about the distribution of the experience of (dis)respect (RQ1). It involved a secondary data analysis of one nationally representative dataset containing questions regarding the ‘perception of being respected’ (OPHI, 2009). The goal of the qualitative phase was to understand the meanings that Chileans attribute to respect, (RQ2) and the narrative associated with this experience (RQ3). It consisted of 61 semi-structured interviews with a sample of Chileans with different sex, age and class characteristics living in Santiago de Chile.

It should be noted that the qualitative phase was dominant and was considered the main part of the research. In terms of Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2009) typology of ‘mixed method’ studies, this study can be classified as a ‘partially mixed sequential dominant status design’, in which the quantitative part is carried out first in order to contextualize and problematize, being then followed by a qualitative part which is used to answer the main research questions whose relevance is, in part, confirmed in the secondary data analysis.

The choice for a mixed method strategy was based on three reasons. First, the *nature of the research questions* demanded the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. On the one hand, a quantitative strategy was needed to tackle the question about the distribution of the experience of (dis)respect (RQ1). This was especially valuable considering that most of the empirical studies on respect are only qualitative. In my view, this can produce a limitation in the field which might be one of the reasons behind the ambiguities detected in the literature. In fact, even though the unequal distribution of respect is generally assumed as a fact, there is no quantitative evidence which proves this assertion.

Certainly, the difficulties in operationalizing this concept are one of the biggest reasons for this lack of data. At the same time, there is the question whether this experience can be (and should be) objectified at all in social surveys. Although I acknowledge that quantifying a phenomenon always involves a certain degree of simplification, I think that using quantitative data to start the empirical exploration of the phenomena of (dis)respect is worthy. Thanks to recent attempts in operationalizing this experience in social surveys (Zavaleta, 2007), I had the possibility to explore the distribution of the 'perception of being respected' in the Chilean population according to several variables such as income, level of education and gender, among others. As I discuss in Chapter 4, this analysis offers a first picture of the structure of advantage and disadvantage involved in this experience, and it allowed me to problematize the form of inequality that is involved in the distribution of respect.

On the other hand, a qualitative approach was the best option to understand the meanings that people attribute to respect (RQ2) as well as the connection of this experience with the narrative of inequality (RQ3). The openness that can be reached with this approach was essential in order to grasp inductively these meanings and the narratives associated with the experience of (dis)respect. In the context of this strategy, I invited a sample of Chileans to discuss their understandings and experiences regarding respect and disrespect. I followed a strongly inductive strategy, in which the participants were asked about their primary understandings of respect.

The second reason why I followed a mixed method strategy has to do with *sampling choices and the nature of the unit of analysis of this study*. First, a quantitative approach has the advantage of enabling the study of big samples, which was especially valuable considering that the unit of analysis of this study is Chilean society. The analysed dataset contains data which is representative of large sectors of the Chilean population. Second, the outcome of this analysis was useful in terms of designing the sample of the qualitative study. By developing the quantitative study before carrying out the qualitative phase, I was able to inform the theoretical sample of the qualitative study by using the outcomes of the quantitative study as a criterion to select the participants.

The third and final reason why I developed a mixed method study is because of *explanatory reasons*, as combining both methods allows a better understanding of complex findings. This was particularly true when attempting to make sense of the findings of the quantitative study. As I explain deeply in Chapter 4, the secondary data analysis put a question mark on the unequal nature of the distribution of (dis)respect. This was clarified later on thanks to the

qualitative finding that it is the form, rather than the ‘quantity’ of (dis)respect, which is unequally distributed.

These three ways of using mixed methods have been documented in the literature, and have been called, respectively, ‘different research questions’, ‘sampling’ and ‘explanation’ (Bryman, 2006).

Certainly, the use of a mixed method strategy involves some epistemological assumptions that should be discussed. This strategy still produces some scepticism, particularly for those who understand that quantitative and qualitative methods belong to incompatible epistemological traditions. Furthermore, the way that mixed methods studies have frequently been carried out has aroused some criticism in recent times (Denzin, 2012). However, I believe that mixed method research is a valid strategy for social research, and therefore, I argue against the “incompatibility thesis” between methodological approaches. The “incompatibility thesis” relies on a dichotomous understanding of sociology which has been largely criticised by authors such as Bourdieu (1994) who, consequently, claims for a ‘structuralist constructivism’ in the understanding of social reality. Following Bourdieu, I believe that there is no incompatibility in exploring how social actors construct meanings out of social interaction while exploring how social structures organise those meanings.

In fact, even though I acknowledge that both strategies come from different epistemological and ontological traditions, I combined them both to address the same epistemological challenge: *to empirically grasp the experience of (dis)respect*. In this context, I used both strategies to interrogate the dimension of distribution as well as the dimension of meaning involved in this experience. As I explain in Chapter 4, when analysing the distribution of disrespect from a quantitative perspective, I delved into statistical techniques that allowed me to interrogate the meaning of (dis)respect in the dataset. At the same time, when analysing the qualitative data, I was able to clarify the form of inequality involved in the experience of (dis)respect, as the narratives shed light on the question about its distribution. In this regard, and even though phenomenological studies tend to always be qualitative, I understand that my intention of developing a phenomenological account of the experience of (dis)respect guided my empirical quest in both the quantitative and the qualitative study.

Finally, I argue against the belief that qualitative and quantitative methods involve inherently contradictory normative principles. Like Bergman (2011), I do not believe that normative choices depend on methods. In fact, as noted by Mertens (2012) - and unlike some authors

think (Denzin, 2012)- mixed methods research has proven to foster the achieving of social justice and the understanding of inequality, which is the normative concern that motivates my research.

2.3.1 Quantitative Phase: Secondary Data Analysis

As mentioned, the quantitative phase of this study aimed to explore the question about the 'distribution' of the experience of (dis)respect. This was the first empirical study of the thesis, and it allowed me to start thinking about the structure of advantage/disadvantage involved in this experience. As noted in the Introduction, my interest in studying the experience of (dis)respect was partly motivated by the lack of consistency between the qualitative and quantitative findings of a study I was involved in the past (PNUD, 2012). Therefore, looking for quantitative data before carrying out my qualitative study was crucial to face the following question: is there as unequal a distribution of respect as the literature suggests?

To address this issue, I performed a *secondary data analysis* of one of the few datasets that includes specific questions regarding the 'perception of being respected' in the Chilean Population: the 'Missing Dimensions of Poverty Survey in Chile' (MDPS) (OPHI, 2009). By looking at this dataset, my main aim was to analyse which objective and subjective variables are related to this perception. With the outcomes of this analysis, I also hoped to inform the qualitative study of the thesis in two ways: first, by providing criteria to select the sample of participants, and second, by pointing towards elements that could be important to address in the interview schedule.

The MDPS survey was designed by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative in order to measure what the authors consider as the often-overlooked dimensions of poverty, such as subjective wellbeing, empowerment, dignity, security and quality of employment. As a result, the survey includes a specific module to measure the 'ability of going about without shame' (Zavaleta, 2007) which contains one explicit indicator to measure the perception of being respected. Also, the survey includes traditional modules on socio-demographic data, which are useful to explore how the perception of being respected correlates with relevant variables, such as gender, age, occupation, income and level of educational attainment. Table no. 3 shows some examples of the indicators that are included in the MDPS and were used for the analyses of this thesis. The first indicator is of particular importance as it refers directly to the perception of being respected. I call it 'the respectful treatment indicator' and most analyses are

focused on this indicator. For clarity of exposition, I describe all the indicators that I used for the analyses in detail in Chapter 4, along with the performed analyses.

Table 3: Indicators¹⁵ of Missing Dimensions of Poverty Survey in Chile

Question	Alternatives
To what extent do you feel that people treat you with respect?	Always (1) Often (2) Occasionally (3) Never (4)
For each of the following listed feelings please place a number from 1 to 4, reflecting how common the feeling is for you. 'Feeling humiliated'	Always or almost always (1) Often but not always (2) Occasionally (3) Rarely or Never (4)
Through your life, how seriously have you felt harmed by being put down?	A lot (1) Fairly (2) Occasionally (3) Very Occasionally (4)

It should be noted that the MDPS survey was applied to a probabilistic sample of Chilean head of households whose civil status were married or cohabiting (living with a partner). This criterion was chosen because OPHI was particularly interested in researching couples. Unfortunately, this is a limit in the level of representation of the sample. However, the dataset is still representative of a big proportion of Chileans, specifically, 55.000 Chilean households (MICRODATOS, 2009). A detailed description of the sample is provided in Chapter 4.

In terms of strategy of analysis, I carried out *univariate, bivariate as well as multivariate statistical analysis*. First, I carried out univariate analysis to analyse the distribution of the perception of being treated with respect. Then, I conducted bivariate analysis to understand the level of association that this perception has with several objective and subjective variables. Finally, I carried out multivariate analysis in order to refine the previous analysis by suggesting an explanatory model of the perception of being respected. In terms of software, I used both STATA v.14 to process the analyses.

Finally, the access to the MSDP is restricted, however, access was granted to this project dependent on signing a confidentiality agreement.

¹⁵ The wording of all indicators is originally in Spanish.

2.3.2 Qualitative Phase: Semi-structured interviews

The qualitative phase dealt with the analysis of the meanings that people attribute to respect, as well as with the narrative associated with this experience. Specifically, I carried out *semi-structured interviews* of a sample of Chileans. The aim of this phase was to deepen understandings of the diversity of meanings that people attribute to respect, the reasons why they hold these meanings, as well as the experiences they have regarding respect and disrespect in their everyday lives.

I chose to perform semi-structured interviews as this technique enables both: a certain degree of open-endedness as well as a certain degree of structure. This seemed the appropriate choice considering that, on the one hand, I was open to follow the themes that the interviewees brought to the interview, but, on the other hand, I was interested in asking some specific questions to the participants in light of my research questions. It should be noted that, in order to ‘force’ the participants to be more specific when discussing the meanings of respect, some authors have decided to use focus groups (Schirmer et al., 2012). This is certainly an interesting option considering that respect is an interactional phenomenon. However, as I was interested in understanding the meanings of respect in connection with people’s sources of self-worth, I decided to perform interviews to have the possibility to go deeper into the participants’ biographies.

In the following sections, I discuss how I constructed the sample of participants and I present in detail the interview schedule.

2.3.2.1 Sample

To design the sample of interviewees, I used a *purposive sampling* approach, following both deductive and inductive criteria. I had two aims when designing the sample: at the most basic level, I wanted to gain access to the narratives on respect and disrespect in Chilean society, so I was obviously interested in interviewing people living in Chile. Most importantly, I wanted to understand the structure of advantage/disadvantage (Bottero, 2005) involved in the experience of (dis)respect, so I wanted to compare the everyday experiences of respect and disrespect of people who might occupy different positions in that structure.

How to recreate this structure in the sample was a key methodological challenge, as unveiling this structure was, at the same time, the aim of the research. Therefore, I had the risk of selecting participants based on a theoretical structure that might not reflect the dynamics of respect and disrespect. To partially mitigate this risk, I designed the sample by drawing on the literature as well as in the outcomes of the quantitative analysis.

First, I had the antecedent that the language of respect is mobilized to convey the experience of inequality in Chilean society. Therefore, in light of the high level of income inequality in Chile, as well as the importance that class differences tend to have in the narrative of inequality in Chile (Garretón & Cumsille, 2002; PNUD, 2017b), interviewing people from different social classes seemed essential. This was also key considering that the literature review showed that most empirical studies on (dis)respect do not focus on differences among social classes.

How to incorporate the class criterion was not an easy decision. To provide some context, most classificatory schemas suggest that Chilean Society can be defined in terms of, at least, 5 or 6 social classes. For instance, one of the most broadly used socioeconomic schemas is the one designed by AIM (*Asociación de Investigadores de Mercado*) for market research. This schema adapts the 'Social Grade Matrix' developed by ESOMAR to the Chilean reality (Rasse, Salcedo, & Pardo, 2009). It classifies Chilean households according to 2 variables: education of the main income provider and possession of some goods (AIM, 2008), producing 5 groups which can be mapped as covering the upper class & the upper-middle class (ABC1), the middle-middle class (C2), the low middle class (C3), the lower class (D) -which is considered the 'poor' sector-, and the extreme poor sectors (E) (Barozet & Fierro, 2011). According to the last version of this schema (AIM, 2012), the composition of Chilean society looks as depicted in Table 4.

Table 4: AIM Schema for Chile

ABC1 (upper class and upper middle class)	5,4%
C2 (middle-middle class)	12,1%
C3 (low-middle class)	19,2%
D (lower class and poor sectors)	41,1%
E (extreme poor sectors)	22,4%

In recent years, this schema has been highly criticized for several reasons. Among the most important: the rate of poverty in the country has decreased; the access to secondary school education has expanded and there is an increasing expansion of a 'heterogeneous' middle class (Barozet & Fierro, 2011; Rasse et al., 2009). It should be added as well that most Chileans consider themselves as belonging to the middle class (Castillo C., Miranda, & Madero, 2013), which adds additional complexity to any attempt of classification. Furthermore, Chilean social structure has been defined as 'unequal but fluid', as even though there is 'elite closure', there is

fluidity among the rest of the classes (Torche, 2005b) which have an impact upon the subjective perception of class.

Taking these challenges into account, I decided to interview participants from 3 broadly defined social classes: *upper*, *middle* and *lower* class. My final aim was to create three groups of interviewees who had different positions in terms of their potential advantage/disadvantage in the experience of (dis)respect. Even though most schemas suggest that Chilean Society can be defined in terms of 5 or 6 social classes, for sample size reasons I decided to collapse class categories, as working with five or six social classes would have involved too large a sample size (I considered a manageable sample size between 40 and 60 interviewees, as suggested by Baker & Edwards (2012)).

To orient the selection of participants I drew first on the literature. In theoretical terms I embraced a definition of social structure in line with the 'social distance' approach (Bottero & Prandy, 2003) and its proposal of understanding social structure in terms of differential patterns of association. I believe that this approach is coherent with the relational understanding of inequality (Anderson, 1999), as well as the relational conception of the self that I am embracing (Honneth, 1995; Mead, 1934, Bourdieu, 1994). This framework has usually been operationalized through the CAMSIS scale, which is based on the patterns of marriage/cohabitation in terms of occupational categories. Thus, I decided to give occupation a key role in the selection of participants.

To orient the selection of occupations, I used the 'status scale' constructed by Torche (2005a) specifically to the Chilean case. This scale is based on the patterns of marriage/cohabitation of Chileans representative of 28 occupational groups. What it is interesting about this scale is that it involves the same rationale behind the CAMSIS scale, even though it was constructed following Chan & Goldthorpe's approach, which departs from a different theoretical premise¹⁶ (Chan, 2010; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007). Thus, I used this scale as a reference point to detect occupations at the bottom, in the middle and at the top of the structure of advantage/disadvantage of Chile (see appendix no1).

¹⁶ Whereas Chan & Goldthorpe understand it as a 'status' scale, Bottero, Lambert, Prandy & McTaggart (2009) understand it as a general structure of advantage and disadvantage. This difference is based on the fact that the first authors believe in the distinction between the 'economic' and the 'social', or class and status, something that the last authors do not adhere to.

In the case of the upper class, I looked for high status professionals in fields such as science, engineering, law and business. Given that the issue of hierarchy seemed to be relevant in the dynamics of respect according to the literature –e.g. the distinction between symmetric and asymmetric forms of respect (Goffman, 1972)- I actively looked for some interviewees who perform managerial activities (high status managers), and some who do not.

In the case of the middle class, I looked for clerical workers (e.g.: secretaries, office assistants) and sales workers (e.g.: cashiers, tellers, and receptionists). For the same reason described above, I looked for some interviewees who perform managerial activities at a medium level (e.g.: managers in retail trade), and a subsample of interviewees who do not.

In the case of the lower class, I looked for both skilled workers (e.g.: construction workers, electricians, carpenters) as well as non-skilled manual workers (e.g. domestic cleaners, unskilled labourers in construction). As all interviews were performed in Santiago, I prioritised manual jobs which can be found in urban settings, excluding therefore rural jobs which are at the bottom of the status scale constructed by Torche (2005a).

Second, I drew on the outcomes of the quantitative analysis. As it will be discussed in Chapter 4, the analysis provided an indication of which of the typical stratification criteria is the most important in terms of the perception of being respected. The analysis showed that the effect of education is clearly stronger than the effect of income and occupation (although they are highly correlated). Thus, I decided to give education a key role in the selection of participants too. For the upper class, I looked for participants with college or postgraduate education. For the middle class, I looked for participants with technical or professional education. For the lower class, I looked for participants with secondary school education or less.

In sum, I looked for participants of 3 broadly defined social classes, mainly determined by occupation and education: a) *high status managers and professionals*, with college or postgraduate education, b) *middle status managers and middle status technical workers*, with technical or professional education and c) *skilled or unskilled manual workers* with secondary school education or less.

Also, I decided to incorporate ‘sex’ as a sample criterion. Considering its relevance in the quantitative analysis, it seemed pertinent to have gender balance in the sample, so I looked for the same amount of female and male participants per each class. Finally, I decided to only interview adults. However, to have access to different narratives, I attempted to have age

balance in the sample, so I decided to work only with adults between 30 and 60 years old and I made a distinction between 2 cycles: 30-44 and 46-60, trying to have a similar number of interviewees per each cycle.

By crossing sex and age by the 6 sub-groups of interviewees defined above (and in the understanding that each 'position' in the sample should have at least 3 interviewees) I concluded that the minimum ideal sample size was 36. My theoretical sample looked as follows:

Table 5: theoretical sample

	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
UPPER CLASS	<i>High Status Professionals</i>		<i>High status Managers</i>	
	3	3	3	3
	2 (30-45) 1 (46-60)	1 (30-45) 2 (46-60)	1 (30-45) 2 (46-60)	2 (30-45) 1 (46-60)
MIDDLE CLASS	<i>Clerical workers</i>		<i>Middle status managers</i>	
	3	3	3	3
	2 (30-45) 1 (46-60)	1 (30-45) 2 (46-60)	1 (30-45) 2 (46-60)	2 (30-45) 1 (46-60)
LOWER-CLASS	<i>Non skilled manual workers</i>		<i>Skilled manual workers</i>	
	3	3	3	3
	2 (30-45) 1 (46-60)	1 (30-45) 2 (46-60)	1 (30-45) 2 (46-60)	2 (30-45) 1 (46-60)

It should be noted that, by using these criteria, I certainly excluded potential participants who would have been interesting to interview. To start, I interviewed only the economically 'active population'. Certainly, the distinction between active and inactive people proved to be relevant at different levels in the quantitative analysis. As I show in Chapter 4, unemployed, family/home carers and inactive people (mainly retired), tended to feel more disrespected than active workers. However, this relationship was usually weaker when controlling for education, with the exception of unemployment, which was still explanatory in some models in spite of being controlled by education. Second, as the interviews took place in Santiago de Chile, I worked only with an urban population. Finally, as I discuss in the next chapters, this sample does not do justice to the difference among generations (all participants were born before or during the period of political dictatorship), which might certainly be interesting for further studies.

With this framework in mind I looked for the participants. Initially, I put into place a recruitment procedure drawing mainly on my networks (family, friends and colleagues in several institutions). During fieldwork, some participants also helped me to reach other participants with similar features than them. I made sure no participant had any close

relationship with myself either by friendship or acquaintance. In terms of strategy, participants were invited to have an informal conversation about the topic of respect, their lives as well as some perceptions of Chilean society. They knew they had been asked to participate in this study based mainly on their occupation.

I did fieldwork during April and June 2015. After 2 months, I had interviewed 61 participants: 23 from the upper class, 29 from the middle class, and 18 from the lower class; 29 men and 31 women; 28 aged between 28 and 44 years old and 33 aged between 45 and 64 years old (please see appendix no2 for a detailed description). It is important to note, however, that during fieldwork I adapted some of my sample criteria based on practical reasons. First, regarding age, I had access to some interviewees who met the requirements in terms of occupation and/or educational attainment but were a little bit over/under the age group I had originally defined. So, in practice, I interviewed people from 28 to 64 years old. Second, regarding class, my capacity to reach participants was better in the upper class than in the middle and the lower class. Third, I had access to participants with occupations which were not explicitly mentioned in Torche's (2005b) classification but whose experiences seemed relevant due to their position in the hierarchy of respect (e.g.: security guards). Fourth, during fieldwork I realised there were contradictions between occupation and education for some of the participants. For instance, participants who would be classified as 'middle class' according to occupation (e.g.: a saleswoman), would be classified as lower class in terms of education (e.g.: unfinished secondary education). This was all the more important in light of the complex heterogeneity of the Chilean middle class. When these contradictions were too evident, I usually prioritized participants' levels of education when assigning their class, as well as their positions in their narratives.

Still, it should be noted that there is some degree of heterogeneity in my sample that should be considered. When recruiting participants, my goal was to embrace as much heterogeneity as possible among participants from different classes –in order to have access to different narratives– in the context of some minimum homogeneity among them –in order to be able to compare the narrative of participants with similar features. However, I am aware that some interviewees who share the same group in my classification might belong to different social classes according to more strict class schemas. All these elements should be considered in any attempt of generalizing my results. For this very same reason, as recommended by Seale (1999), I provide a thick description of the sample as well as the recruitment procedure that I followed.

For instance, what I call 'upper class' in this research (UC) involves participants who can be classified as 'upper class' and also as 'upper middle class'. On the one hand, there is a group of

participants who hold power positions and are closer to the upper class (e.g. CEOs of companies). On the other hand, there is a group of high-status professionals who either work independently or in private or public institutions who are closer to the upper middle class (e.g. lawyers).

What I call 'middle class' (MC) involves participants who can be classified as 'middle-middle class' and 'lower-middle class'. There is a group with higher degrees of qualifications who work as middle status managers (e.g.: risk assessment office) and a group of participants with technical education who work as clerical workers (e.g.: secretaries). Both type of participants are closer to the 'middle-middle' class. However, there is a group who work in retail and is closer to the 'lower middle class'.

What I call 'lower class' (LC) involves two types of participants. On the one hand, there is a group of participants who did not finish secondary school and work in areas with very low levels of qualification (such as maids). On the other hand, there is a group of participants who did finish secondary school but they still work in low qualified occupations (such as security guards),

In analytical terms, as I discuss in Chapters 7 & 8, there were two main narratives among participants in terms of class and gender: a narrative defined by a partial awareness of privilege in the structure of respect and disrespect; and another one defined by a partial awareness of disadvantage.

2.3.2.2. Interview Schedule

How to talk about respect? Designing the interview schedule of this project was very challenging. On the one hand, I had to find a language to talk about respect and disrespect in order to trigger conversation with the participants. But at the same time, I had to be open to understand their own languages to talk about their experiences of (dis)respect as well as of (in)equality. As noted, an important aim of this research was to understand why the language of respect is used to talk about the experience of inequality. However, I was also aware that participants could use other languages to refer to this experience.

Another challenge was to find a way to trigger the conversation with the interviewees without forcing them to make connections that were not originally relevant for them. In this context, I was particularly cautious about letting them talk about their lives before asking them directly

about respect and inequality. In so doing, I was trying to grasp whether respect was a relevant issue for them or not. I was cautious about enabling them to talk about respect without forcing them to make a connection with issues of inequality. It was very important to see if the issue of inequality emerged spontaneously in their narratives.

With these challenges in mind, I designed the interview schedule. I used a semi-structured approach in order to achieve both a certain degree of open-endedness as well as a certain degree of structure. I performed pilots in order to improve the schedule. However, it should be noted that the schedule was constantly refined during fieldwork, as it is common practice in flexible designs (Flick, 2007)

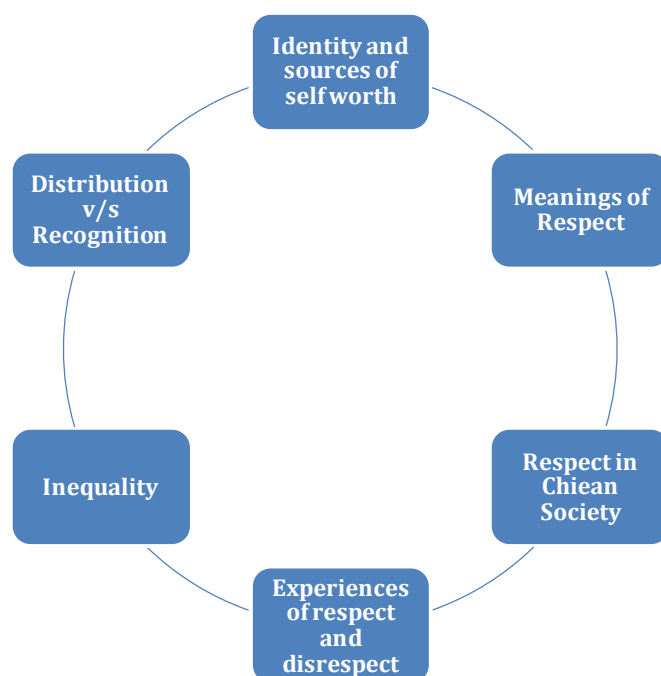
The interview had 6 parts (for a graphic representation please see Figure 1, for a complete version of the interview schedule please see appendix n3). The aim of the first part was to 'break the ice' and gather as much information as possible regarding the interviewee. But, above all, it was an opportunity to let the interviewee elaborate a narrative about himself/herself. In light of my interest in understanding the mechanisms behind the construction of the meanings of respect, I wanted to understand the sources of self-worth or self-respect for the interviewees. Thus, I asked them to define themselves in an open way. Only after that, I asked them about specific elements, such as their activities and educational attainment, the educational background and profession of their parents and partners (if they had one) and their dreams regarding their children (if they were parents). I also asked them if they felt valued in their activities and if they felt fulfilled with their lives.

The second part of the interview dealt directly with respect. I asked them in broader terms what respect meant for them. I was particularly attentive to the distinctions they elaborated and the kind of interactions they mentioned. Following my inductive approach, I did not force them to talk about any specific type or domain, but I let them elaborate on the types and domains of respect they considered important.

In the third part of the interview, I asked them to talk about Chilean society from the perspective of the concept of respect they had previously elaborated. To trigger the conversation, I asked them whether 'people' could feel respected in Chile. I deliberately used this broad formulation in order to make them reflect about this experience without thinking primarily about themselves. After that, I asked them directly whether they felt respected in Chilean society. To help them to be more precise, I asked them to narrate two experiences for

me: one in which they had felt treated with respect and one in which they had felt very disrespectfully treated.

Figure 1: Topics of the interview



In the fourth part I directly introduced the topic of inequality. The aim of this part was to find out about the narrative on inequality of the interviewee, particularly when the interviewee had not mentioned it before. A relevant point here was to observe whether the conversation changed completely, or the interviewee connected the topics we had previously discussed. In the period I was doing fieldwork, the topic of inequality was a relevant one in public discourse in Chile. One of the explicit aims of the current government is tackling inequality in the country, so I used this context to facilitate the conversation. I asked them: “Today it is frequently argued that Chile is a very unequal society. What do you think about this?” I asked them about their opinions but also about their feelings, which proved to be very interesting.

In the final part, I asked them to perform some tasks in order to gain a better understanding of their positions regarding income inequality. The use of tasks in qualitative research tends to make it easier for the participants to talk about issues that for them can be quite abstract. It also offers some ground for comparison among respondents. Inspired by the work of authors such as Norton & Ariely (2011) I asked them to perform two tasks: the first one helped me to better understand their position regarding income inequality, the second helped me to directly

address the relationship between distribution and recognition. For the first task, I showed them 3 simple graphs that depicted the income distribution of 3 hypothetical countries. I explained the graphs to them and I asked them which distribution they thought was similar to the Chilean one and which distribution they thought was the best. At the end of the section, I told them which distribution was closer (in reality) to the Chilean one and I observed their reaction.

In the second task I asked them to rank certain professions, first, according to their income and, second, according to their contribution to society. I selected professions from the lower, the middle and the upper class ('doctor', 'entrepreneur', 'teacher', 'secretary', 'cleaner', 'construction worker'). Then I asked them to justify their decisions and to reflect about the different choices they had made regarding the first and the second ranking. After that, I asked them whether the people that perform these tasks are usually respected in Chile.

At the end of the interview, I thanked them, and gave them the opportunity to give me feedback and raise topics I had not covered with my questions.

On average, most interviews took 1 hour and 45 minutes, with the shortest 40 minutes and the longest 3 hours. Most interviews were performed in public places: 11 interviews were performed in the interviewee's home¹⁷, 38 were performed in the interviewee's workplace and 12 were performed in public places (such as parks, cafes or community centres).

2.3.2.3 Transcription, Translation, Coding, Analysis

After fieldwork, I transcribed all the interviews literally in Spanish. Although I was interested in content rather than in figures of speech, I kept original colloquialisms and slang terms as they can be informative (Roulston, 2014). I also signalled in brackets certain forms of non-verbal communication, such as emotional reactions, for instance: [laughing] or [crying]. For long pauses, I added ellipsis in parenthesis (...). When I edit a quotation to make it shorter, I signal this with ellipsis in brackets [...]. When I add content to the quotation I also signal this with ellipsis in brackets [e.g. she refers to this]. When an interviewee narrates an episode and quotes either himself or someone else, I signal this with inverted commas (e.g.: she says "I am happy").

Although all interviews were performed in Spanish, all quotations in this document are translated to English. This certainly involves a challenge and adds an additional process of

¹⁷ Fieldwork safety issues are addressed later on in the chapter.

interpretation which should be acknowledged. To the unavoidable challenge of interpreting the meaning of the participants' own words, I should add the process of making them understandable in English. When the concepts were too colloquial or too difficult to translate, I double checked with English native speakers about potential translations to English. However, the final translations are mine; therefore, there might be errors of interpretation which should be taken into account. For the sake of transparency, I elaborated a separated document with the original quotations in Spanish and their translation in English, so they can be quickly consulted on request. When either slang or difficult-to-translate terms appear in the quotations incorporated in the thesis, I signal this by *adding the original term in italics*. For instance: 'they are really posh' [*cuikos*].

A summary of all the conventions I followed can be found in Table 6:

Table 6: Transcription Protocol

Expression / Reaction	Transcription
Pause	(...)
Emotions	[laughs] [crying]
Edited quotation	[...]
Slang term	Translated term [<i>term in Spanish</i>]

In terms of analysis, I performed a *content analysis* of the interviews, as this method allows for a systematic description of the meaning of qualitative data (Schreier, 2014). Following this approach, I carried out a thematic coding of the material by classifying segments of the interviews according to similar topics or 'themes'. To facilitate the process of coding and analysis, I used the software NVIVO v.14. For purposes of validity, I provide a step to step description of the procedures I followed, including some examples of my coding frame. I carried out the following steps:

- First, I read each interview and produced a 'memo' with a brief summary of the interview involving key topics, first hints and relevant biographical information, among other things. I informed this memo with fieldwork notes I took during and after each interview.
- Second, I analysed a sample of interviews to create an initial coding frame, making sure I included at least 1 interview per sampling criterion. Following Maxwell's typology of categories (quoted by Maxwell & Chmiel (2014)), I produced three broad type of categories:

- I created *organizational categories* to place segments of data according to abstract topics which were relevant in light of my research questions. For instance, I created the organizational code 'Meanings of Respect' where I grouped all the definitions the interviewees provided of respect. Other examples of organizational categories include: 'Practices of Respect', 'Practices of Disrespect', 'Respect in Chile', 'Self-image of respect-giver', 'Self-image of respect-receiver', among others.
- I created *substantive categories* which were usually less abstract and more descriptive, as they involved a description of what was being said. Some of them were 'emic' as they responded to the participants own words. They resulted in 'in vivo' codes based on concepts which the interviewees systematically mentioned. For instance, I created the codes 'Self-respect', 'Gaining respect', 'Making yourself respected', to group all the spontaneous mentions the participants made of those concepts. Other substantive categories were 'etic' as they involved an interpretation of the data. For instance, I created the code 'Memory of respect' once I realized that the interviewees drew on the past to justify their understandings of respect.
- Third, I created *theoretical categories* which were more explanatory, as they placed the data in a theoretical frame. An example is the code 'mechanisms of compensation' where I grouped all the moments in which I noted the interviewees were producing a displacement of value (I explain this concept in Chapters 7 and the Conclusion).

It should be noted that the coding frame was hierarchical. As recommended by Schreier (2014), I usually created the main categories in a concept-driven way and the sub-categories in a data-driven way. For instance, I created the node 'Normativity of Respect' once I realized that the participants were communicating a lay normativity around respect. Then I produced data-driven (in vivo) nodes to account for that normativity, such as 'you have to make yourself respected', 'respect should be gained', among others.

Once I had a first version of the coding frame, I coded all the interviews in light of it. In a second phase, I refined the coding frame in an iterative process, in light of new elements. I re-read and analysed all interviews in light of the new coding frame.

In so doing, I created a coding frame which was compounded by both inductive (data-driven) and deductive (concept-driven) categories. I analysed all interviews in light of this coding frame

and I derived the main themes that were present in the interviews and were relevant in light of my research questions. I constantly checked these themes against the sociodemographic information of my participants: sex, age and class. The findings that are presented later on reflect the themes which had a stronger presence in the data.

I should mention that the creation of categories was not the only approach I took during the analysis. As noted by Lewins & Silver (2007) the coding process can ‘fracture’ the narrative too much. Therefore, along with creating categories it was important for me to stay close to the narrative and analyse each interview as a whole. In this regard, following Maxwell & Chmiel (2014), I understood that qualitative analysis should involve both ‘categorization strategies’ as well as ‘connecting strategies’. Connecting strategies involve looking for the connections in the narratives by analysing relationships between segments of data. Although I did not perform a systematic narrative analysis of my interviews, it was important for me to attend to the stories behind each interviewee. It is thanks to this approach that I could arrive, for instance, at the conclusion that disrespect is particularly painful when it violates the participant’s self-worth. I realized that most interviewees who narrated experiences of disrespect narrated at some point that they had learnt to be the opposite of what they were being accused of when disrespected (see Chapter 7).

The findings I present are therefore a combination of both strategies. On the one hand, based on the process of categorization, I identified the main ‘themes’ that were present in the narratives. On the other hand, based on the process of connecting different themes, I identified certain processes in the data, among which, what I call ‘mechanisms of compensation’ is of particular relevance.

2.3.2.4 Fieldwork experience: the importance of context and reflecting on my ‘place’ in this study

In this section I would like to offer some reflections regarding my fieldwork experience. In particular, I would like to mention some of the challenges that became evident during the process of carrying out the interviews, which might have an impact upon the findings that I present in the following chapters. Based on this, I would like to reflect on two issues: the importance of context and my role as an interviewer.

First, there is *the issue of context*. The interviews took place in Santiago de Chile during a particular *moment*: May and June of 2015. As might be expected, certain themes were more pressing in public discussion than others at the time. This certainly had an impact upon the interviews, as the participants constantly brought examples of the ‘current moment’ to the conversation. And it is particularly relevant considering that I explicitly asked them to reflect on Chilean *society* from the perspective of respect and disrespect. For instance, the theme of inequality was particularly sensitive as tackling inequality was an explicit aim of the government of the time: the second government of the socialist Michelle Bachelet. Also, corruption scandals were highly present in media and the political elite was under heavy scrutiny. This might explain why several interviewees mentioned as an example of disrespect, the relationship between the elites and the citizens (see Chapter 7).

For the same reason, there are certain topics which were not mentioned by the interviewees which probably would have been mentioned had the interviews taken place a couple of months later. For instance, issues of racism, particularly in relation to migrants, are rarely mentioned. The year after I did the fieldwork, Chile experienced a new migratory wave by receiving hundreds of migrants from poor countries such as Haiti. As an outcome, the everyday experience of racism has become really sensitive and I have no doubt that carrying out fieldwork at the present moment would have captured that reality.

Second, there are my *own biases as researcher*. In light of my research questions, I was especially interested in the analyses of interactions in the public domain, and particularly among people of different social classes. Although this theme was brought to the interviews, there were themes I was originally less interested in that were crucial. In this regard I should mention that ‘gender’ was far more important in the narratives of women that I had originally anticipated. This made me reflect on my bias as a sociologist. Interestingly enough, it has been reported that BA programs in Sociology in Chile tend to not give enough priority to gender as it should be (Simbürger & Undurraga, 2013). This is certainly changing now, and it is all the more important in light of what has been called the ‘fourth wave of feminism’ in Chile, which struck the streets of the country in 2018.¹⁸

Finally, another element that became evident during fieldwork was the importance of reflecting *on my own position as interviewer*. On several occasions, for instance, the interviewees used me (directly and indirectly) as an example of the situations they wanted to depict. For instance,

¹⁸ To see how this has been reported in the press:
<https://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/pais/2018/05/24/la-ola-feminista-que-remece-a-chile/>

they referred to my aspect (I am white) or my surname (which is foreign) as features that help to explain why you are treated with more respect than others in Chile. On other occasions, they made attempts to 'classify' me, perhaps in order to guess which kind of topics they could talk about in front of me.

In this regard, I cannot write this thesis without explaining who I am, and without reflecting on how my own position in the structure of advantage/disadvantage of respect might have influenced this study. First of all, I am a woman. Stressing this is important in light of the relevance that issues of gender had in the narratives of most of my female interviewees. I noticed that some of them assumed that I was interested in studying gender even though I did not mention this when I contacted them (*'This is about gender, right?'* asked one of my female interviewees). Looking back, I think my sex was an advantage when interviewing women as they were open to confide very personal experiences to me, such as situations of sexual abuse (see Chapter 7). At the same time, I should pose the question of whether men felt equally comfortable discussing their experiences with me. Although I interviewed many men with whom I had productive and long conversations, the most difficult interviews were usually with men.

Second, I am a young adult, which may have been an issue when interviewing older participants. When I was doing fieldwork, I was 31 years old, but I tend to look younger. A mature male interviewee, for instance -whose answers were particularly short- called me constantly *'mijita'*, which is an informal way to call a daughter, or a young lady. The same happened with an upper-class woman who called me *'gordita'* the entire interview, which is a very personal way to address a girl, even a daughter. In both cases, my age along with my gender certainly played a role. Interesting enough, I felt 'disrespected' when both actions happened, which help me to better understand descriptions of disrespect given by female interviewees which resemble this experience (see Chapter 7).

Third, I come from a middle-class family, but I have some phenotypical features which make me look from the upper class. If I had to classify myself, in the context of Chilean society, I would say that I am a highly educated middle-class person. My mother was raised in a working-class family (my grandfather was a taxi driver and my grandmother was a housewife, neither of them finished secondary education). My father, on the contrary, was raised in an upper-middle class family (my grandfather was an engineer and my grandmother was a housewife, although she always had the support of domestic maids). Both my parents have university degrees and they were both school teachers. Both my parents were exceptional in their contexts: my mother for

having an upward trajectory my father for having a downward trajectory. I have four siblings, and we all attended university. I spent my childhood in lower-middle class neighbourhoods and I attended lower-middle class primary and secondary schools. I did not attend an elite school. This is important, as secondary schools are important status markers in Chile. I did, however, attend an elite university, although it is a public university- Universidad de Chile-, which means that this university is not always the first choice for upper class students. Because of my education, I have had many privileges, such as being awarded with scholarships that have enabled me to continue my education in foreign elite institutions. Furthermore, I am white, I have brown hair and blue eyes, and I have an English (therefore, foreign) surname. This is important in a country in which race and class are usually intertwined. As an outcome of all this, I am usually seen differently according to people's class. In the eyes of upper-class people, I am usually seen as an educated middle-class person, but it is quite clear for them that I am not one of them. An upper-class interviewee, for instance, asked me in the middle of the interview about the name and profession of my husband, probably trying to classify me. One of my gatekeepers to the elite told me *'If you rehearse a bit and try a posh ['cuiko'] accent you may get this interviewee'*. In the eyes of middle-class people, I am sometimes viewed as an equal, sometimes viewed as an upper middle-class person. In the eyes of lower-class people, I am easily viewed as an upper-class person. One interview told me, when describing upper class people *'ABC1, like you'*. Another one told me, *'If see you, I immediately think you have had privileges'*. Another one told me: *'people with blue eyes are treated better, right?'*. When traveling to lower class neighbourhoods to conduct my interviews, there were some situations in which the people around me tried to protect me from potentially dangerous situations. Standing in a queue, waiting for a taxi, I asked for directions, and a man asked me in return: *'Do you understand where you are going?'* and immediately asked: *'why are you going to this place? Are you coming to do some kind of social service?'* Another lady told me: *'Once I saw you, I knew you were lost'*. These situations helped me to understand that even though I asked the same questions to all interviewees, the way they 'saw' me could have had affected their answers in unexpected ways.

2.4. Ethical Considerations

Following the 'Statement of ethical practice for the British Sociological Association' (BSA, 2004) I took several precautions to conduct my research according to ethical guidelines. In the first stage of the project, i.e. the analysis of secondary data, there were no major ethical issues involved, except from honouring the confidentiality agreement signed with OPHI. As a result of

this, I took the precaution of not sending the dataset to anyone and I will not publish any outcome of the quantitative analysis without prior permission of OPHI.

Regarding the qualitative stage of the project, there were important ethical issues to consider. First, I asked all the participants for informed consent before the interview (most of them signed it, some of them orally agreed). I informed them of the aims of the project, so they could make an informed decision about their participation on the study. Second, I ensured the anonymity and confidentiality of all the participants by keeping their identities separated from the recorded material. For the purpose of writing, I used pseudonyms for all participants and I was careful to avoid the incorporation of any information that might lead to the identification of the participants. Third, I took all the precautions necessary to avoid causing harm to participants. I avoided producing discomfort for the participants by asking questions too sensitive without previous agreement with them. I always asked them if it was OK to ask about sensitive topics. Furthermore, I reminded them that they had the right to withdraw their participation at any point. Fourth, I was able to protect myself from the potential issues arising from lone-working as much as possible. Most of the interviews took place in public places such as cafes and workplaces (12 were performed in public places, 38 in the participant's workplace). However, on 11 occasions, the interviews took place in the interviewees' houses, as for some of them this was the only convenient option to meet. When this happened, I followed a security procedure and I always let my supervisors and my next of kin in Chile know about my schedule. Fortunately, I did not experience any threat to my integrity.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the epistemological assumptions as well as the research strategy that I followed for the empirical study of the thesis. I have explained my intention of developing a phenomenological account of the experience of respect and disrespect in Chilean Society, based on my aim of understanding both: the variety of meanings associated with (dis)respect but also the unity behind those meanings. I have argued that there are three reasons why a mixed-method strategy was the best approach to answer the research questions of the thesis: the nature of the research questions, the sampling procedure as well as the explanatory model I developed.

Regarding the quantitative stage, I have shown that it is focused on secondary data analysis of the MDPS survey in Chile, which is a valuable source of information for this thesis due to

explicitly incorporates an indicator to measure the perception of being respected. I have argued that the analysis of this dataset offers a first picture of the structure of advantage and disadvantage of the experience of (dis)respect. Regarding the qualitative stage, I described how I carried out semi-structured interviews to a stratified sample of Chileans, in order to explore their understandings and experiences of (dis)respect. I reflected on my fieldwork experience; in particular, on the importance of context as well as the impact of my own features in the development of the interviews. I ended the chapter discussing ethical implications.

Chapter 3: The Chilean Context: political economy, democratic system and cultural repertoires of a neoliberal country

3.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide contextual information about Chilean society, which is essential to make the empirical findings of this study clearer. As noted in the Introduction, the research questions of this thesis were motivated, among other things, by the growing acknowledgement in the academic literature that in Chilean society everyday talk on inequality was cross-cut by a demand for more ‘respectful treatment’ (e.g.: Araujo, 2013a, 2013b; PNUD, 2017b). This demand motivated my theoretical and empirical quest for understanding the sociological nature of respect, but also, to look at the particular meanings of respect in Chilean society. In this chapter I would like to delve into some features of Chilean society that might explain the particularities of those meanings. As I have defined before, the language of respect refers to the expectations of treatment that people bring into social interaction. Those expectations are framed by cultural and institutional understandings of what the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ deserve in terms of treatment. Therefore, there are historical, institutional and cultural elements of Chilean society that should be taken into account to understand the empirical findings that will be presented later on.

It is important to stress, however, that many of those elements might not be exclusive to Chilean society. In fact, both the institutional and cultural understandings of what people ‘deserve’ in

terms of treatment are permeated by global processes that transcend particular national contexts. On the one hand, modern societies, particularly since the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights', have set up some normative standards regarding the ways in which human beings should treat each other which aim to be universal. Although the enforcement of these rights certainly vary according to time and place, human rights have increasingly become a globalized cultural discourse (Cushman, 2012) and most countries guarantee them -at least nominally- in their national constitutions (Fine, 2012). On the other hand, due to globalization, the boundaries between 'cultural contexts' are far less clear (Ritzer & Stillman, 2003). Acknowledging this confronts a crucial epistemological issue: whether the empirical findings of this thesis should be explained by the particularities of a national context or not. Calls have been made to avoid 'methodological nationalism' in the process of explanation in social sciences, a call that it is grounded either in the belief that globalization imposes social scientists the need to rethink the equation between society and nation-state (Beck, 2000), or in the conviction that this equation has always been misplaced (Chernilo, 2006).

Although I do agree that methodological nationalism should be overcome, I also believe that the study of moral norms and social practices should be done in relation to the context in which those norms are embedded and those practices are taking place. This does not exclude the acknowledgement that many of those norms and practices are affected by global phenomena. Yet, the primary data of this thesis has been produced in a particular cultural context -Chilean society- and a particular time -2015- and the interview schedule, as it was discussed in the methodological chapter, asked the interviewees to reflect explicitly on Chilean society from the perspective of respect and inequality. Therefore, reflecting on some features of this cultural context is crucial to shed light on the empirical findings that I present later.

In order to delineate features of the Chilean society that are relevant to contextualize the findings, I discuss five areas: First, I delineate the political economy of the country, its relationship with neoliberalism and, in particular, what it is understood as the 'Chilean model'. This is important, as it is the backdrop of the moral economy of respect that I aim to delineate during this thesis. Second, I describe the main trends regarding income inequality, which is one of the key heritages of this neoliberal model. This is particularly relevant in light of the importance that the question of inequality has in this thesis. Third, I reflect on the country's democratic system, and the extent to which civil, political and social rights are guaranteed, which is a key framework to understand people's claims on respect. Fourth, I discuss the cycle of social mobilization that started in the country in 2011, as this is the immediate social and political context in which this research took place. I give special consideration to describing the

main issues that were at stake in 2015, the year in which fieldwork was developed. Finally, I describe some of the main ‘cultural repertoires’ that have been detected in studies that account for the subjectivity of Chileans, as they are the repertoires available to my interviewees when justifying their claims on respect. A key point to discuss in this context is the extent to which the Chilean model has produced a ‘neoliberal subjectivity’, and how the demand for a ‘more respectful treatment’ challenges or complements this neoliberal ethos.

3.2. The ‘Chilean model’

It is difficult to get an understanding of Chilean society without discussing its relationship with neoliberalism, the way it was implemented and the way that it took over the social, political and cultural arrangements of the country, since the mid-70s onwards. Following Harvey (2005), I understand here neoliberalism as an economic theory but also as an ‘ethics’, that places entrepreneurial freedom as the main driver of human wellbeing, and ultimately aims to subsume all human action under the domain of the market. This requires a particular institutional framework -private property rights, free market and free trade- as well as a state whose only (minor) role is to guarantee the existence of that framework.

As Polanyi (2001[1944]) taught us, any economical arrangement derives from the social context in which is embedded. Therefore, looking at Chile’s political economy and its relationship with neoliberalism is also a way to look at its social, political and cultural context. It is in this spirit that I discuss, in this section, some features of what it is known as the ‘Chilean model’ or the ‘Chilean capitalism’ (*‘Capitalismo a la Chilena’* (Solimano, 2012)). This discussion is all the more important considering that when fieldwork took place -2015-, key features of this model were being publicly questioned. The interviewees, indeed, drew upon this context to reflect on their experiences on respect and inequality.

Chile has been historically considered as an exemplary ‘neoliberal experiment’, one of the most important ‘neoliberal laboratories’, and one of the best representatives of the ‘shock doctrine’ that, it has been argued, was at the core of neoliberal thinking during the 70’s (Klein, 2007). This understanding is grounded in the way that neoliberalism was implemented in the country, which happened during one of the fiercest dictatorships in Latin America during the 70s, which lasted for 17 years from 1973 to 1990. The ‘virtuous’ combination of a military government led by Augusto Pinochet with the expertise of a group of economists trained in the University of

Chicago by Milton Friedman himself -a group informally known as 'the Chicago Boys'- provided the perfect setting for introducing neoliberalism in the country exactly by the book.

The Chicago Boys provided the theoretical principles for introducing economic reforms that the military were lacking, in a moment in which their main interest was to 'restore the order' of the country after what they considered as the disastrous government of the democratically elected socialist Salvador Allende (1970-1973). As noted by Moulian (1997, p. 26): the military had the 'will to power' but not a 'project'. The Chicago Boys offered that project and were successful in convincing the military of implementing it as they framed neoliberal reforms in a way that promised a restructuring of social relations and a depoliticizing effect that was attractive for the latter (Undurraga, 2015). The military, in turn, which were actively supported by the USA Government¹⁹, Chilean right-wing parties, the oligarchy, the business elites, and some sectors of the middle class, suppressed any form of political discontent or even freedom of expression. Neoliberalism was introduced without active political resistance²⁰.

As an outcome of this, Chile experienced years of uninterrupted neoliberal reforms which shaped core features for the long term. These reforms included, among others, the liberalization of the economy, the privatization of hundreds of national industries, the weakening of unions, as well as the introduction of market principles in the provision of 'social services', such as health, education and pensions. After years in which the political economy of the country was dominated by a state-centred model, Chile transitioned towards a market-oriented model, in which the action of the state would now be guided by a 'subsidiary principle', and the orientation toward profit would be the driving force behind key domains of social life. As can be expected, the country was left with a very weak welfare system.

Some emblematic reforms, whose consequences are still experienced by Chileans, included the dismantlement of The National Health Service, which was created in the 50s inspired by the British universal healthcare system, the NHS and ended in 1979 (Infante & Paraje, 2010) to be replaced with a new system, which combined public and private health providers. People were given the option to stay in the public system -the newly created National Health Fund

¹⁹ The backup of the USA Government to the military coup has been documented and recognized by the CIA itself. A full report can be found at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/chile/>

²⁰ To be fair, as noted by Undurraga (2015), the introduction of neoliberal reforms was not straightforward. For instance, there was a big recession (the crises of 1982), constant complaints from business elites demanding state support, along with the social upheavals of 1983-1986. But the dictatorship was extremely effective in imposing discipline. Market policies started to gain acceptance among political and economic elite only since 1985.

(FONASA)-, or migrate to the private one, which consisted of private health insurers (ISAPRES) which purported to offer a better and more personalized service albeit at a higher price. Through FONASA the state kept a guaranty of free health for the poorest, as well as the most ill, which were rejected by the private system due to their higher 'risk'. ISAPRES, in turn, attracted wealthier and healthier users depriving the state system from their monthly contributions.

A similar reform was implemented in the case of pensions. One of the signature policies of the dictatorship was the creation in 1981 of AFPs (Pensions Funds Administrators), private companies whose aim was to administrate people's retirement savings on an individual basis by trading them in stock markets. Unlike the case of health, the public system -which was guided by a collectivist principle of solidarity- was ended. Workers at that time were given the option to remain in the public system or migrate to the newly created one which promised to ensure better pensions and would become compulsory for new workers from 1981. As with the health sector, this system was guided by a principle of 'individual capitalization', in which workers contributed 10% of their monthly income to one AFP of their choice, including a monthly fee for the management of their savings (Arenas de Mesa, 2000). The state would guarantee competition by stimulating the creation of AFPs and would play a marginal role in the system by ensuring a minimal pension for those with insufficient savings (Ruiz & Boccardo, 2015). Pensions became a lucrative business. In fact, authors such as Riesco (2014) have argued that this system was purposely created to force workers to fund big economic groups through their mandatory savings.

Finally, in the case of education, in 1980 the primary and secondary public-school system was decentralized, and public schools started to be managed by local councils (municipalities). A key feature of the new system was the introduction of public funding to private schools, which were allowed to make a profit. Through a universal voucher system, the state would contribute a per-student subsidy which could either go to a public school or a private school, depending on family choices (Mizala & Torche, 2012). This produced a huge education market, in which schools would compete for attracting students, and therefore, public funding. The new system was now composed by three types of schools: private schools (funded only by student's fees), private subsidized schools (funded by student's fees and public subsidy²¹) and public schools (funded only by public subsidy). This system produced a clear socioeconomic stratification

²¹ At the beginning of the new system private subsidizes schools were not allowed to charge student's fees. This however changed in 1993 and marked a key turning point in the process (Mizala & Torche, 2012).

between types of schools (Mizala, Romaguera, & Ostoic, 2004), in which the capacity of parents to afford 'fees' would determine the quality of their children education.

As it can be observed in these three examples, Chilean neoliberalism was characterized by the introduction of market principles in key dimensions of people's lives –as well as the creation of lucrative businesses supported by the state- which produced a privatization of risks unknown in the countries' history. The risk to the providers of these services, however, was reduced because of the compulsory nature of either people or state's contributions. This certainly had massive consequences not only in the way that the economy was run but in the social and cultural texture of Chilean society.

Once democracy was recovered in 1990, Chile was governed for two decades by a centre left coalition, '*La Concertación*', which won four consecutive presidential elections between 1990 and 2010. In economic terms, it is generally agreed that *La Concertación* did not challenge the core conceptions of the neoliberal model implemented during the dictatorship, but tried to make it more 'human', by introducing, gradually, some reforms. The country transitioned towards what it is usually known as a 'social market economy' (Huneus, 2000), in which neoliberal principles were somehow balanced through an attempt to reduce power asymmetries and create social equality, under a strategy that was known as 'growth with equity' (French-Davis, 2002). The reasons why *La Concertación* did not challenge neoliberalism have been a matter of public and scholarly discussion for many years. The reasons quoted in the literature are multiple, ranging from the presence of 'authoritarian enclaves' embedded in political institutions designed under dictatorship (Garretón, 2003) to the political renewal of left-centre intellectuals. Yet crucially, as noted by Undurraga (2015), capitalist modernization brought measurable improvements in material conditions which helped to create social and political support for the continuation of the model.²²

In fact, for many years, Chile has been considered an example of prosperity and macroeconomic stability in the Latin American region. Since the last years of the dictatorship, and particularly from the 90's onwards, the progress of the country has been undeniable in many fronts. Just to give some examples, data from the World Bank shows that the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has almost systematically increased since 1986 onwards, with very short periods of negative

²² It should be noted that the country's economic performance did not improve until the last years of the Dictatorship. The first years of implementation of neoliberal reforms brought many problems, such as inflation, unemployment, among others. Economic growth increased since 1986 and unemployment was reduced since 1988 (Moulian, 1997).

growth. As a result, the Gross National Index (GNI) per capita has increased from US\$2.350 in 1990 to US\$13.540 in 2016 (which amounts to 21.000 international dollars, approximately), being one of the highest among Latin American countries.²³

Chile also occupies the 38th place in the world according to the latest version of the Human Development Index -which measures countries' achievements in terms of education (expected years of schooling), health (life expectancy) and income (GNI per capita)-, reporting a HDI of 0.85. This represents an increase of 0.76% in comparison with 1990, when Chile had an HDI of 0.7, and it means that Chile is now considered as part of the group of countries with 'very high human development' (UNDP, 2016).

Finally, the rate of poverty has been dramatically reduced. According to official statistics, which measure poverty following an income centred approach,²⁴ only 11,7% of Chilean households were living in poverty in 2015 (MIDESOC, 2016). This would involve a massive reduction in poverty. Following this methodological approach, PNUD (2017b) has estimated that since 1990 to 2015, the percentage of people living in poverty would have been reduced from 68% to 11,7%. It should be noted that this economic prosperity is also subjectively perceived by Chileans. During the last twenty years, several studies show that most citizens believe that their personal situation has improved; they feel that they are better off than their parents, and they trust their children will be better off than them (e.g.: Garretón & Cumsille, 2002; PNUD, 1998, 2017b).

One of the outcomes of this economic success has been the incorporation of Chile in 2010 into the OECD -the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development- whose members are usually considered as prosperous countries. It should be noted, however, that Chile is still a 'middle income' economy or an 'emerging' or 'developing country' in the classifications elaborated by institutions such as the World Bank or the IMF (Nielsen, 2011). Therefore, whereas Chile is usually at the top of most rankings in the Latin American comparison when it comes to discussions of wellbeing and economic prosperity, it is also at the very bottom of most rankings when it comes to its comparison with the rest of OECD countries (OECD, 2017).

23 Data available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/country/chile> [accessed 22/02/2018].

24 This measure is based on data from CASEN, the most important Households Survey of Socioeconomic Characterization implemented by the Government. The poverty measure is based on the establishment of a 'poverty line' which is drawn according to the cost of a basic basket of goods. Households whose monthly income are lower than the cost of that basket, are classified as poor. The cost of this basket in 2015 was estimated as CL\$151.669 monthly for 1 person (approximately £183,52).

Despite these achievements, there have been many analysts that have tried to add nuance to this optimism, by emphasizing that the Chilean model has notable downsides. The critics of the 'model' have emphasized that this prosperity has had many costs, among them, the rise of inequality and the disenfranchisement of social movements. For instance, according to Solimano (2012) the Chilean model should be defined as an economic, social, political and cultural project of both the organization of the economy and the society, whose main features are: the centrality of the market and the logic of 'profit', as well as an elitist and 'low intensity' democracy with a very limited citizen participation. In a similar fashion, Garretón (2013) argued that, even though the governments of *La Concertación* made significant reforms, they were unable to overcome the two main heritages of the dictatorship: the neoliberal economic model – involving the hegemonic role of the market, a subsidiary state and a deep level of structural inequality- and the political model of 'incomplete democracy'.

In the next two sections I discuss the two main critiques to the Chilean model: its level of inequality, and the 'incompleteness' of its democracy.

3.2.1 Inequality and concentration

Chile is very well known for its high level of income inequality. According to data from the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CECLAC), the Gini coefficient for the country – being 0 total equality and 1 maximum inequality- amounted to 0.476 in 2015 (CEPAL, 2016). This makes Chile one of the most unequal countries in the world and almost the most unequal country of the OECD, being only surpassed by Mexico. To have a reference point, the Gini coefficient for the UK was 0.36 in the same year, and the average Gini for OECD countries was 0.318 in 2014.²⁵ Chile is not, however, an exception in the Latin American region, which has historically shown very high levels of income inequality. The average Gini coefficient for the region was 0.469 in 2015, which is quite close to the Chilean figure. Still, as this figure also reveals, the country exhibits a slightly higher income inequality than the region (CEPAL, 2016), making Chile one of the most unequal countries of Latin America as well.

Income inequality in Chile is so high, that when the Human Development Index (HDI) is adjusted by income inequality, the HDI for the country is reduced by 18.2%, going from 0,805 to

²⁵ This data is available in the OECD website: <http://www.oecd.org/social/income-distribution-database.htm>

0,692. This makes Chile lose its first place as the Latin American country with the highest human development and involves a fall of 12 places in the position of Chile in the HDI global ranking (UNDP, 2016).

It is important to stress, however, that longitudinal data indicates that after a steady period of increase, income inequality has experienced a slight reduction since 2000. According to PNUD (2017b) this reduction was experienced by most Latin American countries, and even though it is positive news, it should be noted that its departing point was a very high level of income inequality (the Gini coefficient was reduced from 0,521 in 1990 to 0,476 in 2015). Therefore, the current figure is still extremely high.

One of the main reasons for income inequality in Chile, according to the literature, is its high level of concentration at the top of the income distribution. According to López, Figueroa & Gutiérrez (2013), who estimate the level of income of the 'super rich' in Chile by using official tax records, the richest 1% earns 30% of the country's total income, a figure that amounts to 17% for the richest 0,1% and 10% for the richest 0,01%.²⁶ The authors argue that if the Gini coefficient -which is usually calculated based on household surveys- is re-calculated taking this information into account, it rises in at least 6 points. Once again, this reality makes Chile stand out in the context of OECD countries. As noted by Olaberría (2016), whereas in OECD countries the richest 10% earns 9.6 times the average income of the bottom 10%, in Chile the richest 10% earns 26.5 times more than the bottom 10%.

Another important reason for income inequality in Chile, according to PNUD (2017) is the low wages of unskilled workers. Although there has been a slight reduction in the income gap between highly skilled and non-skilled workers -which partly explains the reduction of income inequality since 2000- there is still a very high percentage of workers who, being in full time employment, have a salary that doesn't allow them to overcome poverty (PNUD 2017b). The other reason why inequality has been reduced is due to state transfers to the most vulnerable groups, which are, nonetheless, still insufficient due to the subsidiary role of the state.

Income inequality in Chile is particularly problematic in light of its market-oriented social security system. During the dictatorship key reforms were made to introduce market principles in areas as sensitive as education, pensions and health. Although during democracy all these reforms have been modified, most of their key principles remain intact. The consequences of

²⁶ This is an average estimation for the period 2004-2010.

this is that income inequality has a direct expression in the provision of health, education and pensions that people have access to (Garretón, 2013). On the one hand, both the education and health systems in Chile are extremely segregated, since individual income is correlated to the quality of services families are able to access. On the other hand, the principle of 'individual capitalization' introduced in the pensions' system only reproduces inequality. Recent estimations indicate that, contrary to what it was promised, almost 50% of workers get a pension lower than 70% of the minimum wage (PNUD, 2017b).

The translation of income inequality into inequalities of health, education and pensions, produces an intense malaise in the population. As I will show in the discussion of findings, many experiences of 'disrespect' are associated to this reality. This is also one of the reasons why Chilean democracy is considered as incomplete, a topic that I discuss in the next section.

3.2.2 An 'incomplete' democracy

In this section I discuss the main features that, according to the literature, define Chile's democracy. This topic is pertinent in the context of this research because, as it is been mentioned in Chapter 1, the experience of respect is unavoidably connected to the framework of rights that are considered valid in any political community. In modern societies, what people can legitimately expect in terms of treatment is formally defined by the rights and duties that are legally established. This is what Honneth (1995) understands, in his theory of recognition, as 'legal recognition', and what I have re-defined in my theoretical scheme as a *form* of 'categorical respect'.²⁷ It is connected to the acknowledgement of human 'dignity' and refers to what people can legitimately expect as both human beings and members of the political community.

Building on Honneth's language, a key aspect of Chilean society that should be taken into account to make sense of the empirical outcomes of this research, is what it means to have 'full-fledged membership' in the Chilean political community. Or following Marshall's model (1964), what is the current state of Chilean democracy in terms of civil, political and social rights. Having a sense of this is not only important because legal rights constitute the backdrop of people's experiences of respect, but also because people might use the language of rights when

²⁷ In the theoretical chapter I have claimed that categorical respect has a legal and a non-legal dimension which is also important in people's experience.

describing their experience of respect and disrespect. In the discussion of findings (especially Chapter 5) I reflect on the extent to which this indeed happened in this study.

During the last 29 years, the Chilean democratic system has progressed on many fronts. With the end of the dictatorship, civil and political rights were restored. This is a massive progress after the serious violations of human rights that happened at the time.²⁸ Furthermore, during the transition to democracy, a period of progressive expansion of social rights began. Yet, the extent to which this expansion has been sufficient or not, is part of the current discussion, and it is a key aspect of the ongoing debates around the legitimacy of the Chilean model.

In institutional terms, democracy in Chile was considered a model of stability, especially during the first year of the political transition. In sharp contrast to other Latin American countries, the recipe behind the 'Chilean miracle' was usually linked to the stability of its democratic and institutional system. Since the 90's onwards Chile has held free and periodic democratic elections which are considered reliable and whose outcomes are considered legitimate by the different political actors. The party system has been stable, the exercise of law is highly respected. As Ricardo Lagos, a former socialist President of Chile famously said: 'In Chile institutions work'.²⁹

In terms of people's subjectivities, democracy is valued by Chileans. It should be noted, however, that after 17 years of dictatorship, democracy is not an absolute value for some sections of the population. Studies have shown that the majority of Chilean citizens believe that democracy is always preferable to an authoritarian government (PNUD, 2014), yet an analysis of longitudinal studies on the matter show that support for democracy as a political system has been volatile and moderate, only slightly over regional averages (Huneus & Cuevas, 2013).

Academic discussions of the Chilean model usually involve a critical assessment of its democratic system. Expressions such as 'incomplete democracy' (Garretón, 2013) or 'elitist and low-intensity democracy' (Solimano, 2012) are common in the literature. These analyses tend to emphasize that, even though Chile has formally recovered its democratic system since 1990,

²⁸ Official Reports indicate that during the Dictatorship 27.255 people were victims of political prison and torture (National Commission of Political Prison and Torture, 2003) and 2279 lost their lives (Rettig Report, 1990).

²⁹ Lagos stressed this idea many times during his Presidency and also afterwards. Many mentions can be found in the national press, e.g.: <http://www.emol.com/noticias/nacional/2003/01/21/102987/gobierno-insiste-las-instituciones-funcionan.html>. For some analysts, such as Mayol (2012) this statement is a symbol of how the elite understands democracy in Chile: as an institutional domain rather than a citizen domain.

there are many elements of it which are still deficient. Key among those critiques is the lack of legitimacy of the Chilean Constitution. One of the most significant moves of the Dictatorship was to create a new Constitution in 1980 to ensure the legacy of its social and economic model. This constitution was purposely designed to make institutional change extremely difficult (e.g. by requiring very high quorums in Parliament to pass relevant reforms). During democracy, this Constitution has been reformed several times, and most of the ‘authoritarian enclaves’ (Garretón, 2003) have been weakened or eliminated, yet some political voices located in the centre-left of the political spectrum believe that these reforms are not enough, and the Constitution as a whole should be replaced by another one created in democracy.

Another pivotal point in the assessment of the Chilean political system, is the acknowledgement that structural inequalities have an impact upon the exercise of rights. Formally, all citizens hold the same civil and political rights, which allow them to fully participate in public life. The main drawback of Chilean democracy, however, is neither formal nor legal, and can be located in the actual *exercise* of rights, which is highly mediated by structural inequalities. Whereas Chile has been successful in establishing legal equality, it has been less successful in promoting substantive equality (PNUD, 2014). Groups of the population that are specially disadvantaged in their exercise of rights are women, the LGTBI community, indigenous groups (in particular, the ‘*Mapuches*’) and the poorest (PNUD, 2014). In terms of gender, for instance, Chile has the sad record of being the Latin American country with the lowest participation of women in the job market (PNUD, 2010). Also, women are under-represented in power positions, including Congress (PNUD, 2017b), which may help to explain that only in 2017, a law allowing abortion (albeit in very restrictive terms) was approved in Parliament.

It is important to highlight that, among the different types of rights, the exercise of social and economic rights are the ones which are more affected by structural inequality as, unlike civil and political rights, there are fewer mechanisms to enforce them (PNUD, 2014). As it was discussed in the previous section, the Chilean model has been conceived of in a way that the ‘access’ to basic social services is guaranteed by the state. However, the ‘quality’ of services which is actually received by people is completely mediated by their spending capacity. This reality has produced a transition from demands of equality of ‘access’ to demands for equality of ‘quality’, something that it is at the root of the current malaise that is perceived in Chilean society. Structural inequalities also have an impact upon the ability of people to have an influence in the public sphere. As noted in a recent study, there is an overrepresentation of the elites in parliament (PNUD, 2017). This shows that political inequality and income inequality reinforce each other (PNUD, 2014).

The limitations of Chilean democracy are perceived as such by the population, which results in an increasing malaise regarding the actual working of democracy in the country (PNUD, 2014). Citizens have begun to question and distrust the elites, which together with democratic deficiencies of political parties have triggered a crisis of representation (Luna, 2016; Siavelis, 2016). To this is added many corruption scandals that have been brought to light, putting a question mark under the usually considered 'irreproachable' behaviour of the elite. At the same time, and partly as an outcome of this distance between the elite and the citizens, there has been a systematic drop in the levels of formal political participation (e.g. voting) in the country, which have been replaced by less traditional forms of participation (e.g. protests, among others) (PNUD 2014, 2015).

3.3. Neoliberalism under challenge?

In 2011 Chile experienced an unprecedented cycle of social mobilization since the recovery of democracy. This cycle begun during the first right-wing democratically elected government after 20 years of centre-left governments. The businessman Sebastián Piñera, currently in office for a second period, ran the country during 2010-2014 and, in line with his ideological convictions, reinforced the neoliberal model.

This cycle of social mobilization involved protests which focused on many dimensions of social life. Although the most salient were protests focused on the quality and high cost of education, other conflicts around the legitimacy of environmental projects, consumer rights, housing benefits and workers' rights, among others, were also under development.³⁰ Among all of them, the student's movement was especially emblematic, not only because of its strength and high level of legitimacy in public opinion, but also because, it questioned key aspects of the Chilean model. The origin of this movement can be traced back to 2006, when secondary school students mobilized against market-based education, in what it is known as the 'Penguin Revolution' (Donoso, 2013)³¹. In 2011, students were also protesting against market principles, but the protests extended to university education. The students' main slogans were 'Against Profit' (*No al lucro*) and 'Free and good education for all' (*Educación gratuita y de calidad*).

³⁰ Emblematic examples include: The Aysen Project, 'La Polar' case, and the protests of the subcontractor workers of CODELCO.

³¹ Students in Chile are informally called 'Penguins' because the blue and white colours of the traditional uniform which is used in most Public and some Private schools.

With these mobilizations, the critique of the model became a matter of public discussion, leaving the desk of intellectuals and being present in television, people's houses and the streets. In this context, the existence of a certain 'malaise' in Chilean society became apparent, a malaise whose nature and causes were difficult to define with precision (Orchard & Jiménez-Molina, 2016).

This was not the first time that the notion of 'malaise' was used to describe the subjective state of Chileans in relation to the 'model'. At the end of the 90s, there was an emblematic debate between left-wing intellectuals around this topic, which drew a division between 'supporters' and 'critics' of the model. An emblematic book of that time (PNUD, 1998) argued that there was a 'vague' malaise associated with the cultural and social consequences of neoliberalism in the country. An extremely accelerated process of modernization had eroded the basic certainties of Chileans, creating a massive feeling of insecurity which was undermining social life. Other authors, such as Moulián (1997) pointed towards the emptiness of a society which had become dominated by consumerism, while highlighting the limits of political representation inherited from the dictatorship. A little more than a decade later, in 2011, these ideas regained life. Some authors, such as PNUD (2012; 2017b) argued that the 'vague' malaise of the 90s had become 'active' and that the same uncertainties that were part of the everyday life of Chileans had become unbearable. Others postulated that these mobilizations were a direct critique of the neoliberal model. An important book of the period, was titled 'The collapse of the model' (*El derrumbe del modelo*) (Mayol, 2012) and it argued that there was a crisis of legitimacy of the Chilean model. Other authors focused on the limits of democracy and the deficits in political representation and saw in these social movements an expression of the anger of the citizens against the elites or a response to the massive inequalities of the country (PNUD, 2012). These debates transcended academic circles and gravitated towards think tanks, existent and emergent political parties, as well as the media. On the one hand, calls were made to imagine and rebuild a new model (e.g: Atria, Larraín, Benavente, Couso, & Joignant, 2013). On the other hand, authors such as Opplinger & Guzmán (2012) saw in the 'discourse of malaise' an ideological interpretation from left-wing intellectuals. According to them, people were just asking for the correction and the expansion of the model, not for its elimination.

Beyond these different interpretations, what it is key to remember, for the context of this thesis, is that this atmosphere of debates and social mobilization was still present in the country when fieldwork for this research took place. 2015 was the second year of the government of the socialist Michelle Bachelet (2014-2018), who won the presidential election for the second time in history with an agenda that attempted to canalize many of the demands of the social movements. She promised, among others, a massive tax reform, reforms in education, and the

creation of a new Constitution. When fieldwork took place many of these reforms were being discussed in Parliament, and the elite was developing several strategies to resist them. Furthermore, it should be noted that the main message of Bachelet's government was the need of 'reducing inequality'. This aim was criticised by more conservative elites. As a consequence, 'equality' and 'inequality' became strongly charged words during 2015. This 'context' was essential in the development of the interviews and contributes to explain many of my findings.

Yet, whether this cycle of mobilization involved an actual challenge to the principles of neoliberalism or not, is something that still needs to be deliberated. While I write this thesis, it has become clear that the answer to this question is more difficult than ever. In the most recent presidential election at the time of writing (December 2017), Sebastián Piñera was re-elected as President of Chile for a new period, which casts a doubt of the real level of criticism that exist in Chilean society regarding neoliberalism. Indeed, he won the election by criticizing many of the reforms that Bachelet attempted to implement and emphasising the importance of economic growth instead of the reduction of inequality³². This seems to indicate, as I will discuss in the next section, that Chileans have an ambiguous relationship with neoliberalism, and whereas they suffer some of its consequences, they have also internalized many of the cultural repertoires that characterize it.

3.4. Cultural repertoires: among neoliberalism and equality

Has the Chilean model produced a 'neoliberal subjectivity'? In this section I would like to reflect on this question, which has been the focus of discussion in old (e.g.: PNUD, 2002) and recent works (e.g.: Araujo and Martuccelli 2012) around the subjectivity of Chileans. As noted, neoliberalism involves a certain 'ethics' (Harvey, 2005). Therefore, it is almost unavoidable to pose the questions whether this ethics has translated into the way that Chileans think.

This reflection is pertinent for this thesis, as the neoliberal ethics can certainly have an impact upon the reading that people make of inequality. In fact, many studies that have interrogated Chilean's visions on inequality, have done so in connection with the question of neoliberalism (e.g.: Garretón & Cumsille, 2002; Mayol et. al, 2013). The crucial question in this context has

³² Economic growth and concern towards the "forgotten" middle classes were at the heart of Piñera's program. See Government's Program in <http://programa.sebastianpinera.cl/>.

been to identify whether neoliberalism has incentivized the legitimization of inequality in the country.

The answer to this question is not straightforward, and most studies have concluded that there are certain ambiguities in the way that Chileans relate to neoliberalism, and therefore, to inequality. For instance, Garretón & Cumsille (2002) claimed that the neoliberal idea that people have to 'cope by themselves' had penetrated in the imaginaries of Chileans, but this did not exclude a critique of inequality. They argued that most of the population valued equality and thought that inequality was undermining key principles of Chilean culture such as solidarity.

In a more recent study, Araujo & Martuccelli (2012), claim that there is no 'homos neoliberal' in Chile, as there are two forces which define Chilean society: the neoliberal revolution and the democratic revolution. The authors argue that the cultural impact of neoliberalism coexist with a 'revolution of egalitarian expectations', which translates into a demand for greater equality.

Thus, a relevant question to pose is what is the *type* of equality valued by Chileans. Most studies seem to conclude that certain forms or expressions of inequality have different degrees of legitimisation in the population.³³ Although there is certainly variation in people's opinions - based on class and political orientation, among others - there are some general trends which have called the attention of scholars. I will highlight two:

The first trend relates to the legitimation of income inequality as long as it is considered an outcome of personal merit. Many studies show that the meritocratic discourse is heavily present in the narratives of Chileans, both to explain their own biographies as well as to assess and justify the level of inequality in the country (PNUD, 2017). This would be an outcome of the 'cultural matrix' inherited by the neoliberal period, and it helps to legitimize inequality by making it look as an unfortunate but unavoidable outcome of the unequal distribution of merit (Mayol et. al 2013).³⁴ The meritocratic discourse would make Chileans particularly sensitive to inequalities of opportunity which are seen as violating the meritocratic principle. In fact, it has been argued that this is the type of inequality which was criticized during the cycle of protests of 2011.

³³ A slightly different interpretation is offered by Puga (2011), who argues that there is a certain discordance between the normative and the practical attitude to inequality of Chileans. Whereas most Chileans define Chilean society as 'unjust', they display practical attitudes -i.e. behaviours- that legitimize this injustice.

³⁴ The legitimization of income inequality is an aspect of Chilean society that seems to be present in all Latin American region. According to Bucca (2016), even though the region is characterized by high levels of income inequality and very limited levels of social mobility, the majority of the population believes that income inequality is due to individual rather than structural features.

According to Espinoza (2012), the student movement put a question mark on equality of opportunity achieved through education, which has been a key promise in the country.

The second trend relates to a certain unease regarding a particular type or expression of inequality which refers to the differential *treatment* that people receive in social life based on their socioeconomic position. It is especially relevant for this thesis, as it is the form of inequality that brings the issue of respect into the table. As noted in both the Introduction and Chapter 1, it is precisely the mobilization of the language of respect in the context of this experience which motivated my research questions.

The literature has offered different readings about this phenomenon. Some early references, for instance, can be found in PNUD (2000) and Garretón and Cumsille (2002). The first study argued that along with a demand for greater income equality, there was a demand for greater *human equality* in the population. This demand would involve a desire for greater social integration and less discrimination based on differences of class, but also differences of gender, age, among others. Garretón and Cumsille (2002), in turn, argued that along inequalities of income and education, people rejected what the authors named as *civic inequalities*, which put into question the shared dignity of the members of the political community. From their reading, Chileans would resent the unequal access to formal rights such as justice, mainly because of class differences. In a similar fashion, a study focused on the distribution of power in Chile argued that there was an 'asymmetric order of dignities' in Chilean society (PNUD, 2004), since some sectors of the population would be more exposed to situations of abuse, mistreatment and humiliation. This thesis was further developed by Güell (2008) who argued that in Chile *inequality of dignity* was the real backdrop of inequality of income.

Even though these studies refer to slightly different phenomena -some of them stress a problem of social relations, others a problem of legal rights- they all argue that there is 'another' form of inequality that produces unease in the population and is different from the strict problem of income distribution. This argument has been made several times in the literature, and in recent years, there is a clearer specification of the content of this 'other form of inequality'. The most systematic reading of this phenomenon has been developed by Araujo (Araujo, 2013b, 2013a), who has claimed that Chileans specially resent what she calls as *interactive inequalities*. According to Araujo, the normative ideal of equality has permeated Chilean society, but the form of equality that people aspire to is located at the level of sociability. Being Chile a hierarchical society, people would ask for a more 'horizontal treatment' in key aspects of social life. In this regard, Araujo claims that this type of inequality cannot be understood from theoretical

frameworks such as the theory of recognition, as it is located in the level of social interactions. Espinoza and Guzmán (2013) argue that this unease is related to the weight of the *symbolic dimension of inequality*, which is closely related to the problem of the acknowledgement of dignity, and in the end, the problem of recognition. Mac-Clure & Barozet (2015), in turn, offer an interpretation of this finding from the perspective of the distinction between procedural and distributive justice. They claim that even though the neoliberal culture of Chile might induce the belief that distributive justice is more important than procedural one, *procedural justice* is key in the evaluation that people make about the justice of the situations they are involved with.

The Human Development Reports 2012 and 2015 argued that *inequality of respect and dignity* was more sanctioned by the Chileans than inequality of resources. This inequality would be related to the unequal exposition to situations of mistreatment and abuse. These reports concluded that there was a *relational dimension of inequality* which seems to be specially rejected by the population, and therefore, the demand for equality in the Chilean Population should be understood as a demand for 'relational equality' (PNUD, 2017a). The last contributions on this subject, has been developed by PNUD (2017b). The authors of this report have argued that, along with income and power inequality, in Chile there is an extended *inequality of treatment* that is specially resented. The normative ideal of *equality of dignity* translates into a demand for *equality of treatment* (Frei, 2016). According to Zilveti (2016) this form of inequality is specially resented as there is a demand for *equality of value* in the population, namely, the belief that, in spite of socioeconomic differences, all human beings have the same value.

Certainly, all these approaches differ yet I argue that all of them points towards a common phenomenon that it is socially relevant and sociologically challenging: the importance of the experience of social treatment in either the assessments or the experience of inequality. This is a phenomenon that, as I showed in Chapter I, it is not only relevant for the Chilean reality, and I hope that studying respect from a sociological perspective will help to clarify it.

A relevant discussion in this context is how both trends -i.e. the legitimization of income inequality linked to merit and the rejection of inequality of dignity or treatment- relate to each other. For instance, it has been argued that both beliefs coexist. Frei (2016) has concluded that the 'moral economy of inequality' in Chile is defined by the coexistence between the importance of 'effort' and 'educational attainment' in the legitimization of inequality, and the normative ideal of 'equality of treatment' as a critic to hierarchical relationships. In a different interpretation, Zilveti (2016) has argued that the demand for 'equality of value' is the only limit

to the importance granted to merit. In this view, in the realm of treatment and social interactions people would expect that merit would not be involved.

So, how do both dimensions interact? Is there a demand for respect in the population? Does this demand convey an expectation of equality? How can this demand be placed in the context of the neoliberal ethos that promotes meritocratic ideals? These are questions that my research seeks to address, and I will resume this reflection at the end of this thesis when discussing the empirical findings.

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3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has offered some antecedents regarding Chilean culture which are useful to contextualize both the questions that motivated this research as well as the findings that are exposed in the following chapters. The chapter has depicted the political economy of the country by discussing the main features of the 'Chilean model'. I have shown that this model is defined by neoliberal policies which involve an individualization of risks in key areas of life such as education, health and pensions. I have also demonstrated that the model has produced some positive outcomes such as poverty reduction and economic growth, but also some very problematic outcomes such as high levels of income inequality.

To complete this picture, I have discussed the thesis that Chile is defined by an 'incomplete' democracy, in which civil and political rights have been restored, but social and economic rights keep been restricted for some sectors of the population.

I have also shown the neoliberal features of the country seem to be under challenge. I have discussed the thesis that a certain 'malaise' is dominating the country.

Finally, I have focused on the main cultural repertoires that define the subjectivity of Chileans. In particular, I have discussed whether the Chilean model has produced a 'neoliberal subjectivity'. Based on the literature, I have suggested that there is an 'ambiguous' neoliberal subjectivity which is cross cut for the cult of merit, but at the same time, the longing for higher equality in social relations. In the context of this demand, the language of respect is crucial. But what is the meaning of respect in the context of this debate? These questions will be addressed in the next chapters.

Chapter 4: The perception of being respected: what is at stake?

4.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a first empirical exploration of the phenomenon of respect by analysing the ‘perception of being respected’ in the Chilean population. It relies on the analysis of one dataset containing questions regarding the perception of being respected and disrespected in Chile: The Missing Dimensions of Poverty Survey (OPHI, 2009). The chapter sheds light on one of the main empirical conundrums that gives life to this thesis: the apparent distance between the theoretical claim that respect is unequally distributed and the empirical distribution of respect in terms of people’s experiences. Based on statistical analyses, the chapter shows that even though there are some variables which are associated with the perception of being (dis)respected, these associations tend to be weaker than suggested in the literature. The chapter argues that the structure of advantage and disadvantage of respect might be more complex than it seems, and it should be elucidated through qualitative analysis. In so doing, the chapter sheds light on the challenges of studying respect as an empirical phenomenon, particularly from a quantitative perspective.

4.2 The perception of being respected

'Do you feel that people treat you with respect'? This question was asked in the MDP survey to a representative sample of Chileans in 2009. 92% of the respondents declared 'often' or 'always'. Only 8% of the respondents declared 'occasionally' or 'never' (OPHI, 2009). Some years later, in 2011, another survey showed that 60% of the population disagree with the statement 'I feel that in this society my dignity and rights are respected' (PNUD, 2012), a trend that was later corroborated in a subsequent version of this survey in 2013 (PNUD, 2015).

Although these questions are clearly different, they both involve an inquiry about respect. They also share a particular feature: in both of them, most respondents chose the same answer, which seems at odds with the common suggestion that respect is unequally distributed in the population. If most people feel respected by others, but disrespected in their dignity and rights, is there a real unequal distribution of respect? Furthermore: can people feel respected by 'others' but disrespected in the 'society' they live? What is at stake in the perception of being respected? What are these figures telling us?

As discussed in the Methods chapter, the empirical study of respect is not straightforward. This is especially true when attempting to grasp its complexities through quantitative methods, particularly social surveys. In light of its multidimensionality, respect is not an easy phenomenon to measure. In fact, it could be tempting to conclude that it is a phenomenon that rather resists any form of quantification. How can we measure a phenomenon that is so difficult to define? And can we rely on survey questions to make people talk about it? Are respect and disrespect the types of experiences that people would confess to a survey taker?

Beyond these legitimate concerns, using quantitative data to start the empirical exploration of the phenomenon of respect is worthwhile. They give us a first picture of this experience, its distribution in the population and a clue to the complexities of its meanings. They also provide us with the great opportunity to have access to a wider population, which is especially useful considering that this thesis interrogates this experience in Chilean society.

In the following sections I discuss the main outcomes of the secondary data analysis performed to analyse the perception of being treated with respect in the Chilean Population. In particular, the chapter is focused on the analysis of some indicators included in the 'Missing Dimensions of Poverty Survey' in Chile (MDP). This survey contains a module which attempts to measure the

experience of 'freedom from shame and humiliation', and therefore, it incorporates an explicit indicator on the experience of respect. In the following analysis I explore the properties of this indicator, along with its relationship with other variables contained in the survey, as a proxy to understand how the perception of being respected is distributed in the Chilean Population.

The chapter is structured in three parts: the first presents some methodological details about the analysis, the second outlines and discusses the most relevant statistical outcomes and the final section presents the conclusions and reflects on the challenges that this analysis poses for the qualitative study.

4.2.1 Methodological Note

4.2.1.1 Data

The following analyses are based on the Missing Dimensions of Poverty (MDP) survey which was developed by the Oxford Human Development Initiative (OPHI) and conducted in Chile in 2009. The MDP survey was applied to a representative sample of Chilean households (n=2052). The sampling method consisted of probabilistic multistage sampling, which was stratified by income quintile and zone (sampling error= 2.2%) (MICRODATOS, 2009). The module that will be analysed here was answered by one adult per household, usually the head of household, defined as the main income provider. Accordingly, the composition of the sample shows a clear preponderance of primary earners (65% of the respondents), active population (61%), married people (64%) and older population (the average age is 48). Due to the age of the respondents, their level of education is quite low: 48% of them did not finish secondary school, 33% finished only secondary school, and the remaining 19% have post-school education at different levels. Still, the sample shows several features which are quite consistent with the trends of the Chilean population: 47% of the respondents are male and 53% are female, 90% belong to urban areas, 97% are literate and the average household income is \$CH542.000³⁵. In sum, even though the particularities of the sample should be considered, the sample shows adequate features for the main purpose of this analysis, which is to analyse the distribution of the perception of being respected in Chile, according to several sociodemographic variables. Accordingly, rather than arriving at definite conclusions about the presence/absence of this experience in the Chilean population, the main aim is to explore how this experience correlates with relevant variables.

³⁵ This corresponds to £624 approximately.

Are there any relevant trends in the data that might be worth exploring? What is the form of inequality that is involved in the experience of respect? That is the main issue that this analysis is trying to shed light on.

4.2.1.2 Variables

In the following analyses I explore the distribution of a set of indicators included in the MDP survey which were designed to measure the experience of 'humiliation'. I focus on these indicators as one of them is explicitly focused on the perception of the respondent of being respectfully treated. Table 7 shows these indicators, as well as the theoretical structure underlying them according to the authors of the survey (Zavaleta, 2007).

Table 7: Indicators of Humiliation

Dimension	Sub-dimension	Indicator	Categories
EXTERNAL EXPERIENCE OF HUMILIATION	RESPECTFUL TREATMENT	To what extent do you feel that people treat you with respect?	1= always 2= often 3= occasionally 4= never
	UNFAIR TREATMENT	To what extent do you feel that people treat you unfairly?	1= always 2= often 3= occasionally 4= never
	DISCRIMINATION	Have you been treated in a way you felt was prejudiced during the last three months?	1= yes, always 2= yes, often 3= yes, occasionally 4= no, never
INTERNAL EXPERIENCE OF HUMILIATION	ACCUMULATED HUMILIATION	Have you felt harmed by being...? a) Excluded b) Put down c) Ridiculed d) Discounted e) Cruelly criticized f) Called derogatory Names	1= a lot 2= fairly 3= occasionally 4= very occasionally

(Source: Own version, based on Zavaleta, 2007)

As it can be noted, these indicators are grouped in two dimensions: 'internal humiliation', which refers to accumulated experiences of humiliation and 'external humiliation' which points towards current experiences of humiliation. The first one involves current experiences of

disrespect, unfairness and prejudice. The second one involves the experience of being harmed by six different actions: being excluded, put down, ridiculed, discounted, cruelly criticized and called derogatory names. In this framework, there is only one indicator which is explicitly focused on respect (I will call it, the 'respectful treatment' indicator). However, I have not restricted the analysis only to this indicator. Although exploring this indicator is the main aim of this analysis, I have decided to add more context to the analysis by comparing its features with the other indicators. By doing this, I am taking advantage of the whole set of indicators to explore the *particularities* involved in the experience of respect/disrespect in comparison with other similar experiences. My aim is to gather as much information as possible to understand what is at stake in the experience of respect and disrespect.

In sum, for the following analyses I work with four main indicators: respectful treatment, prejudice, unfairness and accumulated humiliation. For the purpose of regression analyses, I have used recoded versions of the four indicators described above as 'dependent variables' for different models. In the case of respectful treatment, unfair treatment, and experience of prejudice, I used dichotomous versions of the original indicators. In the case of accumulated humiliation, I have computed a scale which is composed by the average score of the six associated indicators described in Table 7 (the reliability of this scale is good, with a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.92).

As independent variables, I have used, on the one hand, a set of sociodemographic variables which were available in the MDP survey and are relevant to determine the structure of advantage underlying these experiences. These variables include household income quintile, sex, race, zone, disability, education and occupation (see Table 8). Regarding the household income quintile variable, it is important to mention that, unfortunately, the questions about income have a high percentage of missing values (between 1 and 6%). Therefore, when computing the household income quintile variable I am able to work with only 1896 cases. This involves a loss of information which should be noted (8% of cases), but I carried out analysis to check whether there are any patterns involved in this group and they seem to have a random character. Regarding occupation, I recoded the original occupations of the respondents following broadly Goldthorpe's EGP class schema (Erikson, Goldthorpe, & Portocarero, 1979). However, this is unavoidably an altered version of it, as I had to adapt the classification to the information available in the survey. Also, in order to work with the entire population (and not only with the working population), I added to the schema the categories of unemployed, inactive and family/house care which proved to be significant in many analyses (for details please see Table 8).

Table 8: Independent Variables

Variables	Operationalization
Quintile	Quintile I (lower) Quintile II Quintile III Quintile IV Quintile V (higher)
Sex	Male-Female
Zone	Urban-Rural
Age	Age (years, from 19 to 93)
Civil Status	Married Cohabiting Separated/Annulled/Divorced Widow Single
Household status	Head of household- Non head of household
Race	Descended from indigenous people- Non descended
Disability	Disabled - not disabled
Educational attainment	Incomplete or Complete Primary School or Incomplete Secondary Complete Secondary School Complete Technical or Incomplete University Complete University or Postgraduate
Occupation	Managers and Professionals Clerical Workers Skilled Manual Workers Unskilled Manual Workers Unemployed Family care/home Inactive (rentiers, students, retired)
Subjective social class	'What kind of home you consider your home to be?' 1. Upper Class, 2. Upper middle class, 3. Middle class, 4. Lower middle class, 5. Lower Class
Subjective poverty	'Imagine a ten step ladder, where on the bottom, the first step, stands the poorest people and on the highest step, the tenth, stand the richest people. On which step are you today? 1 (lowest)- 10 (highest)
Competence	Average score to the following items: 'People I know tell me I am competent/capable at what I do' 'Most of the time I feel a sense of accomplishment from what I do' 'I generally feel very capable'

Relatedness	Average score to the following items: 'I get along well with people I come into contact with' 'I consider myself close to the people I regularly interact with' 'People in my life care about me'
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On the other hand, I have used a second set of independent variables which belongs to the subjective sphere and seems useful to help to understand the meanings involved in these four experiences. First, I incorporated subjective social class and subjective poverty. Second, I incorporated indicators of relatedness and capability, which seem relevant as long as they are associated to traditional meanings/drivers of respect according to the literature (Langdon, 2007; Sennett, 2003). I thus incorporated the 'scale of relatedness' (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.81$) and the 'scale of capability' (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.86$). To see the operationalization of all these variables please see Table 8.

4.2.1.3 Technique of Analysis

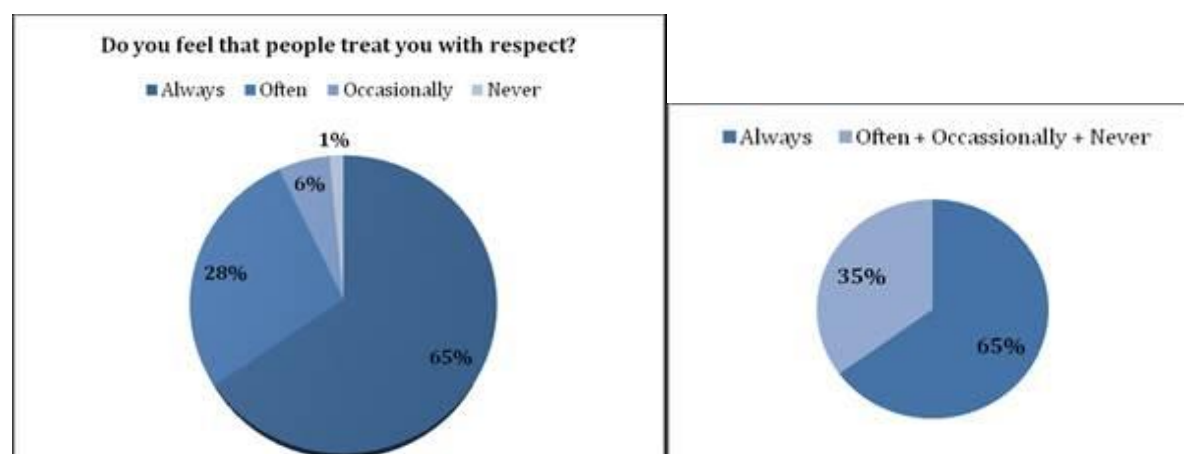
I have performed two kinds of analyses. On the one hand, in order to analyse the distribution of these indicators in the population, as well as the impact of subjective and objective variables in their distribution, I have performed both bivariate analyses (chi square tests) and multivariate analysis (logistic regressions and OLS regression analysis). On the other hand, I carried out a latent structure analysis to determine whether there is empirical support to argue that the items involved in the measurement of humiliation reflect substantively different experiences or if they can be considered as belonging to the same latent trait. This analysis aims to shed light on the particularities/similarities of respect in relation to the other experiences measured in the survey. To understand this, I used two different techniques: Principal Component Analysis, which is the traditional method to analyse the latent structure of items, and Mokken Scaling Analysis, which is argued to be a better method to assess the latent structure of ordinal items, which is the case for the humiliation items (van der Eijk & Rose, 2015; van Schuur, 2003). I carried out all the analyses in STATA 13.0

4.2.2. The distribution of respect

As noted, the most salient feature of the respectful treatment indicator is that most respondents declare that people treat them with respect. There is only a 2% that declares 'never', and a 6% that declares 'occasionally'. Most of the people declare 'often' (27%) or 'always' (65%). If we

add the responses in two groups representing two opposite poles, we can see that 92% of the respondents are located on the respectful side ('always' and 'often'), and only 8% of the respondents are located on the disrespectful side ('occasionally' and 'never'). If we make the grouping criterion more flexible, we can conclude that 65% are located on the respectful side and 35% on the disrespectful side (as long as they do not reply 'always') (please see graph 2).

Graphs 1 & 2: Distribution of the respectful treatment indicator in the sample (n=1988)



Based on these outcomes, we might argue, on the one hand, that disrespectful treatment is not a common experience in the sample. On the other hand, we might argue that there is a problem of under-declaration, as it is perhaps not easy for the respondents to admit that people do not treat them respectfully. It is fair to assume that questions like this suffer from the typical problem of social desirability (McDonald & Ho, 1998). Furthermore, we could question the quality of the indicator. First, we do not have any clue about what people understand by being treated with respect. There is the assumption that all the respondents have the same understanding of the concept. Second, we do not know who are the 'people' respondents are thinking about when they answer this question and it is unlikely that all respondents had had the same 'other' in mind. In fact, when we observe the distribution of similar indicators in other surveys in which the 'type' of respect and the 'other' are more clearly specified, the amount of respondents who admit feeling disrespected increases. An interesting example can be found in the Human Development Surveys 2011 and 2013 in which 60% and then 58 % of the population disagree with the statement 'I feel that in this society my dignity and rights are respected' (PNUD, 2012; PNUD, 2015). Unlike the respectful treatment indicator, this indicator places the respondent clearly in the public domain. At the same time, it specifies the form of respect that is involved in the question: it clearly refers to categorical respect, as the notion of dignity and rights are mentioned. This can be an indication that categorical respect is a sensitive issue in

Chilean society, or that the private/public distinction is very relevant in the experience of respect and disrespect.

In sum, and coming back to the respectful treatment indicator, we can conclude that this question does not provide much information to put the outcome into context. Still, 35% of the sample do not answer ‘always’ to this question, and it is interesting to ask who they are. Bivariate analyses indicate that people from the lower income quintiles have a higher tendency to be located in this pole of the continuum (see Table 9). The same happens to respondents with lower levels of education, unemployed, and people with low-status occupations -such as domestic servants, inactive people or people who perform home/family care tasks. In terms of age, there is a small tendency for older people to feel more respected. Regarding civil status, we can observe that people who cohabit are more prone to feel disrespectfully treated than married people. Those who indicate they have an indigenous background are also more likely to say they feel disrespectfully treated compared with those from non-descended backgrounds. At the same time, there are variables, such as sex, zone and household-status, that do not present significant association with the perception of being respected.

Table 9: Distribution of respect (%) according to income quintiles, age and sex

Respectful Treatment	Income Quintile					Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Always	59.1	63.69	62.91	67.39	69.35	64.58
Not Always	40.49	36.31	37.09	32.61	30.65	35.42
N	368	369	364	368	372	1841

(Chi Square Tests: $p < 0.05$; Cramer's $V = 0.07$)

Respectful treatment	Age				Sex		Total
	18-34	35-44	45-54	55 +	Male	Female	
Always	61.31	62.93	64.96	70.86	65.63	64.59	1294
Not Always	38.69	37.07	35.04	29.14	34.38	35.41	694
N	332	518	565	573	960	1028	1988

(Chi Square Tests: Sex: $p > 0.05$; Cramer's $V = 0.07$; Age: $p < 0.05$; Cramer's $V = 0.1$)

It should be noted, nevertheless, that even though it is possible to identify some trends in the data, the strength of the association of this indicator with the set of objective independent variables tend to be quite weak. This is confirmed by a logistic regression analysis in which a dichotomous version of the respectful treatment indicator is used as dependent variable (0=never/occasionally; 1=/often/always) and all objective variables are used as independent variables (see Table 10, Model I).

Table 10: Odds Ratios of Logistic Regressions for Respect, Unfairness and Prejudice

	Respect		Unfairness		Prejudice	
	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model IV	Model V	Model VI
Quintile II ^a	1.08	0.91	0.95	1.12	0.94	1.04
Quintile III	1.25	0.91	1.47	*1.90	0.69	0.86
Quintile IV	*1.98	1.53	0.93	1.25	*0.60	0.74
Quintile V	0.86	0.60	1.09	1.62	*0.56	0.79
Female ^b	0.99	0.88	1.52	*1.74	1.04	1.23
Non-descended ^c	**1.99	**2.10	0.80	0.82	**0.53	**0.55
Age	**1.03	**1.03	***0.97	***0.97	**0.98	**0.98
Rural ^d	0.93	0.98	0.91	0.90	1.06	1.04
Non-disabled ^e	*1.56	1.49	*0.64	0.68	**0.61	**0.65
Cohabiting ^f	***0.42	**0.47	*1.58	1.31	1.26	1.07
Separated/Divorced	0.48	0.55	1.50	1.35	1.45	1.21
Widow	1.34	1.44	2.31	2.07	1.73	1.63
Single	0.62	0.68	0.86	0.85	1.16	1.06
Non head of household ^g	1.36	1.37	**0.50	**0.50	1.03	1.01
Clerical workers ^h	0.59	0.71	1.52	1.35	1.70	1.67
Skilled manual workers	0.89	0.94	1.04	1.04	1.84	2.00
Unskilled manual workers	0.57	0.73	1.20	1.03	1.73	1.61
Unemployed	0.39	0.52	2.68	2.61	*2.57	*2.55
Family/ home care task	0.48	0.63	1.35	1.18	1.91	1.84
Inactive	0.51	0.58	1.74	1.50	*2.26	*2.34
Secondary School ^{i j}	*1.65	1.32	*0.61	0.68	0.79	0.97
Technical/Professional	**8.43	*5.24	0.60	0.68	0.78	1.12
University Education	---	---	*0.16	0.25	0.89	1.65
Subjective Poverty	---	**1.20	---	**0.82	---	***0.79
Relatedness scale	---	**1.59	---	**0.59	---	*0.75
Capable scale	---	**1.68	---	0.84	---	0.68
_cons	1.66	0.04	0.54	7,66	1.04	17.26
Pseudo R2	0.09	0,14	0.063	0.093	0.04	0.08
N	1741	1696	1719	1674	1775	1734

Notes: ^a the reference category is quintile I ; ^b the ref. categ. is male; ^c the ref. categ. is descended ; ^d the ref. categ. is urban; ^e the ref. categ. is disabled; ^f the ref. categ. is married; ^gthe ref. categ. is non head of household; ^hthe ref. categ. is managers & professionals; ⁱthe ref. categ. is primary school. ^jIn models I & II, educational attainment has been recoded in 3 categories. The 'technical/professional' and university education' categories have been merged.

*p <0,05, **p < 0,01, *** p <0.001.

Consistently, this analysis shows that the fit of the model to the data is quite poor (Pseudo R2=0, 09). Still, it is interesting to see that, controlling for all the independent variables at the same time, there are some variables that significantly increase the likelihood of feeling that people treat one with respect. These variables are: income (particularly, belonging to the IV quintile

instead of the I quintile)³⁶, race (not having indigenous background), age (being older), civil status (being married instead of divorced or cohabiting) and education (having a high degree of education). This is a clear indication that, even though the associations are weak, there are certain patterns that can be detected in the data.³⁷

Another relevant outcome of this analysis is that the strength of the association of this indicator with subjective variables tends to be stronger than the association with objective variables. For instance, the association between this indicator and subjective social class (see Table 11) as well as subjective poverty, is stronger than the association between respect and income. Although the association is still weak, people who think of themselves as belonging to the upper or upper middle class tend to feel more respected than people who belong to the middle, lower middle or lower classes.

Table 11: Distribution of respect according to subjective social class

Respectful Treatment	Subjective Social Class			Total
	Upper + Upper middle class	Middle class	Lower Middle + Lower class	
Always	85.19	69.52	61.65	65.03
Not Always	14.81	30.48	38.35	34.97
N	81	607	770	1976

Chi2 $p < 0,001$; Cramer's V= 0, 12.

Also, there is a clear association between respect and the scales of both relatedness and capability. This is an interesting finding considering that some of the usual meanings that people attribute to respect, according to the literature, are linked to the recognition of talents (Sennett, 2003) as well as the fact of being cared about (the last one would be present, above all, in the lower social classes) (Hulley et al., 2011; Skeggs & Loveday, 2012). To some extent, the existence of these associations helps us to understand what the respondents might be thinking about when they answer the question about respect.

Table 12: Distribution of respect according to relatedness

Respectful treatment	People in my life care about me				Total
	Not at all true	Somewhat true	Fairly true	Completely true	

³⁶ It should be noted that the effect of income and occupation almost disappears when education is added to the model. This is related to the high degree of correlation between income, education and occupation.

³⁷ It should be noted that the outcomes of the model change a little bit when the respect treatment indicator is grouped in two more 'flexible' poles (i.e.: being the category 0=never and 1=occasionally, often, always). The most relevant change is that in that model unemployment becomes significant. However, I have decided to show the model which has the greatest explanatory power.

Always	41.51	48.69	61.41	75.49	1255
Not Always	58.49	51.31	38.59	24.51	674
N	53	267	793	816	1929

Chi2 p<0,001, Cramer's V= 0, 21

Table 13: Distribution of respect according to capability

Respectful treatment	People I know tell me I am competent/capable at what I do				Total
	Not at all true	Somewhat true	Fairly true	Completely true	
Always	37.50	42.93	60.42	75.87	1267
Not Always	62.50	57.07	38.58	24.13	679
N	32	198	854	862	1946

Chi2 p<0,001; Cramer's V= 0, 23.

The strong association between respect and the set of independent subjective variables is again confirmed by the regression analysis (please see Table 10, Model II). If we add the subjective variables, the explanatory power of the model increases (Pseudo R²=0, 14). Looking at the regression model, we can conclude that, among the subjective variables, the variable that shows the stronger impact upon respect is the scale of capability. This is particularly suggestive as it signals the importance of performance respect. People who feel capable or competent, have a higher tendency to see themselves as respected by others. Also, among the objective variables, the variable that shows the stronger impact is education. Both outcomes together make us think that the phenomenon of respect in Chilean society might be strongly linked to the recognition of capacities and talents, which is clearly influenced by educational attainment. This can be an indication that either performance respect is the type of respect that predominates in terms of people's experience or at that all types of respect -either categorical positional or performance- are highly influenced by education. This is one of the main points that should be further explored in the following chapters when discussing the qualitative study.

4.2.3 Respect in the context of humiliation

As noted, another interesting feature of the MDP dataset is that contains a set of indicators which measure experiences which are similar to respect. This provides an opportunity to differentiate, from the quantitative data, the experience of respect from three similar experiences: prejudice, unfairness and accumulated humiliation.

To understand whether and how respect differs from prejudice, unfairness and accumulated humiliation, I performed two different types of analyses. On the one hand, I performed a latent structure analysis of all indicators involved in the measurement of the experience of humiliation. This exercise tells us whether these indicators share some variance or not, which is a first indication of the extent to which the respectful treatment indicator is similar to or different from the others. On the other hand, I analysed the distribution of prejudice, unfairness and accumulated humiliation in the sample and their level of association with the set of independent variables. The aim of this analysis is to understand the specificity of the experience of respect and disrespect by exploring whether the variables which are associated with it are also associated with the other types of experiences.

Putting respect into context

This section discusses whether the ‘respectful treatment’ indicator measures a different phenomenon than the other indicators involved in the measurement of the experience of humiliation. To understand this, I performed a latent structure analysis with the 9 items theoretically associated with humiliation (for the purpose of this analysis, I included the 6 indicators involved in the experience of accumulated humiliation - i.e.: being harmed by being excluded, put down, ridiculed, discounted, cruelly criticized and called derogatory names- as separated items).

I carried out two different analysis. First, I performed a Principal Component Analysis (PCA) to group the items according to their level of shared variance. This analysis enables us to determine whether the two theoretical dimensions of humiliation suggested by Zavaleta (2007) can be confirmed in the data. As it can be noted in Table 14, the analysis groups the items in two components which follow the same theoretical structure of the indicators. The first component (which groups all the internal humiliation indicators) accounts for 47% of the variance of the whole set of items, and the second component (which groups all the external humiliation), accounts for 17% of the variance of the items. This means, on the one hand, that the items of external and internal humiliation belong to different latent traits. On the other hand, it means that the items theoretically attributed to each dimension seem to share enough variance to be grouped together. This outcome suggests that the experience of disrespect shares some common features with the other experiences involved in the measurement of external humiliation -namely, the experience of unfairness and prejudice- although it should be noted that the shared variance is not that high.

Table 14: Rotated Factor Loadings of Principal Component Analysis of Humiliation Items

Indicator	Factor 1	Factor 2
Item 1_Ridiculed	0.8495	0.1395
Item 2_Discounted	0.8717	0.1721
Item 3_Called names	0.7926	0.1881
Item 4_Cruelly criticized	0.7945	0.1743
Item 5_Putdown	0.8679	0.1428
Item 6_Excluded	0.8287	0.1148
Item 7_Unfairness	0.2027	0.7190
Item 8_Disrespect	0.1406	0.7458
Item 9_Prejudice	0.2283	0.6074

Secondly, I performed a Mokken Scale Analysis. This analysis interrogates what would happen if we group the 9 indicators together to comprise only 1 scale. This is another route to assess the extent to which the respectful treatment indicator is measuring something empirically different from the other indicators. This analysis shows a slightly different outcome than the PCA (Table 15 shows the most relevant coefficients³⁸). According to this analysis, if we group the 9 indicators together as if they were only 1 scale, the scale as a whole shows a medium level of scalability (H coefficient of 0,48). This is due to the fact that whereas items 1 to 6 show good levels of consistency with the scale, item 7 (disrespect) does not meet the minimum requirements of consistency ($H < 0,3$) and items 8 (unfairness) and 9 (prejudice) show borderline results ($H < 0,32$). This is confirmed by a 'search' procedure which indicates that item 7 (disrespect) should be deleted from the scale. This deletion increases the H coefficient of scalability to 0.53 which means that the new scale (which groups all the items together except from disrespect) has a medium-strong level of scalability. In substantive terms, this suggests that even though the consistency is not too high, unfairness and prejudice share some common features with the experiences measured in the internal humiliation dimension, i.e.: being harmed by being excluded, put down, ridiculed, discounted, cruelly criticized and called derogatory names. However, it is the experience of disrespect which shares less variance with the others³⁹.

³⁸ These indicators should be interpreted as follows: The Loevinger's H coefficient (H_j) measures the level of consistency of each item within the scale, and the Loevinger's H coefficient of scalability (H) evaluates the properties of the scale as a whole. If all these coefficients are nearer 1 than 0, then it is possible to conclude that the scale has good scale properties. The standard criterion for the H coefficient is: $H < 0.3$ (poor), $H > 0.3$ (weak), $H > 0.4$ (medium), $H > 0.5$ (strong) (Hardouin, Bonnaud-Antignac, & Sébille, 2011; van Schuur, 2003)

³⁹ Although discussing the bi-dimensional nature of humiliation is not the main point of this analysis, it is worth noting that the wording of the indicators might be the reason why PCA finds two latent traits (basically, the internal humiliation indicators are too similar).

Table 15: Outcome of Mokken Analysis for Humiliation Items

	Mean Score	H
Item 2_discounted	0.48	0.63
Item 5_putdown	0.53	0.62
Item 1_ridiculed	0.38	0.61
Item 3_called names	0.48	0.57
Item 6_excluded	0.60	0.58
Item 4_cruelly criticized	0.51	0.56
Item 9_prejudice	0.28	0.32
Item 7_unfairness	0.55	0.31
Item 8_disrespect	0.45	*0.27

* H= 0.48 (with disrespect); 0.53 (without disrespect) and Alpha=0,88 (n=2052)

In sum, the evidence indicates that the respectful treatment indicator measures a phenomenon which should be distinguished from the others. Certainly, the PCA shows that disrespect belongs to the same latent trait as prejudice and unfairness. However, the shared variance is rather low. Furthermore, the Mokken Analysis suggests that disrespect is the only item that should be deleted from a potential scale if we aim to construct a consistent scale with the whole set of items. In light of this evidence, a reasonable conclusion is that the respectful treatment indicator shares *some* common ground with unfairness and prejudice, but it clearly accounts for a particular experience. A very relevant question in this context is precisely why is 'disrespect' the item that shows the lower level of consistency with the whole set of items? What is so particular about the *experience* of respect and disrespect?

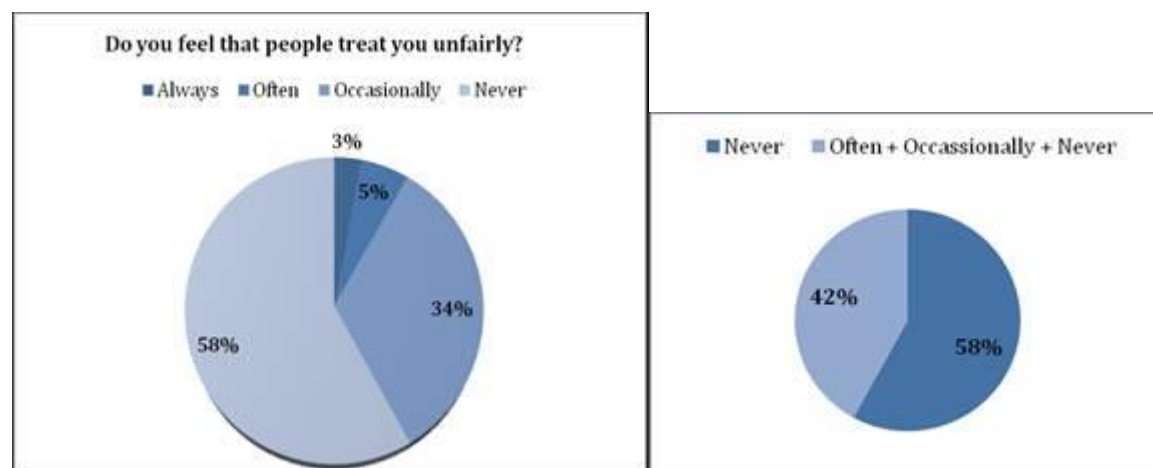
Looking for the specificity of respect

To explore the particularities of respect and disrespect, in this section I analyse the distribution of unfairness, prejudice and accumulated humiliation and their association with the set of independent variables. The aim is to compare the outcome of this analysis with the findings already discussed for the case of respect.

The first thing to note is that in a very similar fashion to respect, the discrimination power of these indicators is quite low. In the case of unfairness, there are only 3% of respondents that declare that people 'never' treat them unfairly, and 5% that declare 'often'. Most of the respondents declare 'occasionally' (34%) or 'never' (58%). Still, in comparison with the respectful treatment indicator, it is possible to note that it is a little bit 'easier' for the respondents to acknowledge unfair treatment. If we group the respondents in poles, being

‘never’ the positive pole and ‘always/often/occasionally’ the negative pole, there are 42% of respondents who do not reply ‘never’ (see graphs 3 and 4).

Graphs 3 & 4: Distribution of the unfair treatment indicator in the sample (n=1964)



If we analyse the composition of the 42% respondents who acknowledge unfair treatment, we arrive at very similar conclusions as with the case of disrespect. Again, people from the lower income deciles and with lower levels of education have a higher tendency to declare that people treat them unfairly. An interesting outcome, however, is that the association between this indicator and occupational activity is a little bit stronger than in the case of respect. As table 16 shows, the proportion of unemployed, unskilled manual workers and housewives/househusbands that declare that people sometimes treat them unfairly is higher than in other groups, such as managers and professionals.

Table 16: Distribution of unfairness according to occupational activity

Respectful treatment	Main occupation							Total
	Managers & Professionals	Clerical workers	Skilled manual workers	Unskilled manual workers	Unemployed	Household activities	Inactive	
Never	70,97	57,64	60,93	52,31	35,37	53,17	56,85	43,14
Not never	29,03	42,36	39,07	47,69	64,63	46,83	43,15	56,86
N	186	347	407	346	82	331	248	1947

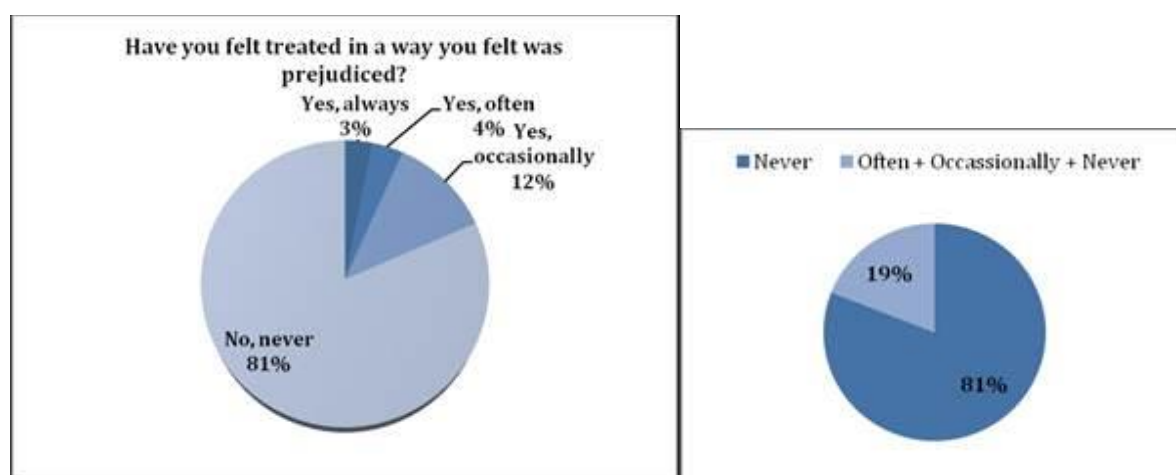
Chi2 p<0,001; Cramer's V= 0, 14.

This pattern, however, changes a little when occupation is controlled by education. As in the case of respect, when occupation is controlled by education, education is the variable that shows the greatest explanatory power. This can be seen in a logistic regression analysis, in which the unfair treatment indicator is used as dependent variable in a dichotomous version:

(0=never/occasionally; 1=/often/always) (see Table 10, Model III). This analysis shows that, considering only objective variables in the model, there are five variables that increase the likelihood of being treated unfairly: age (being younger), household status (not being head of household), civil status (cohabiting instead of being married), disability (being disabled) and education (having a low degree of education). Furthermore, as in the case of respect, when subjective variables are incorporated into the model (see Table 10, Model IV) the fit of the model improves (Pseudo R2 from 0,06 to 0,09). The subjective variables that have the strongest impact upon the feeling of being treated unfairly are subjective poverty and the relatedness scale. The capability scale, however, does not show a significant impact in this case. This marks a difference between disrespect and unfairness. Finally, in this new model the effect of civil status and disability loses relevance and the effect of sex proves to be significant: being a woman (instead of a man) increases the likelihood of being treated unfairly.

In the case of prejudice, the proportion of people who admit having been subject of prejudice is even lower. In fact, only 19% of respondents acknowledge having been treated in a prejudiced way.

Graphs 5 & 6: Distribution of prejudice indicator in the sample (n=2032)



As in the case of respect and unfairness, people from more disadvantaged groups have a higher tendency to declare that they have lived this experience. This can be observed, for instance, in the association between income quintile and prejudice (Table 17), which is stronger than the association between quintiles and disrespect and unfairness. In fact, in the case of prejudice, income is more explanatory than education. Table 10, Model V, shows a logistic regression analysis in which prejudice is incorporated as dependent variable (0=never; 1=always, often,

occasionally) and the whole set of objective independent variables are incorporated as independent variables. The model shows that belonging to the IV and the V quintiles decreases the likelihood of being treated in a prejudiced way, and being unemployed or inactive increases the likelihood of living this experience. Age and race also have significant effects, in the sense that being older and not having indigenous background decreases the likelihood of experiencing prejudice.

Table 17: Distribution of prejudice according to income quintiles

Prejudice	Income Quintil					Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Never	73,40	77,66	82,40	84,31	87,50	81,05
Not Never	26,60	22,34	17,60	15,69	12,50	18,95
N	376	376	376	376	376	1879

Chi2 $p < 0,001$; Cramer's $V = 0,13$.

Finally, when subjective variables are incorporated, the fit of the model increases (see Table 10, Model VI). The effect of income, however, disappears, because subjective poverty has a very strong impact upon prejudice and it is, of course, very correlated with income. Also, both relatedness and capability scales have a significant impact upon prejudice. However, the impact of subjective poverty is stronger.

Something interesting about this indicator is that it enables us to deepen a little bit on two pending questions: the 'reasons' and the 'who' (the other), as the survey ask the respondents why do they think that they are treated in a prejudiced way. Consistent with the clear association between prejudice and subjective poverty, it is very interesting to note that almost 55% of the population who have felt treated with prejudice think that the reason has been socioeconomic (see Table 18). At some distance, two other reasons emerge: ethnicity and education. This outcome is consistent with the high impact that socioeconomic background has in Chile in comparison with other status markers such as race, religion or gender. And it is consistent with other studies which shows that the main reason for mistreatment in Chile is socioeconomic (PNUD, 2017b).

Table 18: Why were you treated in a way that you felt was prejudiced? (%) (n=286)

Ethnic, racial or cultural background	10,42
Gender	3,41
Sexual orientation	1,56
Age	7,37
Disability	2,57
Religion	4,07
Socio-economic group	54,43
Education	11,89
Other (specify)	4,29

Another interesting outcome is that there are two places in which this experience tends to occur more frequently: health services and at work. 'Close relative' is also mentioned as a relevant alternative, but unfortunately, we do not know who that relative is. This outcome suggests that the experiences of prejudice not only come from the public but also from the private domain.

It should be noted as well that, when people are asked about their opinions instead of their experiences, the situation regarding prejudice and discrimination in Chilean Society looks considerably worse, above all in the case of racial or cultural background (please see Table 20). In fact, most people think that someone's ethnic, racial or cultural background affects her chance of getting access to jobs and different services. Therefore, we can pose the question of whether people actually avoid acknowledging these situations in the context of surveys, or whether the scope of people that actually experience these situations is quite restricted.

Table 19: Who treated you in a way that you felt was prejudiced? (%) (n=357)

Health care services	28.12	28.12
School	1.6	29.72
Work	22.48	52.2
Police/judicial system	3.76	55.96
Social services	5.76	61.73
Shops/restaurants	2.9	64.63
Bank/insurance company	4.09	68.71
Government housing office	2.59	71.31
Close relative	9.66	80.97
Unknown person in a public place	12.2	93.17
Other (specify)	6.83	100

Table 20: Do you think that someone's background affects their chances of getting...?:

Do you think that someone's ethnic, racial or cultural background affects their chances of getting:	Yes	No
a. access to public services	42,73	57,27
b. public sector jobs	53,08	46,92
c. government contracts	49,67	50,33
d. private sector jobs	54,44	45,56
e. education at school	36,36	63,64
f. education at technical level	38,83	61,17
g. education at university level	37,04	62,96

Do you think being a woman affects someone's chances of getting:		
a. public services	23,46	76,54
b. public sector jobs	27,06	72,94
c. government contracts	26,83	73,17
d. private sector jobs	29,29	70,71
e. education at school	19,75	80,25
f. education at technical level	21,94	78,06
g. getting education at university level	19,87	80,13

Finally, similar conclusions can be extracted for the internal humiliation indicators, which ask the respondents to manifest whether they have felt harmed by six different experiences: being ridiculed, discounted, put down, excluded, called derogatory names and cruelly criticized. As it can be noted (see Table 21) the discrimination power of these indicators is similar to the external humiliation indicators (disrespect, unfairness and prejudice). However, they have the interesting property that they can be summed up together in order to provide a very reliable scale. For this reason, I will use this indicator to explore the explanatory power of different variables in a greater detail. As noted in the previous section, Mokken Scale Analysis indicates that it is not entirely clear that the distinction between internal and external humiliation makes sense according to the data. Therefore, it is worth using this indicator to extract stronger conclusions about the patterns involved in the experience of humiliation.

Table 21: Distribution to the Internal Humiliation Indicators (%). Have you felt harmed by being...?

	Ridicouled	Discounted	Put down	Excluded	Called derogatory names	Cruelly criticized
A lot	2.1	3.45	3.6	4.32	4.14	3.04
Fairly	4.32	5.61	7.96	7.87	7.54	8.41
Occasionally	20.14	19.46	21.62	27.33	19.27	22.86
Very occasionally	73.42	71.48	66.82	60.48	69.05	65.69
N	1877	1892	1902	1922	1880	1887

In Table 22, I present three models. In all of them the dependent variable is the scale of accumulated humiliation. As independent variables, the three models include: income quintiles, sex, race, disability, age, civil status, household status and zone. The second model adds the effect of occupation and the third model adds the effect of education. The reason why I am showing the models separated is due to the high association between income, occupation and education. Thus, it is interesting to observe how these variables diminish or increase their impact when they are controlled together.

Table 22: Regression Analysis Accumulated Humiliation

	Model I		Model II		Model III		Model IV	
	B	SEB	B	SEB	B	SEB	B	SEB
Quintile II ^a	-0.04	0.05	-0.03	0.05	0.01	0.05	0.04	0.05
Quintile III	** -0.15	0.05	* -0.12	0.05	-0.08	0.05	-0.01	0.05
Quintile IV	*** -0.23	0.05	*** -0.19	0.05	* -0.13	0.05	-0.06	0.05
Quintile V	*** -0.26	0.05	*** -0.19	0.05	-0.11	0.06	-0.02	0.06
Female ^b	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.05	* 0.07	0.05
Non descended ^c	** -0.18	0.05	** -0.17	0.06	** -0.17	0.06	*** -0.16	0.05
Nondisabled ^d	*** -0.26	0.04	*** -0.25	0.04	*** -0.25	0.04	*** -0.23	0.04
Age	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	* 0.00	0.00	* 0.00	0.00
Rural ^e	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03	-0.01	0.04	-0.02	0.04
Cohabiting ^f	** 0.11	0.04	* 0.10	0.04	0.09	0.04	0.04	0.04
Separated/Divorced	*** 0.29	0.07	*** 0.28	0.07	*** 0.29	0.07	*** 0.24	0.07
Widow	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.02	0.10	-0.02	0.10
Single	0.10	0.06	0.11	0.07	0.11	0.07	0.10	0.06
Head of household ^g	0.07	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.01	0.05
Clerical workers ^h	---	---	0.10	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.04	0.07
Skilled manual workers	---	---	0.11	0.07	0.03	0.07	0.02	0.07
Unskilled manual workers	---	---	* 0.17	0.07	0.10	0.08	0.06	0.07
Unemployed	---	---	*** 0.35	0.09	*** 0.34	0.10	*** 0.29	0.09
Household/care tasks	---	---	* 0.18	0.07	0.11	0.08	0.07	0.08
Inactive	---	---	0.14	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.04	0.08
Secondary School ⁱ	---	---	---	---	*** -0.14	0.04	-0.09	0.04
Technical /Incomplete U	---	---	---	---	** -0.26	0.08	* -0.16	0.07
University or +	---	---	---	---	* -0.18	0.08	-0.06	0.08
Subjective Poverty	---	---	---	---	---	---	*** 0.05	0.01
Relatedness Scale	---	---	---	---	---	---	*** -0.10	0.03
Capability Scale	---	---	---	---	---	---	*** -0.19	0.03
	0.94	0.10	0.79	0.12	0.99	0.13		
Constant							1.60	0.18
R2	0.078		0.075		0.084		0.172	
N	1761		1784		1683		1639	

Notes: ^a the reference category (ref. categ.) is quintile I ; ^b the ref. categ. is male; ^c the ref. categ. is descended ; ^d the ref. categ. is disabled ; ^e the ref. categ. is urban ; ^f the ref. categ. is managers & professionals; ^g the ref. categ. is non head of household; ^h the ref. categ. is married; ⁱ the ref. categ. is primary school; *p < 0,05, **p < 0,01, *** p < 0.001.

The first model shows that belonging to the lower income quintiles instead of the medium and higher quintiles (III to V), having a disability, being divorced or cohabiting and having indigenous race have a significant impact upon the experience of accumulated humiliation. Belonging to a rural instead of an urban zone and being older instead of younger do not have a

significant impact. In the second model, however, when occupation is incorporated, the explanatory power of income decreases a little bit. Also, occupation gains in relevance, and being unemployed, an unskilled worker or a family/home carer produces a significant increase of accumulated humiliation in comparison with being a manager or a professional. Finally, in the third model, when education is incorporated, occupation loses strength and the only occupational category that remains explanatory is being unemployed. Now, the strongest predictor is education.

Still, the regression analysis confirms something that had been already highlighted, namely: that the power of objective variables is low. The best model (model III) only accounts for 8% of the variance of the whole phenomena. That is why incorporating subjective variables is essential.

Model IV incorporates subjective variables into the model. We can observe that the incorporation of these variables has a relevant impact upon the explanatory power of the model. Now the model accounts for almost 20% of the variance of the phenomena. Certainly, the risk of endogeneity also increases. The indicators of accumulated humiliation have a clear emotional component that the external humiliation indicators do not possess (the idea of 'being harmed by'), that is probably why their association with subjective variables is stronger. But from another perspective, this makes it very interesting to analyse these indicators in order to understand the structures that operate behind the feeling of humiliation. As it can be noted, the variable which has the strongest impact upon the experience of accumulated humiliation is the capability scale, being closely followed by subjective poverty and the relatedness scale. Also, it should be noted that after the incorporation of subjective variables (above all, the incorporation of subjective poverty), some objective variables diminish their impact, but they are still relevant: education, unemployment, disability and race prove to be significant.

4. 3 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a first empirical exploration of the phenomenon of respect by analysing the perception of being respected in the Chilean population as reported in the MDP survey. Unexpectedly, the analysis shows that most respondents feel respected by others, an outcome that contradicts the theoretical assumption that respect is unequally distributed in the population.

This outcome should be carefully assessed. On the one hand, it could be a consequence of the quality of the indicators. The discrimination power of the respectful treatment indicator contained in the MDP survey is too low. This is also the case for the rest of indicators which attempt to measure the experience of humiliation. Therefore, this finding might be the outcome of methodological problems, as the indicators have too few response categories.

On the other hand, it is perfectly possible to think that the indicators work just fine and they are showing us an unexpected reality: that the presence of the experience of disrespect is quite limited in the sample and that the weight of structural factors on it, such as class or gender, is irrelevant. This explanation would point towards a theoretical problem rather than a methodological one: the problem being the way in which disrespect is usually theorized in relation to inequality.

Based on the data, both explanations are plausible. But it is also important to note that the analysis shows certain patterns in the perception of being (dis)respected, as well as in all other experiences of humiliation, that are statistically significant and quite consistent among the different models. Income, occupation, education, sex, age, civil status, household status, race and disability have an impact on the explanation of these phenomena. Certainly, the explanatory power of these variables is rather weak, and their level of relevance varies according to which specific feeling or experience is under analysis. But overall, all of them have certain explanatory power for at least one experience. This indicates that the experience of disrespect and humiliation is not entirely 'random'. Instead, there are structured inequalities involved in this problem.

The analysis also suggests that there are some particularities involved in the experience of respect that makes it distinctive from other experiences of humiliation. Latent structural analyses indicate that, of all items, the respectful treatment indicator is precisely the one which shares less variance with the rest of indicators. By looking at how disrespectful treatment correlates with several independent variables, there is evidence to think that the specificity of respect might be related to its connection with issues of performance. As noted, the association between the perception of being respected and educational attainment is quite clear. Furthermore, there is a clear association between this perception and the scale of capability which ask respondents to assert whether they feel capable and whether others think they are capable or not.

This outcome is very interesting in light of the literature review. Although the items contained in the survey do not allow us to measure the three forms of respect theoretically distinguished in Chapter 1, this might be an indication of the relevance of performance respect in the experience of respect of the Chilean Population. It could also be an indication of the weight of educational attainment in getting all types of respect. The challenge of deepening and explaining these findings is one of the most interesting for the qualitative study.

So, what is at stake in the experience of being respected? The analysis carried out so far has shed light on some variables which might affect this experience. However, the main question remains. Why are the associations in the data so weak? Why do most respondents think of themselves as respected by others? Why the sharp inequality in the distribution of income in Chile do not translate into a stratified experience of respect?

So, do we blame the method or do we blame the 'reality'? The analysis suggests that we should probably blame the theory and, after that, we can rethink and improve the methods. On my reading, what the theory is lacking (and as a consequence, the methods) is a specification of the different spheres in which disrespect and respect is experienced. People are involved in both equal and unequal relationships; therefore, we cannot understand their experiences of respect and disrespect without accounting for the context in which they occur. In a survey, we do not know who or which situations respondents have in mind when they reflect about these experiences. Furthermore, if respect is as relevant in the conformation of identity as the literature suggests (Honneth, 1995; Taylor, 1994), it is quite plausible to think that social desirability played a role in the outcome.

Also, it is possible to think that the inequality of respect is more complex to grasp. As empirical research has already suggested, the drivers of respect may differ between social groups (Lamont, 2000; Skeggs & Loveday, 2012). The assumption that some groups of the population are totally 'deprived' of respect, whereas others 'accumulate' all the stock of respect is problematic. What probably happens is that some groups of the population are 'relatively deprived' of respect in particular contexts and interactions. The idea of 'relative deprivation' (Runciman, 1967) suggests that people's satisfactions and dissatisfactions are better explained by their standards of comparison than by their objective positions. Thus, in order to understand why people feel respected or disrespected, we need to understand who they are comparing themselves with and what are their expectations (regarding their own worth). One of the main challenges that this analysis poses for the next stage of this thesis, is the urgency of understanding these subtle dynamics. This involves a double task: on the one hand, elucidating

the structural patterns behind these experiences, and on the other hand, being open to understand the mechanisms that mediate the relationship between structures and experiences. The following chapters address these challenges by exploring the experience of respect and disrespect from a qualitative perspective.

Chapter 5: The nature of respect in Chilean Society

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter I offer a general view about the nature of respect in Chilean society in the voice of the participants of the qualitative study. In the first section, I focus on the main definitions of respect and disrespect that the interviewees elaborate, and I stress their commonalities, beyond differences of age, gender and class. I explain that respect is a normative language and practice which articulates beliefs about how people should relate to others. I show how respect is mainly transmitted and learnt in the families, and therefore, there is a memory of respect which involves the learning of several rules and mandates.

In the second section, I analyse the multiple meanings that respect has in everyday language and I offer an analytical scheme to make senses of these meanings. I argue that respect involves always an assessment of the value of self and others, and the contingency of these assessments explain the multiplicity of meanings of respect. I show how the three forms of respect identified in the literature review can be mapped onto the narratives. Yet, I add some extra analytical distinctions to account for the diversity of meanings that appear in the data.

In the final section, I show that there are some tensions among the different meanings of respect. I argue that the analysis of these tensions is a powerful heuristic tool to grasp cultural changes in Chilean society. By focusing, in particular, on a narrative of the 'false respect' I demonstrate that there is a tension among forms of categorical respect and positional respect, as well as between forms of categorical respect and performance respect. I also argue that in the lived experience of respect there is a tension among respect as equality and respect as

difference which calls into question the traditional analytical distinction among 'recognition respect' and 'appraisal respect'.

5.2. The value of respect

What type of conversation is opened when talking about respect?

As discussed in Chapter 2, I invited all qualitative study participants to talk about respect, the importance they assigned to it and the meaning it had in their lives. Their answers reveal that respect is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon, in a way which extends upon existing literature. When talking about it, the interviewees referred to an almost infinite variety of objects, practices, expectations and processes. But, in spite of this, all of them engaged in a coherent conversation which was immensely rich and informative; full of emotions, assessments and memories.

Importantly, respect is, therefore, something which is possible to speak about. The respondents were clearly capable of talking about it; in fact, they were generally interested in doing so. Certainly, my questions directly asked them to think about respect, and therefore, turned it into a topic of conversation. However, the tone of this conversation reveals that respect is something that they clearly value and care about, something that they usually consider important. From the perspective of respect, participants developed judgements about themselves, others, and the society in which they live. They articulated expectations, frustrations, and hopes.

The narrative about respect is full of diversity and nuances. As I will show later on, the analysis confirms that there are diverse types of respect and each of them triggers a particular narrative. However, there are some common elements to all the narratives that can be highlighted and form the basis of the language of respect in Chilean society. These elements emerge when the respondents reflect on respect 'in general', as a moral principle that guides their lives, beyond the descriptions of concrete practices or experiences.

I have identified four main elements in this general narrative, which define the nature of respect in the voice of the participants: a) respect is a normative language that refers to how we should relate to others; b) there are certain rules of respect which should be followed: the most important are reciprocity and self-respect; c) respect is learnt and taught, mainly in the families; and d) what is learnt are certain 'mandates' associated to practices of equality,

courtesy, deference, and obedience. In the following sections, I describe these four elements that define the core of the nature of respect in Chilean Society.

Respect matters: the normative language of respect

If there is one unanimous assertion in the whole corpus of interviews it is this: respect matters, and it matters so much that the lack of respect can produce real damage in social relations. In the voice of the participants, respect is considered as a 'minimum', without which the process of social interaction can fail. When the interviewees stress this, the tone of the conversation becomes almost dramatic. As Rodolfo, for instance, a middle class man who tells me that without respect 'there is nothing'. Or Regina, an upper class woman who tells me that without respect no relationship can work:

"I think respect for me at least is (...) basic, and it is basic in a relationship of any kind, a cultural, social, labour, personal, familiar relation, of any kind. I mean, I think if respect doesn't exist -to respect the other person, to make the other person feel valued- I think things don't work, none of those relationships can work" (Regina, 62, UC)

"There is no 'double reading' [*doble lectura*⁴⁰] on it, no, there is no 'double reading'. Respect... without it, there is nothing" (Rodolfo, 54, MC)

The importance granted to respect is directly connected with its key role in the regulation of social interactions. Talking about respect triggers a conversation about the way in which people believe they should relate to others, and therefore, as it can also be observed in Regina's words, about the 'value' of themselves and other human beings. Certainly, it can also trigger a conversation about the relationship between people and institutions, or between human beings and nature or things. However, the main narrative is related to the codes that should regulate the interaction between people.

Respect is, therefore, a normative language: *respect articulates moral mandates, ideas of how things should or should not be*. In particular, it articulates how social relations should operate in everyday life. This can be observed in the words of Elena, for instance, who tells me that respect is about not damaging others, or in the words of Camilo, who thinks that respect is not doing to others what you do not want others do to you:

⁴⁰ This expression means that there is no room for other interpretations.

“...respect for me is... (...) that my actions, my attitudes don’t harm the other person”
(Elena, 61, MC)

“Respect for me is... I think it is not doing to another person what you don’t want others do to you. To me, that’s the basis of respect” (Camilo, 37, MC)

Respect can be defined positively or negatively. When respect is defined positively, it is related to concepts such as ‘valuation’, as can be perceived in Violeta’s words below or in Regina’s words at the beginning of this section. These types of definitions tend to stress ‘closeness’: respect is associated to seeing and valuing the person in front of you:

“(...) respect for me is that, is valuing the one who is next to me, the one who is in front of me, valuing him (...) in that moment” (Violeta, 47, MC)

Sometimes, however, respect is defined negatively, for instance, when it is associated to freedom or not damaging others. These types of definition stress ‘distance’. In this context, respect is *the* boundary, the limit by which we relate to each other. It involves a constriction. We can observe this in René’s words:

“Respect has to do with the limits to freedom, and that freedom is to which point you can exert your freedom without affecting a third party’s freedom. And that, that boundary is respect” (René, 60, UC)

Either as distance or closeness, respect is essentially a relational code. The question *how should I relate to others?* is at the heart of the conversation that it is opened by the word ‘respect’. For the same reason, the narrative of respect produces ‘assessments’. While talking about respect, the participants reflected about themselves, others and the contexts they inhabit. As a methodological device, respect opened a window to understanding how everyday interactions work in practice, (discussed in detail in chapter 6).

The rules of respect: reciprocity and self-respect

When the respondents talk about respect, they tend to mention several principles, which are considered essential for respect to work properly. When the participants talk about these principles the conversation tends to be quite abstract. There are certain ‘rules of respect’, and the interviewees are able to articulate them without specifying the actual form of respect they are referring to or the type of practice they are thinking about.

In the context of these principles, there are two which stand out as especially important. On the one hand, there is the principle of '*reciprocity*', whose importance has been mentioned in the literature (e.g. Sennett, 2003). As Fernando argues, respect is something that you get only if you give it back. In fact, when someone is disrespectful, that person loses the right to be respected. As it can be observed in Rita's words, disrespect authorizes disrespect:

'I think respect for me it has to be reciprocal. If I grant it, if I treat the others with respect, I think I'm going to receive the same' (Fernando, 58, LC)

"If someone gives respect to me I have to respect him too. If someone shows me respect by respecting me, why am I not going to respect him? Of course I will. But...I don't know, a person that disrespects me, is not trying to get my respect because he is not practising it with me" (Rita, 38, LC)

On the other hand, a principle which is heavily stressed by the interviewees is the importance of *self-respect*, something that it is also mentioned in the literature (e.g. Honneth, 1995; Rawls, 1973). This principle is mentioned in two different forms: on the one hand, as it can be observed in Gastón's words, you cannot respect others if you don't respect yourself. On the other hand, as Rita explains, you cannot command respect if you don't respect yourself.

' (...) you have to respect yourself, you have to know how to respect yourself to learn how to respect the others, because if you respect yourself, you will respect the others' (Gastón, 43, LW)

"If I don't respect myself I'll be allowing others to walk all over me [*pasarme a llevar*⁴¹], to say it in some way. I don't know how to explain it, but if I respect myself I can't let someone disrespect me or treat me in a way I think I'm not, to say it in some way. I think it is that" (Rita, 38, LC)

Importantly, the meaning of self-respect in the narratives presents some specificity in relation to how self-respect tends to be theorized. In the literature it is usually argued that self-respect is an outcome of respect, namely, you get self-respect when you are respected by others (e.g. Honneth, 1995; Rawls, 1973). However, in the narratives self-respect is usually understood as a pre-condition of respect. This rationale appears in different forms. On the one hand, there is the idea that by having self-respect you will be able to grant respect to others (as Gastón explains, above). This discourse is associated to the fact that 'being respectful' is considered as a source of value (a source of self-respect) (analysed extensively in Chapter 9). On the other hand, there is

⁴¹ 'Pasar a llevar' is a Chilean expression which is used to denote that someone does something without considering you. I'm translating this as 'walk over me'.

the idea that by having self-respect you will be able to command it, which is a discourse anchored in the problem of abuse (further discussed in Chapter 7).

Beyond the specificity of the meaning of self-respect, it is worth noting that both principles together – reciprocity and self-respect– articulate something which is strongly highlighted in the theoretical tradition of recognition (Honneth, 1995, 2007) and founded in Hegel and Mead: the idea that one's relationship to oneself is mediated by an intersubjective process, or to put it in other words, that one's attitude towards oneself emerges through encounters with others. This basically means that self-respect is reinforced through the process of interaction. Reciprocity and self-respect work together: we gain respect by respecting others, and by being respected by others in return.

The learning of respect: the importance of the family

According to the participants, respect is something that people 'learn' and 'teach'. Therefore, there is a memory of respect which can be reconstructed in the narratives. This aspect of respect became apparent during the analysis for two reasons. On the one hand, because some interviewees narrated memories of how they had learnt to respect others by imitating the behaviour of their significant others, such as their parents. On the other hand, because many participants stressed that respect is something that 'comes from the cot' (*viene de la cuna*), which is an informal Chilean expression signifying that there are things which are only learnt at home. This can be observed in the words of Francisco and Rodolfo below:

"(...) if I treat someone with respect or not, it isn't because I think about it, rather it is because I have or I don't have it; so I think that this is something that comes from the cot, I think the family is very important in this" (Francisco, 28, UC)

"There are things that come from the cot, darling [*mijita*⁴²]. My father always said: 'you are born, not made' (Rodolfo, 54, MC)

This narrative places 'the family' in a central position in the learning of respect. The rules of respect are transmitted in the families, from one generation to another. In fact, when someone is seen as disrespectful, for the interviewees the family is usually the one to blame. Certainly, formative institutions such as schools are also mentioned, but the family is always emphasised.

⁴² As noted in Chapter 2, when he calls me 'mijita' he is calling me daughter, little girl.

It is interesting to note that there is a certain 'pride' involved in this narrative. This can be clearly perceived in Rodolfo's words when he explains that respect 'comes from the cot' and he adds a saying of his father: 'you are born, not made'. This reveals something which is key, and it is related to the importance for the participants of being perceived as 'respectful' toward others. Being respectful is considered as a 'value', which plays a significant role in the narrative of respect. The analysis of this narrative is the focus of Chapter 9.

Finally, it is interesting to reflect on how the learning process of respect opens the possibility of thinking of respect as a normative language that takes a particular form in Chilean Society as it is transmitted, from one generation to another. This strengthens the argument that respect is a highly contextual phenomenon. Although there might be commonalities between different contexts, respect is most likely a language that varies according to the cultural and institutional understandings of the self and the other that exist in any given society. In this context, a crucial question to ask is what did the interviewees learn regarding the practice of respect: which forms of respect were participants taught by their families?

The mandates of respect: courtesy, equality, deference and obedience

Interview analysis reveals that there are several 'mandates' regarding respect that the participants express, mainly by narrating childhood memories. The analysis of these mandates is useful to elucidate the nature of respect in Chilean society. These mandates can be classified in two main types: on the one hand, they are related to practices of courtesy in the context of non-hierarchical relationships, which are intertwined with a principle of equality. On the other hand, they are related to practices of deference and obedience in the context of hierarchical relationships, which are intertwined with a principle of difference.

Regarding the former, as it can be seen in Carmen's words, many interviewees narrated that they learnt that they must respect everyone, which means to be polite and greet each person they encounter. This mandate of courtesy tends to be intertwined with an explicit mandate of equality. As Rodolfo explains, he learnt to be a gentleman, but he also specifies that he does not make differences between people with different occupations. The mandate to be courteous (i.e. to have good manners) is mixed with a mandate of equality: you should be courteous with everyone, *despite* social or economic differences. It is therefore a mandate of 'egalitarian courtesy'.

“ (...) we were taught to respect everyone, if someone arrived [at our house] and we [passed straight by] her and didn't greet her, my dad made us to come back and greet her, that's what I was taught, I had to respect everyone, that's the truth, that's what I know, you have to respect your siblings, the kids, your neighbours” [Carmen, 59, LC]

“Respect is something that comes with me. Whoever I am with: the judge, the minister, the cleaner, it is the same. You will always be a gentleman” [Rodolfo, 54, MC]

Conversely, as it can be observed in Andrea and Anselmo's words, many interviewees emphasised that they learnt to respect people in positions of authority, namely, to obey them. This involves respecting elders (parents, grandparents, among others) as well as traditional figures of authority such as teachers or police officers. In this context, the principle of equality loses importance. Respect should be granted specially to some over others: those in position of authority.

“(...) I come from a very traditional family, where respect was the most important thing. It's like you must respect your father, your mother, your uncle, your grandfather, you must respect the police officer, the teacher! You must!” [Andrea, 30, MC]

“(...) when you're a kid they tell you: you lack in respect! (*sin respeto!*) You can't disrespect your elders!” [Anselmo, 32, LC]

It should be noted that both types of mandate were present in the narratives of interviewees of all social classes, gender and ages. When looking at their pasts, interviewees tended to narrate experiences of them learning to be obedient or polite. This does not mean that the meanings of respect are inflexible or unchanging. As I will show in the following sections, the meanings of respect are in tension, and this tension puts some of the mandates under scrutiny.

Furthermore, the learning of respect can be explicitly linked to a biographical experience in which the interviewees challenge what they see as the norm in their homes or their social contexts. This is less frequent among the respondents, but it certainly happens. In such cases, the learning of respect does not come from replicating a mandate but from the conscious decision to challenge the current mandate and creating a new one.

This can be seen in the story of Gastón. Gastón is a working-class man who works as a non-skilled construction worker. Although he now lives on the edges of Santiago, he has spent his life mostly in rural contexts. He is also illiterate, in a country in which the literacy rate is almost 99%. Gastón tells me that he always respects women, and he explains this fact due to the experiences he had as a child when observing his dad beating his mum.

(...) I always respect women because my mother raised me, she gave me life, and she is a woman, and I have always tried to respect women, whatever is the matter, even if she is mistaken, but it's better to respect her, because you should not... because we lived a very bad experience when we were kids. My daddy, feeling powerless for not having a job, for sometimes seeing us without anything to eat, because of this powerlessness, he would argue with my mum, and he beat her sometimes, we were little children, and we used to cry... until I grew up a little, and one day I stood in front of my daddy and I told him 'no, I'm older now, you don't disrespect my mum anymore!, because she serves you, she does everything for you, she serve us, so what else do you want?, life is like this, if there are no jobs, there are no jobs!' (Gastón, 43, LC)

The bravery of Gastón of standing up in front of his father as a kid shows how people can distance themselves from the behaviours they see in their social contexts, for instance, by identifying themselves with the suffering of another (in this case, the mother). In this context, Gastón created a new mandate of respect (i.e. I must respect women), which is likely reinforced by the fact that domestic violence is more sanctioned in the present than in the past.

The role of 'memories' in the self-understandings of the interviewees as respectful or disrespectful towards others is a crucial one. One could argue, on the one hand, that there is a certain *habitus* of 'respect giver', as people incorporate dispositions regarding how they should and should not treat others. This does not mean, however, that these dispositions cannot be challenged, as the story of Gastón reveals. Following Boltanski (2008), I assume that actors have a critical capacity to relate to the norms they are confronted with, which makes it worth analysing how the interviewees relate to the different mandates of respecting others in concrete situations. This is an aspect of the narrative that I analyse deeply in Chapter 9.

5.3. The types of respect in the narratives

In the voice of the participants, respect refers to a great variety of phenomena. Sometimes the interviewees talk about respect 'in general' as discussed in the previous section. But most of the time, when they try to explain concrete situations, they need to draw on additional concepts to specify the form of respect to which they are referring. These concepts mirror the variety of definitions of respect that can be found in the literature (Langdon, 2007), and includes terms such as consideration, tolerance, acceptance, courtesy, authority, deference, admiration, caring, and recognition of rights, among others. These meanings tend to vary from one interviewee to another, but most of the time, the interviewees themselves had mixed – and even contradictory – uses of the concept. In fact, most of them were aware of this multidimensionality, and were

constantly trying to precisely formulate the form of respect they were referring to when giving an example or narrating an experience.

As discussed in the literature review, this multidimensionality is expected. I have argued that respect refers to the kind of interaction that people expect to have with others in light of an assessment of the *value* of themselves and others. As this assessment is contingent, the meanings of respect are unavoidably contextual, and vary according to *who* the interaction takes place with, and the *context* in which the interaction takes place.

The analysis of the interviews reveals how this multidimensionality is expressed in everyday language. On the one hand, it shows that this multidimensionality is even greater than anticipated according to the literature. On the other hand, it reveals that this multidimensionality can be effectively organized according to a series of analytical categories.

I have previously suggested that there are three main forms of respect: ‘categorical respect’, ‘positional respect’, and ‘performance respect’. In this section I flesh these categories out with concrete examples from the data. I show that this scheme can be mapped into the narratives of the interviews, but I also add some additional elements to it, which help to clarify the extreme variety of meanings and practices of respect and disrespect.

The narrative of categorical respect

As noted in the Literature Review, categorical respect refers to all the forms of respect that are owed to people in virtue of their human dignity or their intrinsic moral worth. It refers to that which *everyone deserves* in terms of treatment. This form of respect was strongly present in the interviews. The respondents appealed to this form of respect by saying things like: ‘all human beings should be respected’, or ‘they should not disrespect me, because I am a human being, same as them’.

In this narrative, respect points towards what all human beings have in common, and this places the issue of equality at the centre of the conversation. This is the only form of respect which is inherently egalitarian, in that it is agreed that absolutely every human being deserves it. Inequalities of categorical respect are usually considered illegitimate. In fact, as it will become clear in following chapters (especially chapter 6), the most acute forms of malaise produced by the experience of disrespect are linked to the violation of categorical respect.

This form of respect was sometimes mentioned as a general principle, without specifying the types of practices that would materialize this form of respect. This can be observed, for instance, in the words of Paulina, who understands respect as the acknowledgement of another human being's dignity.

“(...) respect is something very beautiful, to me. It is like acknowledging in the other a legitimate other (...), with whom there is a relationship that dignify us” (Paulina, 45, UC)

Other interviewees emphasized the importance of issues such as acceptance, understanding and empathy. As it can be seen in the words of Nicolás, respect is accepting the other in spite of her difference; it is related to understanding that the other has something in common with you.

“(...) it is like accepting the people who you're surrounded by, independent of their sexual condition, their economic condition, their tastes, everything” (Nicolás, 51, UC)

But through the course of the interviews people attached examples that enable us to understand the different types of practices which are experienced as 'categorical'.

Categorical respect is owed to others. But what it is owed to others, in the name of equality, can take different forms. On the one hand, it can refer to the institutional or legal framework of respect, which is delineated by the fact that human beings are supposed to be the bearers of the same 'rights'. In this context, respect means simply to respect the rights of the other. The interviewees mentioned several times the notion of 'rights'. As I have discussed, 'rights' can be thought precisely as the legal translation of certain forms of categorical respect. The clearest example are human rights and “citizen rights”. This can be observed in the words of Sofia:

“I think respect is based on the fact that you... genuinely believe – and you have to really believe it [laughs] – that you have an individual in front of you who is not equal to you but he has the same rights than you, to say it in a way, and therefore, he deserves the same attentions and inattentions than you might get” (Sofia, UC, 36)

However, not all aspects of social interactions are regulated by legal frameworks or can be legally enforced. In everyday life, categorical respect can also mean to treat the other in the same way that you treat anybody else. This treatment can be related with several things, but one which seems to be particularly important is the way we *look* at others. The issue of 'gaze'

was heavily mentioned by the interviewees. This is interesting, as the etymology of the word 'respect' means precisely that: 'to look again'⁴³ (Esquirol, 2009; Verdugo, 2015).

'It is to see the other, simple as that' (Isabel, UC, 45)

"Respect for me means.... Look, I see it this way. To be taken into account, not being overlooked, being appreciated, not being looked down upon. For me that is respect. Not because they have more, or one has less, you are worthy all the same. For me, every human being is equal, if you have more, or you have less, for me every human is equal" (Alicia, LC, 56)

Categorical respect can also involve applying to every person the same rules of conduct that are considerate legitimate for a harmonious social interaction, such as, salutation. This is consistent with the mandate of 'egalitarian courtesy' discussed in the previous section. In this context, respect refers to courtesy, consideration and good manners, which is usually understood as the minimum expression of respect:

"Respect is important for us to be able to work, to be able to live, or to be able to, I don't know, eat, going to buy bread to the shop and say to the person 'hi, how are you, good morning, good afternoon, thanks' that is respect (...)" (David, LC, 52)

As can be noticed, categorical respect can be experienced in several forms. For the same reason, categorical disrespect can also take several forms. On the one hand, it can be linked to the violation of human rights. As it is expressed in this framework, it is believed that nobody deserves being harmed, being denigrated, being discriminated, being raped. Therefore, when someone face any of those experiences, the form of disrespect that is experienced is considered as a violation of categorical respect (a violation of human dignity).

However, as already mentioned, there are forms of categorical respect that are negotiated in everyday interaction and are not necessarily expressed in legal frameworks. Some rules of courtesy, for instance, may be considered as expressions of categorical respect if it is believed that everyone, just for the fact of *being a person*, should be subject of certain forms of consideration; therefore, when these rules of courtesy are not accomplished, the lack of respect is experienced as the violation of a form of categorical respect. For instance, when someone is not acknowledged by an other –for instance, it is not greeted- this experience may be experienced as a form of disrespect which violates categorical principles. As I will show in Chapter 7, several forms of disrespect are linked to this type of experience.

⁴³ Respect comes from the latin 'respectus', which derives from 'specere' which means 'to look'.

The narrative of positional respect

Positional respect includes all the forms of respect that are owed to people in virtue of their 'position' in society or in any given community. This form of respect conveys the treatment that is owed to people in virtue of the position they hold in any form of hierarchy or structure of difference, based on roles, identity or belonging. What inspires respect in this context is neither the dignity of the person nor her achievements, it is her role, her identity or her membership to a community. People appeal to this form of respect when they say things like: 'You must respect your father', 'I have to respect the disabled' or 'all citizens deserve respect'. The form of respect that is owed to people in virtue of their position arises from a sense of *obligation*. This form of respect is inherently unequal and that inequality is usually considered legitimate. Not everyone but a few deserves positional respect.

Consistent with the mandate of obedience discussed in the previous section, this form of respect was heavily present in the interviews. Unlike categorical respect, positional respect is not linked to equality but to a 'difference'. When the interviewees referred to this form of respect, it was clear that respect is something that it is 'owed' to some people more than others because of their role, status, or even because of their vulnerability. It should be noted, however, that categorical respect does not involve a denial of difference, but it always involves equality 'in spite of' that difference'. Positional respect, instead, is considered as legitimately unequal in light of certain acknowledged difference.

In this context, respect was related to two main phenomena: *deference* and *authority*. Respect is the deference we 'owe' to the elderly or to the children; it is also the obedience that children owe to their parents, citizens to the police, or workers to their boss. When this meaning of respect is stressed, the normative principle of equality loses importance, as the difference in respect which is involved in this kind of respect is considered legitimate.

This can be clearly observed in Marcos and Hernán's words. For Marcos, respect is something that does not exist between equals, because respect is what he owes to the elderly. In fact, he thinks that respect *is* a difference. For Hernán, instead, respect is clearly related to authority: as he says, respect is what he owes to people who are 'above everybody else'.

"Respect... mmm how could we define it? (...) If I had to describe it as an object... it seems to me as a dusty book, kept on an old trunk, because respect to me... is for the elderly, really. I don't feel respect when I'm treating with people... as equals. I feel like

that difference doesn't exist. I see respect as a difference, that's how I see it" (Marcos, 33, LC)

"(...) respect is the foundation of society, because there always must be a leader, there always must be some people who are not leader but are above of everybody else, and in that line [of command] there must always be respect" (Hernán, 45, MC)

Certainly, what is considered legitimate is open to change and it is subject of disputes and negotiation. Forms of positional respect which were considered fair in the past, are not considered fair in the present. This is related to the interaction between positional respect and categorical respect. As I will discuss in chapter 6, one of the main tensions observed in the data is related to the expansion of categorical respect and the way it puts under pressure forms of positional respect related to authority.

The narrative of Performance Respect

'Performance Respect' refers to all forms of respect that are granted to people in virtue of their behaviours or ways of being: their achievements, their talents, their virtues, their attitudes, their values. People refer to this form of respect when they say things like: 'I particularly respect this friend because he is really wise', or 'I respect this musician because of their talents' or 'you should earn my respect by being honest'. This is the realm of esteem and sometimes admiration. In this context, what is being respected is a feature of a person that is considered valuable according to a specific valuation repertoire (morality, achievements, talents).

Discussion of performance respect was present in the interviews. When interviewees stressed this form of respect, they emphasised concepts such as *admiration*. For instance, Rosa, in the quotation below, explains that even though everyone deserves respect, there are people who deserves 'squared respect' because they are admirable.

"I think everyone must, I must have the same respect for everyone... but there are people that you have, beyond respect, a sort of admiration, and perhaps, that admiration, joint to respect... is like... squared respect" (Rosa, LC, 53)

Something striking about this form of respect is that it was never the departing point of the discussion. The interviewees always started by discussing categorical or positional respect, which might be explained by the importance of the mandates of respect which are linked to

both types of respect. Performance respect, however, became intertwined in the narratives, sometimes in contradiction with forms of categorical or positional respect, sometimes as an additional form of respect that the participants considered worth mentioning. But in most cases, and this should be stressed, performance respect appeared strongly when the interviewees focused on themselves and their own process of 'getting respect'.

Unlike positional or categorical respect, performance respect is not 'owed' to others, and is usually 'earned'. In fact, there is a specific narrative in the interviews that reveals this feature: the narrative of "gaining respect". This narrative is especially important, as it signals the different forms by which the interviews think that they can accumulate respect. This narrative will be thoroughly analysed in chapter 7.

In some contexts, these three forms of respect (categorical, positional and performance) can be easily distinguished, but in most contexts, they do intersect. This is why defining respect is so challenging. People experience these several forms of respect and disrespect in a simultaneous way, and they mix several principles when they narrate them.

Making sense of the multidimensionality: Types, Principles, Domains & Practices

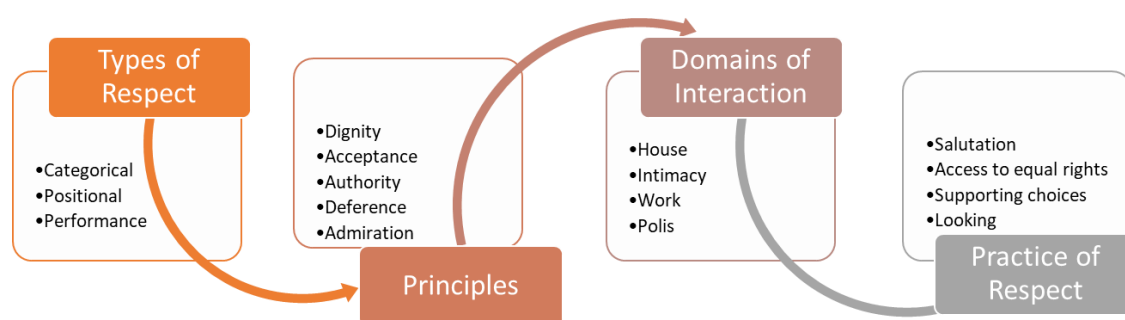
In the previous section I have shown how the three forms of respect identified in the literature review can be mapped onto the narratives of the interviews. In this section I add some additional analytical distinctions that emerge from the data and help to make sense of the multiplicity of forms of respect mentioned by the participants. The aim of this section is to strengthen the analytical framework that was previously introduced, and to provide a 'compass' to help the reader navigate through the array of experiences that will be mentioned in the upcoming chapters.

The different types of respect (categorical, positional and performance) specify the *reason* for which a person may claim to be respected/disrespected (her humanity, her position, her performance). However, they do not say anything about the specific content of her experience, that is, the way in which her experience of respect or disrespect becomes operationalized. This is related to the fact that each type of respect can be translated into almost infinite practical expressions: respect is a principle, but it is also a practice.

For instance, in the context of categorical respect between citizens, respect can be defined as recognition of equal rights and it can be actualized through universal access to health. However, in the context of everyday interactions it can be defined as courtesy, and as an actual practice, it can be expressed in salutation. Conversely, in the relationship between family members, positional respect can be defined as obedience to the eldest, and it can be practically expressed in the younger members of the family constraining their actions according to the eldest's opinions. However, at the same time it can be defined as acceptance and be expressed in the eldest supporting the youngers' life choices.

To make sense of this multiplicity, and based on the analysis of the data, I argue that all experiences of respect and disrespect can be easily classified if three elements are added to the analytical scheme: 'principles', 'domains', and 'practices'.

Figure 2: The four dimensions of the experience of respect



On the one hand, I understand by *principles* the specific form of respect that it is being demanded or granted by a person. Unlike the types of respect, the principles emerge inductively as they are the concepts that the interviewees use to specify the form of respect to which they are referring. I have identified 9 main principles in the data: *dignity*, which refers to the recognition of the equal worth of oneself or another; *rights*, which relates to the recognition of the legal rights of oneself or another; *acceptance*, which reflects the recognition of the other/own identity; *care*, related to the recognition of the other/own needs; *authority* which refers to the recognition of the other/own ability to control or decide over others; *courtesy*, associated with the recognition of the other/own need to display a polite behaviour; *deference*, recognition of the other/own need to display a behaviour that conveys the acknowledgement of

hierarchy or difference; *esteem*, associated with the recognition of the other/own abilities and values; an *admiration* recognition of the other/own outstanding abilities and values.

The principles of respect are actualized through concrete *practices*. They are the concrete actions or attitudes that convey respect and disrespect. They are infinite, as any action/attitude in a particular domain can be read as a sign of respect or disrespect. They include things as different as: being obedient, greeting, letting someone 'be', treating someone like an equal, congratulating, talking to someone, looking someone in her eyes, granting access to a service, providing support, preserving someone's physical integrity, and many others. There are practices which tend to reflect always the same principle (e.g. being obedient is the most common operationalization of authority) and there are others which can reflect different principles depending on the context (e.g. greeting can be understood as an operationalization of courtesy or can be understood as an operationalization of dignity).

Finally, the practices of respect occur in different *domains*, which also add specificity to the experience of respect and disrespect: the public domain (the workplace, the street, the nation) or the private domain (the house). I have identified 5 main domains in the narratives: the *family*, i.e. relationships of respect at the household, between family members; *intimacy*, i.e. relationships of respect between partners, between friends; *work*, i.e. relationships of respect at the workplace; the *community*, i.e. relationships of respect between neighbours, between citizens; and the *polis*, i.e. relationships of respect between citizens and institutions.

On my reading, the intersection between types of respect, principles, domains and practices forms the core of the experience of respect. What all experiences of respect have in common is that all of them can be desegregated in these 4 elements. For instance, when someone said 'I respect my mother, I obey her' what is being discussed is positional respect, which appeals to the principle of authority and it is placed in the household. 'I respect my child, I consider his opinion' is a form of positional respect, placed in the household and which appeals to the principle of 'acceptance'.

The following Table, classifies typical examples of practices described by the respondents according to this schema:

Table 23: Examples of types of respects, principles and practices

Type of Respect	Principle	Domain	Practice
Categorical	Dignity	All	Don't look down upon someone
Categorical	Courtesy	All	Greeting, ask permission to smoke
Categorical	Rights	Polis	Having access to health
Categorical	Rights	Polis	Having the right to vote, to have your voice heard
Categorical	Acceptance	Family	Accept the son's life choices
Categorical	Acceptance	Intimacy	Accept a friend's political opinion
Categorical	Care	Family	Avoid hurting the other's feelings
Positional	Authority	Work	Obey the boss
Positional	Deference	Work	Greeting the boss
Positional	Rights	Work	Pay extra hours
Positional	Authority	Family	Obey the parents
Positional	Deference	Work	Not saying 'bad' words in front of female workers
Positional	Deference	Street	Give up the seat to the disable
Positional	Authority	Family	Obey the parents
Performance	Esteem	Work	Being congratulated for doing a good job
Performance	Admiration	Community	Being asked to represent the community

5.4 The tension between the narratives: the difference between false and true respect

In the previous section, the different narratives of respect were organized in a scheme that helps us to understand the 'core' of the experience of respect. This is the first step in the construction of a sociology of respect. In this section I reflect on the 'clash' between the different narratives. I show how the meanings of respect are in constant negotiation, and that is an

indication of profound cultural changes in Chilean society. By doing this, I hope to demonstrate the value of doing research on respect, as the tension between the different meanings can signal profound changes in social relations.

An important difference between the three types of respect is related to the way in which equality or inequality of respect are legitimized. Categorical respect is the only one which is inherently egalitarian, as positional and performance respect are seen as legitimately unequal. But what is considered as legitimate in this context is a dispute. When the meanings of respect are negotiated, then, what it is possible to observe is precisely the tension between legitimate and illegitimate inequalities, or to say it in other words, the tension between equality and difference.

Respect as equality and respect as difference can coexist in the narratives. Someone who defines respect normatively as equality can also define it as a difference when changing the context of the conversation. However, the coexistence of both principles is not exempt from tension. In fact, *I will argue that equality and difference are in extreme tension in Chilean society from the perspective of respect.* This tension is manifested through different forms during the interviews which will be analysed in detail in forthcoming chapters. In this section, I focus on how this tension expresses itself in the negotiation of the meaning of respect. As we will see, people were constantly negotiating the limits of respect during the interview and mentioning phenomena which might call those limits into question. For instance, when the conversation refers to authority, the limit is related to 'fear' and 'abuse': can respect be commanded through fear? When the conversation refers to the realm of dignity, the limit is related to 'valuation': can respect exist without valuation? The reflection on the limits of respect reveals that there are forms of 'respect as difference' which are legitimate and others which are not.

A central theme that emerged in the analysis of the interviews was related to the distinction between true and false respect. On several occasions, the participants emphasised that there are forms of respect which are 'truer' than others. The analysis of this narrative proved very rich as an indication of the disputes in the meanings of respect.

I identified two main disputes in this narrative. On the one hand, the limit between respect and fear. On the other hand, the limit between respect and valuation.

Respect should not be fear

One of the main limits of respect was 'fear'. Several participants stressed that respect is not fear, or at least, it should not be fear. This means that if there is 'true' respect, it cannot be commanded through violence. This argument was made mainly by younger participants and women, and it was mentioned in the context of both: private and public interactions. In the private domain, for instance, there is a past which is referred to by the interviewees in which fear more than respect dominated the interactions in the household, above all among men and women. This kind of respect, especially in the voice of women, is considered a false kind of respect.

"(...) because women tended to be more submissive, they didn't imposed themselves, because, actually, I don't know if they respected or rather feared their husbands..." (Rosa, 53, LC)

"(...) respect for me is an important part, and I always tell my husband, because you know, sometimes, the arguments... all that, it shouldn't be like this. So... you can speak louder, but, for instance, if you fight with bad words, or beat up, that's like the maximum limit, I think... but if you think... and you allow this the first time, then it start to be like... it start to be a lack of respect at home" (Laura, 30, MC)

It should be noted, however, that when this conversation is focused on the relationship between the older and the younger, the tone of the conversation changes. As we will see in the next chapter, there is an 'authoritarian nostalgia' which is deeply ingrained in the population, and which is one of the clearest expressions of the tension between respect as equality and respect as difference in Chile.

"(...) I think the young don't see it now, but when they become adults and have children, and their children don't respect them, I believe they will realize that..., well, this is not a dictatorship, it not about being dictator, but any society must be based on respect..." (Hernán, 45, MC)

But for now, it is important to stress that the limits of respect as authority are usually defined against fear, so authority is legitimised as long as it does not involve violence.

"(...) yeah, because respect is something, let's say, healthy (...) when someone is violent and obliges [forces], that's not respect, that's causing fear, that is to be feared by others, not to be respected. Respect is something you earn, you can't impose it; you get it by how you act, how you act with others" (Ramiro, 38, MC)

Another form of this narrative is related to the form of respect which is driven by 'formal hierarchies', which is typical of workplace interactions. In this context too, there are some kinds of respects that are 'truer' than others. The respect that it is owed to the boss, for instance, can be a 'false' respect. Respect tends to be false when it is motivated by the 'role' more than by the features of the 'person'.

"I think (...) there is a sort of camouflaged respect which I don't know if it is respect, actually. How can I explain it... there is a respect for the role, or for the post, or because of the position of the person, but underneath I believe there is a very big resentment, so you realized that... there is respect, but in your back they are hating you in reality"
(Emilio, 47, UC)

The narrative of false respect indicates that there is a clear tension between forms of categorical respect and forms of positional respect. A nice reflection that summarises this tension was offered by Gabriela. Gabriela explains to me that in Chile respect was traditionally taught as something that it is owed to others. However, she thinks that respect is something that 'it has to be developed' and should regulate the relationship between all members of society. Gabriela is describing a transition: the transition of a country in which positional respect was more important than categorical respect, and in which categorical respect is becoming increasingly important.

'(...) traditionally, in this country, you're taught that respect is something like the Holy Spirit, it arrives to you, it goes down, and you owe it. And the truth is I think respect is neither a gift nor a duty, respect is something that it has to be developed, which is transversal, and it should regulate the relationships of all members of any society'
(Gabriela, 47, UC)

Does respect involve valuation?

For some interviewees, respect can also be false if it does not involve 'valuation'. This points towards the tension between categorical and performance respect. As noted in the first section, the relevance of the process of 'valuing' as an essential component of respect was intuitively mentioned by several interviewees. For some of them, respecting others involves always a process of valuing them. This can be observed in Bernardo's words below, who, in a similar fashion to Violeta and Regina in the first section, connects respect with value. For him, respect *is* valuing, and consistently with this understanding of respect, he also interprets self-respect as a process of valuing oneself.

“What respect means for me? First: valuing, the value. Because if I have values, I am going to value the person I have in front of me, because if I don’t have value, and I don’t respect myself first, I will never value you” (Bernardo, 59, LC)

Another and very clear example of this position can be seen in Graciela’s words. Graciela tells me that respect without valuation is ‘false’, it is only a ‘pose’, because the ‘depth of respect’ can only be achieved if there is a process of valuation involved.

“I think respect without valuation, no, I think no, because this society is so false, that respect is almost a ‘pose’, it is so superficial, and the depth of respect is intrinsic to the idea that I respect and value your point of view, your condition” (Graciela, 39, UC)

This spontaneous link between respect and value is quite interesting as it points towards the core of the sociological phenomenon which I am arguing is behind the phenomenon of respect: the distribution of worth or social value (Lamont, 2000; Skeggs & Loveday, 2012).

The link between respect and value is not, however, straightforward. Analytically, it is possible to argue that respect always involves an *assessment of value*: the value of your dignity, your position or your performance. However, it does not always involve *valuing*⁴⁴ in its positive dimension; namely, what people understand as appreciation, esteem or even admiration. This subtle difference is what justifies the common assertion that can be found in the literature that there is only one type of respect which involves ‘valuing’: what Darwall understands as ‘appraisal respect’, Honneth as ‘esteem’ and I have re-defined as ‘performance respect’.

What it is striking in this context, is that this subtle theoretical distinction is also reflected in the everyday understandings of respect. Whereas for some interviewees, such as Bernardo or Graciela above, respect and valuation are connected to each other, for others this connection should be made cautiously, as it can be observed in the case of Jorge. Jorge explains that respect does not necessarily involve ‘valuing’ because valuing is related to admiration:

“Respect for me is, basically, when I meet someone, when I have the opportunity to interact with someone, I open myself to know that person, that is respecting her, to understand her, to... I don’t know if valuing her, because that would be almost like enthrone her, or it would be like admire her, but at least, to understand, understand her and not delegitimize her beforehand” (Jorge, 42, UC)

Jorge, therefore, in an intuitive reflection which is consistent with the literature, is trying to make a difference between respect and admiration. Bernardo and Graciela, however, are

⁴⁴ In Spanish, the word ‘valuing’ (‘valorar’) is never used neutrally. It tends to involve a positive appreciation, which is why it can be conflated with esteem.

reconnecting respect with the process of valuing, in a way that would be at odds with the traditional bi-dimensional understandings of respect which tends to separate respect from valuation.

Why are some interviewees connecting respect with valuing and others are making an explicit distinction between the two? On my reading, these different appreciations of the role of 'valuing' in the process of granting respect, are related to the existence of a tension between the experience of categorical respect and the experience of performance respect.

Let's come back to the theory for a moment. As explained in Chapter 1, several authors have argued that there are two kinds of respect. Darwall (1997), for instance, coined the distinction between 'recognition respect' (driven by recognition of equal dignity) and 'appraisal respect' (driven by admiration). Honneth (1995), instead, suggested the distinction between 'formal respect' (defined as recognition of legal rights) and 'esteem' (defined as recognition of the particular qualities of someone). This analytical distinction is argued to be necessary due to a historical process which is driven by modernity: the detachment of rights and status as a consequence of the democratization of rights (Honneth, 1995; Taylor, 1994). To say it bluntly: in modernity, in order to be formally respected, namely, in order to have rights, there is no need to be positively valued or admired. This is the reason why respect and admiration become two different analytical dimensions.

What the data suggest, however, is that even though this analytical distinction might be formally correct, *it does not necessarily account for the lived experience of respect*. I say this because in practice – at least in Chilean society – the limit between respect and esteem is lived as a permanent tension. Or, to say it in terms of my own schema: the limit between categorical respect and performance respect is lived as a tension. This is related to the fact that formal 'respect', in order to be *experienced*, demands a certain degree of practical valuation. This valuation cannot be just formal, because the formal detachment of rights and status is not necessarily translated into social interactions that reflect equal dignity among all members of society. Formal respect is not enough to avoid the experience of devaluation, which is why for some interviewees respect *requires* valuation.

Another way to illuminate this dilemma, is by returning to the work of Honneth (1995) and his concept of 'symmetric esteem'. As noted, in 'The struggle of Recognition', Honneth identifies two main dimensions of recognition: legal respect and esteem. Although this is not elaborated in detail by Honneth, he does nonetheless connect the concept of 'dignity' with both dimensions.

On the one hand, formal respect (rights) is the legal acknowledgement of the importance of human dignity. On the other hand, Honneth distinguishes two forms of esteem: 'asymmetric esteem', which is associated with admiration, and 'symmetric esteem', which is associated with dignity. The reason why symmetric esteem is the same as the recognition of dignity, is explained by the fact that dignity, in social interactions, cannot only be materialized through legal frameworks. *The recognition of dignity is enacted in ways of being and ways of interacting.* Therefore, dignity can be conceptualized as form of symmetric esteem based on the recognition of shared humanity.

Categorical respect, therefore, cannot be only understood in terms of legal rights. The experience of being respected categorically, namely, the experience of being acknowledged as a human being, of being valued in one's dignity, is mixed with the experience of being valued: of being seen as someone with 'worth'. In a context in which performance respect is becoming increasingly important, the boundary between dignity and esteem becomes blurred.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has offered a first analysis of the nature of respect in Chilean society, by analysing the main definitions that the participants elaborate when reflecting on respect and disrespect. In the first section, the chapter has demonstrated that respect is a normative language that articulates the way in which the interviewees think they should relate to others. This language seems to be transmitted and learnt in the families, which opens the possibility of reconstructing a memory of respect. This language is full of rules, among which, the value of reciprocity and self-respect are particularly important. There are also mandates, which are mainly linked to forms of categorical respect (egalitarian courtesy) and positional respect (deference and authority).

In the second section, the chapter has contrasted the analytical scheme set up originally in the literature review against the findings of the interviews. I have demonstrated that the three kinds of respect, previously theoretically identified, can be mapped onto the narratives of the interviews. I have argued, however, that there are some analytical distinctions that can be added to this scheme based on the empirical findings. I have argued that the experience of respect can be desegregated in four dimensions (types, principles, domains and practices), which helps to clarify the variety of definitions and experiences of respect and disrespect than can be found in the data.

In the third section, I have put this schema to work by showing how the tension between the different forms of respect is a powerful heuristic tool to grasp cultural changes in Chilean society. By analysing the narrative of the 'false respect' I have demonstrated that there is a tension among forms of categorical respect and positional respect, as well as between forms of categorical respect and performance respect. This tension is one the most important findings of this thesis and it will be explored from different angles in the following chapters.

Chapter 6: Chilean society through the lens of respect: three struggles, two nostalgias

6.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I described the nature of respect in Chilean Society. I highlighted that respect is a strong normative language which configures expectations regarding the way in which people should relate to each other in different domains. I also emphasised that there is a memory of respect which can be reconstructed in the narratives of the interviews: for participants, respect appears as a relevant and distinctive value which is learnt and taught; the role of the family seems to be crucial in this learning process.

In light of this memory, the topic of respect certainly opens a conversation about the past. However, it also triggers a conversation about the present and the future. People are able to evaluate their lives and the social relations in which they are involved through the lens of respect. Based on this, in this chapter I describe the perception and the assessment that the interviewees have regarding Chilean society from the perspective of respect. I show how this perception tends to be very negative: it is associated with the idea that being respected is a constant 'struggle'. I explain that this struggle is mainly focused on three dimensions: (1) *the lack of courtesy*, 2) *the crisis of authority* and 3) *the absence of equality*.

In this context, I address a common assertion in the interviews, namely, that 'respect has been lost in Chile'. I show that there are different forms of nostalgia for respect, which are mainly related to the first two forms of disrespect (the lack of courtesy and the crisis of authority) as the lack of equality tends to be considered as a permanent feature of Chilean Society. I argue

that there is some evidence of communitarian and authoritarian nostalgia in the narratives, whereas equality, in turn, appears as an 'impossible nostalgia'. By analysing these narratives, I extend upon the theorisation posed in Chapter 5: that the different forms of respect are in tension in the everyday experiences of Chileans.

6.2. The struggle for respect

Can people feel respected in Chilean society? I asked this question to all the participants in this study. Almost all of them replied with a doubtful or negative answer "it is difficult", or 'I don't really think so' were the most common replies. When reflecting on these issues, several of them brought into the conversation the idea of a struggle. Verónica, for instance, tells me that *"Even if you fight to be respected in Chilean society... Chilean society started to lose its way regarding respect a long time ago"* [Verónica, LW, 50].

To an extent, this answer should not come as a surprise. If we think on respect through the Hegelian tradition, social life is defined by an inherent 'struggle for recognition' (Honneth, 1995). Thus, even though categorical respect plays an important role in the narratives of the interviewees - i.e. the idea that 'everyone deserves respect' - from a sociological perspective it is more reasonable to suppose that there is a certain distance between this normative definition of respect and its concrete practice in social interactions.

Furthermore, as I have recurrently suggested, there are different forms of respect; something which is also acknowledged by the participants themselves. People recognize that there are certain forms of respect that everyone deserves, and other forms of respect which can legitimately be granted to only a few. There are also tensions between different forms of respect; particularly, between categorical respect and positional respect, and between categorical respect and performance respect. All this suggests that respect in practice resembles more a domain of struggle than a 'given' that can be taken for granted in social interactions.

But what form does this struggle take in Chilean society? Are there some dimensions in which the struggle is more acute than others? Data analysis suggest that the struggle for respect in Chilean society is focused on three domains: the struggle for courtesy (focused mainly on experiences in the street and the public transport), the struggle for authority (focused mainly on experiences related to the household, the school and the police) and the struggle for equality (which refers mainly to experiences in the labour market and the health system).

Why is looking at these struggles informative? Inspired by Goffman's understanding of deference (1972), I have argued that respect is, first and foremost, an expectation of treatment that is at stake in every social interaction. As any expectation, it can certainly be successful, but it can also fail. Looking at struggles for respect in Chile is revealing because they enable us to understand which expectations the participants have regarding social interactions, which expectations tend to succeed be met, and which ones tend not to be met and why. Additionally, this is an opportunity to assess whether these expectations are still aligned with the mandates of respect that the participants learnt during their childhoods (as it was shown in Chapter 5), or new expectations are being formed in tension with those mandates.

Another key element that the interviews reveal, is that these struggles for respect are intertwined with a sense of loss. This can be, again, observed in Verónica's words. She keeps telling me: *"Respect has been lost. I believe that today's society doesn't know the word respect"*. This narrative was very common. Almost all interviewees think that 'respect has been lost' in Chile. By affirming this, they refer to a distant past in which people tended to be more respectful of each other.

This nostalgia is a key feature of the narrative of respect and it cross-cuts social class, gender and age, being present even in the youngest participants of this study. Camilo, for instance, a 37-year-old middle class man, tells me that *'respect has been lost, every day, and that's unfortunate'*. And Regina, a 62-year-old upper class woman, states: *"I believe we have come to a point in Chile in which there is no respect, it doesn't exist, or it is like set aside to a second place"*. Certainly, the lack of variation in this discourse according to age might be due to the average age of the sample. As described in chapter 2, this study does not incorporate people younger than 28 years old, a decision taken because generational difference was not its original focus. Therefore, the age of the sample should be considered when interpreting these findings. In fact, as I will show in several points in the following sections, there are indications in the narratives that some forms of nostalgia are directed against what it is considered the current behavior of younger generations.

It is also important to note here that there was a minority of interviewees who wanted to stress that this discourse was a little bit exaggerated and should be nuanced. For instance, Carlos told me *"(...) not everyone [is disrespectful], because there are people who are really kind, respectful. In any conversation with people you can find people who have values⁴⁵ to relate to others"*

⁴⁵ In Chilean language, 'having values' means 'having positive values'.

[Fernando, 58, LW]. However, even the interviewees who wanted to avoid a negative generalization of Chileans did agree that something was changing and some kind of respect was missing in contemporary Chilean society.

But what has exactly been lost? Where is located this distant past in which people tended to respect each other? As I will show in the following sections, the 'golden age of respect' was difficult to locate. And I argue that this is related to the fact that on some occasions Chileans long for a past which is mainly utopian. Even though nostalgia refers to a sense of loss, it is not always driven by the past, but sometimes driven by the present and the future. As Karner and Weicht explain: "While nostalgia is longing for another time and space that evade modernity's pressures and challenges, it also includes an element of recognition of the impossibility of this endeavour. As such, nostalgia can be described as an impossible utopia situated in the past" (2016, p. 22).

To which extent is respect an impossible utopia? To answer this question, in the following sections I describe each struggle for respect, and the form of nostalgia associated to it.

6.2.1. The lack of courtesy: communitarian nostalgia?

The first form of 'struggle' which people describe is related to the lack of everyday cordiality or consideration. This narrative tends to be focused mainly on experiences in the street and the public transport, but it also expands to experiences in neighborhoods and work places. This narrative is quite dramatic. People talk about their everyday life as if they live in a sort of aggressive jungle, in which nobody cares about the other, and everyone takes advantage of everyone.

For instance, Rita, who is a working-class woman, tells me that there are very few places in which people respect each other. To support this, she describes her experience on the bus:

"I think there are very few places in which people are respected as such. I would say that about 80% of people don't respect the other and 20% of people do. And nowadays, to give an example, on public transport, I always give up my seat, for instance, for the elderly, for the ill; and nowadays nobody does it, there is no respect for the other, for the elderly, or for the pregnant woman or those who are with kids. (...) It used to be more respect, more... I don't know. Or people tended to look more at the other in her conditions" [Rita, LC, 38]

As it can be noted from Rita's words, Rita misses the enactment of certain rules of civility. But beyond that, she misses the existence of consideration for the unknown other. That is why she says 'people tended to look more at the other in her conditions' meaning that people tended to consider other people's 'conditions' when deciding how to act towards them. This form of narrative appeared in almost all the interviews. For instance, Martín, an upper-class man, notes: *"I believe that in this country respect for others is not developed. I have been lucky enough to travel a lot, and you can see it, I mean, for instance, common respect, respect in the street, you don't feel it here as you feel it in other countries, not at all"* [Martin, UC, 46]. When Martin reflects on why there is no respect in the street in Chile, he argues: *"I feel like people are not concerned about respecting the other, it is rather a selfish culture. You put yourself or your closest ones first, and you can see that every day"*.

The lack of respect in the street, above all, while commuting, was heavily mentioned. This discourse cross-cuts gender, age and social class. However, there were some emphases which were different. For instance, whereas upper class interviewees - who usually drive cars - focused more on experiences such as road-rage, middle and working class interviewees focused more on experiences on public transport, such as: people who do not give up their seats for priority passengers (i.e. the elderly, pregnant women or people with disabilities); people who 'walk over you' in the street or the bus without apologizing, or who react aggressively to minor incidents.

Despite these differences, most interviewees mentioned that respect in the street has become problematic. Furthermore, in most discourses, there was a strong sense of loss. People talked about an increased feeling of lack of courtesy and even aggressiveness in their everyday experience, which was different from the past. As mentioned, this discourse was not only present in the oldest interviewees. Camilo, for instance, who is 38 years old, reflects about his past and tells me:

"I believe respect has been lost... when I was younger, I remember I would get on the bus or the tube and you would never see young men seated. If a woman got on, or an elder woman, the first thing they would do was to jump and give up their seats. Nowadays, young men are sitting in the tube, an older woman gets on, or a pregnant woman, or a young woman, and they pretend to be asleep. Someone can reproach them and tell them 'Hey, can you give up your seat?' and far from saying 'hey, I'm sorry', [they reply] 'what is it to you? Mind your own business!'" [Camilo, MC, 38]

Something distinctive about this narrative is that, unlike the struggle for authority and equality (discussed further in the following sections), the form of disrespect which is at stake can involve

both hierarchical and nonhierarchical relationships. It can perfectly refer to a 'horizontal' form of mistreatment which happens among equals, such as the road rage between two drivers. But it can also involve a 'vertical' form of mistreatment. This happens when the courtesy denied to someone should be granted to that person because of her position -usually associated to vulnerability- either in terms of gender, age or disability (the case of the pregnant lady, the disabled and the elderly are the clearest examples). Therefore, this narrative is associated to both: the struggle for forms of categorial respect and the struggle for forms of positional respect. In the first case, this struggle is connected to the mandate of 'egalitarian courtesy'. In the second case, this struggle is connected to the 'mandate of deference' which recognizes that some have a special right to be respected over others.

It is important to stress as well that there are some contextual elements which help to explain the intensity of these discourse. All the interviewees live in Santiago. In 2008 the public transport system in Santiago was ambitiously reformed, and this had a strong impact on the commuting experience of most people. This new system, called *Transantiago*, had a very problematic implementation and user satisfaction has been very low. People have consistently complained about long waiting times, lack of buses and overcrowded trains. Thus, there is an element of context which should be taken into account in this longing for a different past. For instance, Alicia tells me "*I believe that since we have this famous Transantiago, people started to be more disrespectful*" (LW, 58). And Hernán, a 45-year-old middle class man, explains to me that he believes this to be true for himself:

"(...) there are some measures which have been taken and have caused this: Transantiago. I think it has had an impact upon me. I'm not against it. I take the bus and it's only a 15 minutes' ride to my house. But I arrive to the bus stop, and I see how things are. In the past, I used to give my place [in the queue] to women, to people with baby carriages, I used to give up my seat to them. But I don't do it now. If I don't get on the bus immediately, I have to wait like 3 buses, and that means 45 extra minutes to arrive to my house"

The impact of *Transantiago* is undeniable. However, there are elements in the interviews that demonstrate that the intensity of this discourse cannot be explained just by this. On the one hand, even though most of the experiences that people narrate are focused on the transport system, they also mention experiences in other realms. For instance, Rayén [MC, 37] tells me about this experience which happened in an elevator:

"I feel like people are very angry, very stressed. The other day I took the lift, and the door closed almost immediately behind me. And in that moment a girl came in, and she reproached me, because I had not stopped the lift [for her to jump in]. And she was so

unpleasant to me. I feel like people are very angry, it is like they reply immediately, and in a bad way”

On the other hand, when people talk about these experiences, they usually connect them with a broader malaise regarding the quality of social interactions they experience. In this context, the experiences they narrate work as a sort of metaphor for something bigger. As can be seen in Alvaro’s words, his reflection about his experiences on the street and the tube ends up in a reflection about the inability of people to care about ‘others’ in general:

“I think what we live here in Santiago, in the jungle, is different from what happens in the rest [of the country]. I think in other cities people do treat each other with affection, with respect, they look at each other in the eyes, they greet when they see each other in the street. But here what you see is that we are losing respect, you care about yourself, and your closest friends and family, you don’t care about the rest. You see that in traffic jams, in the tube. I get on the tube every day, and if you bump into someone [*pasar a llevar*] you don’t care, because it’s crowded, so you don’t turn back to apologize (...). Or when you’re in a traffic jam, people throw their cars on others, they disrespect each other at the slightest provocation” [Alvaro, 37, UC]

Like Alvaro, some interviewees think that this phenomenon is mainly present in Santiago, and they offer an idealized vision of what happens in other regions. Unfortunately, as this study does not incorporate interviewees who live outside Santiago, it is not possible to assert from the qualitative data whether this is the case or not. However, there is evidence in other studies that the feeling of everyday mistreatment, although it might be intensified in Santiago, is not exclusive of the capital (PNUD, 2017b).

Furthermore, the analysis shows that there is a sort of ‘communitarian nostalgia’ in this narrative which points toward a certain form of unease which exceeds the context of the street. This can be grasped in the reasons that people provide to explain this struggle for courtesy.

The participants elaborate different explanations. One of the most typical ones is related to the intensification of individualism. As Fernando says: *“I think it is because of this system⁴⁶, whose consequences are individualism, competence... (...) I fight for my rights and it’s me, me, me, and I don’t care about anybody else”* [Fernando, 58, LW].

Another typical explanation is related to the acceleration of everyday life. Isabel, a 45-year-old upper class woman, tells me *“the world runs faster than before, and having the space and tranquility to see the other becomes more difficult”*. Something similar is argued by Carolina, who

⁴⁶ It is interesting to observe that Chileans talk about ‘the system’ to refer to the ‘model’ or ‘the Chilean model’, as well as to ‘neoliberalism’. This might not be the case in other cultural contexts.

also adds the role of technology in everyday life: *"I feel like people... perhaps is because of technology, I don't know, but everyone is like plugged in themselves, [people] don't look around, they don't care... or they are really distracted, or really focused on something, but it is like they don't look outside..."* [Carolina, 38, MC].

All these narratives have something in common: they refer to the difficulty of 'seeing the other',. Also, in all of them, the one who mistreats - the perpetrator - is usually an unknown person without 'particular' features. In fact, most interviewees assume they can easily become victims, and even perpetrators.

The broader phenomenon which is at stake here is a general feature of Chilean culture, and it is related to the weakening of the 'social bond' which, as noted in Chapter 3, seems to be related to the cultural heritage of neoliberalism. This phenomenon was heavily debated at the end of the 1990s when high levels of subjective insecurity were detected in the population. A famous study, titled *'The paradoxes of modernization'* (PNUD: 1998), argued that this insecurity was the expression of an underlying *malaise* which was produced in the population due to the disruptive introduction of neoliberalism during the 1980's. One of the features of this malaise was named as 'the fear of others', which basically meant that the level of interpersonal trust was extremely low. The undermining of communitarian bonds during the Dictatorship would be one of the reasons behind this feeling.

But where is this past in which things were different? Was there a moment in which people 'looked at the other' and, therefore, respected each other with more frequency? The longing for a past in which people tended to respect each other seems to be connected to a form of life in which bonds of solidarity were more frequent. This was especially clear in some of the narratives of working class interviewees which tended to connect two phenomena: on the one hand, experiences in the bus and the street. On the other hand, experiences in their neighbourhoods. In this context, they mentioned that neighbours do not care for each other as they used to do in the past. For instance, Anselmo, a 32-year-old working class man, tells me: *"your neighbor might be dying or is ill, and [people think] 'good luck, God help him, but I have to continue with my own things'*. Juana, who lives in a working-class neighborhood that started as an illegal occupation [*toma*] in the 1970s explains to me:

"when we arrived here [to the occupation], we had so many needs, and that made people to have good will, to be supportive...(..) perhaps because we don't have so many needs now, or those needs have already been satisfied, we don't need the others; and also this system make us all to be so individualistic, competitive..." [Juana, LC, 48]

In these narratives, the past in which people respected each other can be somehow identified. For instance, Juana refers to the 1970's, just before the introduction of neoliberal reforms. For her, this was a moment in which people needed each other, and therefore, respected each other. But even for these interviewees, the golden past of respect sometimes becomes blurred. When Juana shifts her attention from her neighbor to her everyday experiences on the street and the bus, she can't identify the moment in which things were different in the past. She tells me:

"I can't find a point of comparison and tell that there was a moment of my life in which things were different. But I do feel that people are more aggressive, they react very bad to many situations, people have violent reactions" [Juana, LC, 48].

When did respect get lost? I asked this question to several interviewees. Most of them, did not know how to reply to my question; the temporal frame was difficult to precisely articulate. As mentioned before, nostalgia can be driven by melancholy for the past, but also by discontent about the present and fear for the future. On my reading, the crisis of cordiality in Chile is linked to a form of communitarian nostalgia which talks more about the present than about the past. Cordiality and civility might have been decreasing in Santiago due to changes in its public transport system, but it seems that people stopped looking at each other a long time ago. The golden past of respect cannot be located. This suggests that there is some utopian element in this past which is longed for and missed.

6.2.2. The crisis of authority: the authoritarian nostalgia

The second form of struggle that the participants mention in their narratives is associated with the difficulties in exercising authority. This narrative is focused on two domains: on the one hand, there is a concern associated with the lack of respect from the young to the elderly (e.g.: from children to parents, from children to teachers). In this context, the participants depict a dramatic change in relation to the past. As Rayén, for instance, a middle class 37 years old woman, who explains to me that parents used to be 'sacred' in the past. Or Camilo, a 37-year-old middle class man, who tells me that kids do not respect teachers anymore.

"I feel like there used to be more respect. People used to show more respect for everything, I think there was even more respect between parents and children. Nowadays, that doesn't happen. Children don't respect their parents as it used to be.

“Parents were sacred for us and we couldn’t even address them informally [*tutearlos*⁴⁷]. Today, parents are even treated with bad words” [Rayén, 37, LC]

“I have friends who are teachers and they have quit because they prefer to work as admin staff because the kids don’t respect them anymore” [Camilo, 37, MC]

On the other hand, there is a concern associated to the lack of respect from citizens to institutions, or traditional figures of authority, such as the police and political authorities. Although in this second case the younger generations are also accused of being less respectful, this phenomenon is understood as being more massive and, therefore, extended to the entire population. This can be exemplified in the words of Eduardo, who tells me that police officers are not treated as they used to be treated.

‘I feel like today there is a lack of respect for authority. I see that, for instance, in the case of police officers. In the past, a police officer used to be an authority. But it’s not the same today’ [Antonio, 46, MC]

In both cases, however, the younger generations are usually signalled as the ones who are lacking in respect. Although this discourse was more prominent in older than younger interviewees, the majority of participants of this study present this view. As noted, this is likely explained because of the average age of the sample, which does not include participants younger than 28 years old. In fact, the analysis suggests that there might be a tension between the understandings of respect of the younger generations and those of the older generations, which might be the reason why the participants think that the younger generations are lacking in respect. For instance, several interviewees mention that the understanding of authority, and therefore respect, has changed. For instance, Hernán, who struggles with acting authoritatively in front of his daughter, tells me:

“I feel like respect has been lost a lot... I think that it is the meaning of respect what has been lost, because [my daughter says] ‘I respect my dad’, but in which sense? [I tell her] ‘you can’t go out’ and she goes out anyway” [Hernán, MC, 45]

What is interesting to note is that, in this context, respect for Hernán means obedience. However, for his daughter it means something else. Hernán explains to me that her daughter sometimes says ‘*dad, I am not asking for your permission, I am informing you that I am going out*’. Although I did not interview Hernán’s daughter, it seems that for her the act of informing and considering her dad is associated to respect; not obedience to her dad’s instructions. This

⁴⁷ In Spanish, there are two forms of addressing someone through the second-person singular ‘you’: the formal one, which is used to denote deference (*usted*), and the informal one (*tú*), which is used to denote either equality or inferiority. ‘*Tutear*’ means treating someone informally by using ‘*tu*’ instead of ‘*usted*’.

indicates that there might be a clash between parents' understandings of respect and their children's understanding of respect.

A similar finding has been reported in GENERA (2008). According to the authors of this study, in Chilean society there is a tension between authoritarian understandings of respect and democratic understandings of respect, with age being the main explanatory variable. In particular, the authors suggest that the younger generations have a notion of respect which is more democratic than the older generations, as they tend to associate it with equality, whereas the older generations tend to associate it with authority. Another study which supports a similar conclusion is Araujo & Martuccelli (2016), which suggests that there is a demand for greater horizontality in social relations which has an impact upon families.

But is this mainly a generational issue? The struggle for authority depicted by the interviewees points towards the fact that positional respect seems to be under challenge. What it is at stake here is the acknowledgement of authority, and therefore, the right of those who are placed in hierarchical positions to be more respected than those in subordinate positions. This calls into question the mandate of obedience already described in the previous chapter, which seems to be crucial in the learning of respect of most participants of this study. Although age plays a key role in this narrative there are indications in the data that this demand for greater horizontality is not only restricted to the youngest.

In fact, another key element of the narrative of the struggle for authority, is that it tends to be linked to certain unease for the expansion of rights. In the case of the family, this unease is associated to the expansion of children's rights. As Elena argues, children's rights have become more important, and in that context, she feels like duties have lost importance. Elena also emphasises, as well as Rayén in the first quotation, that this is disconcerting for her as she grew up in a 'more authoritarian environment'. This demonstrates the weight of the mandate of obedience which was learnt by the participants during their childhoods:

"Do you know what I have come to think? That it has been bad to have so much, and it has been bad that psychology has got into human relations so much. Because I grew up in an authoritarian environment; in my time, if you wanted to speak in the table nobody listened to you, you had to ask for permission to talk; if you didn't behave as your mam or dad told you, they gave you a good slap, and more than once you would get some lashings. But I think that the traumas I had [as a kid] weren't because of that. Today people talk a lot about the rights of the children, but people's duties are never mentioned. So, everything is about rights, rights, rights, and nobody mention duties, because we have duties too... there is like a 'negative empowerment' I think" (*Elena, MC, 61*).

What is distinctive about this narrative, is that it tends to mix a certain discomfort for several forms of rights expansion. When talking about the family, as Elena does, the participants refer to the expansion of children's rights. But they usually link this expansion of rights with other types of rights, shifting the attention from the family to the public sphere. In the case of Elena, this can be perceived at the end of the quotations when she says 'everything is about rights, rights, rights'. She explains to me that there is a 'negative empowerment' in Chilean society that affects the families but also other dimensions of social life.

These other dimensions are basically related to the fights for the expansion of social rights that social movements have been undertaking in Chile. As noted in Chapter 3, since 2011 the public conversation about 'rights' has been particularly intense in the country. Therefore, this narrative is partly a reaction to that public conversation. A very good example of this can be observed in the words of Alfredo, who is a 48-year-old upper class man. According to him, the fight for the expansion of rights has made people forget their duties, and above all, that they have to 'earn things'. It is interesting to note the ambivalence in Alfredo's words. He claims that he is not against 'free education', for instance, but he struggles with the idea that things should be given to someone just because 'it belongs' to them. In the end, Alfredo struggles with the notion of rights, which seem a little bit alien to him:

"But all this thing about challenging the system, that I have to be given things just because it's me, and why? because it's me, not because I have to earn things, because it belongs to me. I don't know, for instance, free education. I'm not saying it is bad, I hope many people have the right to study; to have a less unfair society, more people need to have access [education] without being limited by money. But that is different than focusing only on rights, and nothing on duties. I have a longer life story, I have gone through a lot, I lived during the military government, and in that time, things were hard. But nowadays, I feel like yes, it's true, the richer are indebted to the poor, but there is also something about wanting everything for free" [Alfredo, UP, 48]

It should be noted, that sometimes these discourses are directed against the practical expressions but not the content of this new wave of politicization. For instance, although people tend to agree with the reasons behind most protests – such as free education – the use of violence as a form of political protest is highly sanctioned (PNUD, 2015). This unease is mainly caused by the presence of *encapuchados*⁴⁸ (protesters who cover their faces with hoods), who sometimes perform acts of vandalism. The unease is also caused by the increasing amount of

⁴⁸ 'Encapuchados' usually perpetrate acts of vandalism during or after marches. Social and political activists who call for demonstrations, usually distance themselves from them. *Encapuchados* are usually associated with anarchist political groups, who sometimes have been accused of being police infiltrators.

protests in the capital, which are sometimes disruptive for the normal working of the city. This can be seen in the words of Camilo:

“There are some things that really bother me, for instance, those protests of people who are allegedly defending their rights, but they don’t realize that sometimes, by defending their rights, they violate the rights of all the rest. I think you have to fight for your rights, but you don’t need to harm others to make people listen to you” [Camilo, 37, MC]

Due to the association with violence, this discourse tends to get mixed up with a complaint for the expansion of crime. As mentioned before, the Chilean population has a very intense level of subjective insecurity (PNUD, 1998; 2012). In fact, the level of subjective insecurity is disproportionate to the objective rate of crime. As can be seen in Regina’s words, the narrative about delinquency is quite dramatic. Regina is telling me that there is almost anarchy in Chile, that you can be robbed everywhere: in poor and rich neighbourhoods in Santiago. Chile, however, continues to be one of the safest countries in Latin America.

“I don’t want to exaggerate, but you go to your house and you can be attacked by someone with a gun... you can be robbed in San Miguel, you can be robbed in Ñuñoa, you can be robbed in Huechuraba, you can be robbed in Santiago, you can be robbed in Las Condes. What I’m telling you it’s real, it gets covered, but it’s real. There is a climate of insecurity, a climate of anarchy, to say it in some way. And I think that what we need to do is re-establish the climate of trust and respect” [Regina, 62, UC]

The establishment of children’s rights, the fight for social rights, the increase in the amount of protests and the threat of delinquency are certainly different phenomena. However, in the narratives of the participants they tend to be connected, because they elicit the same malaise, or perhaps a common fear: the fear for chaos and the destruction of ‘order’. It is for this reason that this narrative of the struggle for authority tends to be accompanied by a sense of loss. As it can be perceived in several of the discussed quotations, the participants talk about change and the need of ‘restoring’ respect, as with Regina in the quotations above.

Another interesting example can be seen in David’s words, who explain to me that the meaning of authority has changed. He uses as an example an incident which was highly prevalent in the news when I was doing fieldwork. During a protest in Valparaíso – the second largest city in Chile, where the Parliament is located – a boy was knocked unconscious by the force of pressurised water coming from a police water tank. During the same period, a police officer was shot.

“Do you think the boy who had the accident in Valparaíso was respected? Or the police officer who was shot? I think there is no respect, neither for authority, nor for us as civilians. I think there was a lot more respect before, I’m talking about the sixties. After 1973 it started... you did not exist by then, in that period, respect was taught at schools.

Ask your father, he will tell you that yes, in that period you knew what authority was, what it was to be someone different” [David, 52, MC]

What is powerful about this quotation is that it mixes up three elements: protests, the police, and a different past in which ‘you knew what authority was’. In David’s words, this time was ‘before’ the dictatorship, in the sixties. However, there was something which also started in 1973, but he is not able to express it clearly. Roxana, in turn, a working-class woman, explains to me that during the Dictatorship people got used to being treated in a bad way. So, nowadays, they feel helpless. There is some kind of ‘nostalgia for the father’, nostalgia for someone to turn to.

“I feel like people got used to the fact that authority was like... I don’t know, is like we have an image of authority... people sometimes say “we should have the dictatorship back, because people don’t respect anybody”, because that lack of respect is now ingrained in every person, and people feel helpless, like they don’t have anyone to turn to” [Roxana, LC, 48]

At the core of this narrative there is some form of authoritarian nostalgia triggered by the democratization of Chilean society from different perspectives: the democratization of the family and the democratization of the social and political sphere. At the bottom of this there is the fear for chaos, the fear for the destruction of ‘order’. The cultural changes of Chilean society in light of its authoritarian roots – reinforced by 17 years of Dictatorship (1973-1989) – are clearly connected to this phenomenon. In fact, the memory of the dictatorship is clear in this context, as we saw in the cases of Alfredo, Roxana and David.

In this point, discourses of authority converge with the previous form of communitarian nostalgia. For some participants, talking about respect evokes a sense of ‘chaos’, and everything is part of the same chaos: people who do not respect you in the street, people who fight for their rights, children who do not respect their parents. But unlike the struggle for civility, the nostalgia elicited by the struggle for authority is not utopian. The distant past in which authority existed is real and not so distant. On the one hand, the Dictatorship was certainly real and produced an impact in the understandings of authority. On the other hand, the family dynamics are changing. Certainly, this does not mean that the participants want a dictator back, but it seems that they do not always know how to adapt to this new wave of democratization, neither in the family, nor in the polis.

In sum, this narrative sheds light on the tensions around the exercise of positional respect in Chile. In particular, it demonstrates that the form of respect that is due to people in positions of authority is no longer obvious. This produces unease in most participants, above all those who

are older and those with children. However, as previously discussed, there are indications in the data that this issue is not only restricted to a clash of generations. On the one hand, as discussed in Chapter 5, there is the narrative of 'false respect' and the feeling that respect cannot be commanded through fear. On the other hand, as I will discuss in Chapters 7 and 8, there is a clear notion that you cannot allow others to walk over you, even if they have positions of authority. Both discourses are present in young and old interviewees. In fact, even though most interviewees struggle with this wave of democratization, when the discourses shift toward the working places (i.e. when the interviewees are the ones in subordinate positions), it is clear that there is a notion that authority should not be without limits. Most participants seem, therefore, divided. They long for a clearer meaning of authority – above all when they are the ones who have to exert it – but at the same time they do not want to be subject of 'abuse' by others. I will resume this point in the next section.

6.2.3. The absence of equality: the impossible nostalgia

The third and final form of struggle for respect which appears strongly in the narratives is associated with the absence of equality in social interactions. The core of this narrative is the perception that in everyday life there are many situations in which people are treated differently according to certain features that should *not* have an impact upon the way they are treated. Unlike the narratives of authority and deference, in this context the difference of treatment is considered illegitimate, therefore, it is the very same existence of a difference that produces unease in the participants. These situations occur mainly in public and private services, such as banks and hospitals, as well as in everyday encounters in the street.

A very clear example of this narrative can be observed in Gloria's words. When I ask Gloria whether people can feel respected in Chile, she tells me that in Chile 'you are treated as you are seen' (*como te ven te tratan*). This is a typical expression which means that the treatment you receive depends on how you are perceived by others. In this case, Gloria thinks that the amount of respect that people get depends on features such as their level of income or educational achievement, which is something that should not interfere in the way people are treated:

"I feel that Chilean society respects you depending on how it sees you. It is like... I don't know. The more you have, the more you have studied, the more you earn, respect is bigger. I feel everywhere is like this. And you don't have any other option than accept it. For instance, you go into the street and you see a boy who doesn't dress like you, the typical 'chavs' [*flaites*] as we name them, I mean, we are suspicious about them. And I know lots of 'chav' people and they are good people. But if they go anywhere they feel

‘no, there are not options for you here’. And this has been always like this, and it will keep being like this. You are treated as you are seen.” [Gloria, LW, 47]

A very similar answer can be observed in Carolina’s and Martín’s words below. Like Gloria, they both describe situations in which people are treated differently according to how they are perceived by others. They both focus on interactions in private services – a bank, in the case of Carolina, and in the case of Martín the company in which he works – and picture that someone who is well-dressed would be more respected than someone who is not.

“Well...always, it’s been always like this, and I have seen it. For instance, if someone goes to the bank to do some procedure, the one who is well dressed is served, doors are open for him, the one who is not well dressed... they even kick him out...the one who is dirtier, poorly dressed is [considered as] poor, bad, a criminal... and the other it is not... yes, differences are made” [Carolina, MC, 38]

“I mean, if you see a low-income person, you serve him bad; if a high income, well dressed person comes, you serve her better. I don’t know if that’s discrimination, I don’t know what the word is, but there doesn’t exist the same respect for both of them” [Martín, UC, 46]

This narrative is clearly related to the everyday experience of categorical respect. What it is at stake here is the acknowledgement of dignity, and therefore, the permanent struggle that some people face for being recognized as equals by others *in spite of* their differences. The participants emphasise that respect in practice is driven by features such as money, educational attainment or appearance – e.g. being well-dressed, being white or Caucasian. Those who are lacking in those features are less respected, even though they possess the same dignity as any human being and, therefore, are entitled to the same treatment. This infringes upon the normative importance that categorical respect supposes to have in the learning of respect in Chilean society. It specifically violates the mandate of egalitarian courtesy described in Chapter 5.

In Chile people struggle for respect because people struggle to be considered as equals. This is the key idea behind this narrative. A good example of this can be observed in Jaime’s words below. Jaime strongly criticizes those who look down upon others because ‘we are all equal’, and therefore, we all deserve the same amount of respect:

“People look down others, just because they don’t have [resources]. That shouldn’t be like this, if we’re all equal. Good for you if you have money and you can do better in life, but that’s not reason enough to look down upon others. For me that’s a terrible lack of respect, the level of classism that we have in this country, it is horrible. Or to pretend to be what you are not. Why? I can’t understand it” [Jaime, MC, 36]

Something distinctive about this narrative is that the participants draw in several expressions and concepts to account for it. It is as if the language of disrespect would not allow them to convey all the subtleties involved in the experiences they want to narrate. For instance, they frequently use the concept of ‘discrimination’, as Martin does in the second quotation of this section, which is a traditional concept to account for unjust or unjustified differences. They also use the expression of ‘stressing the difference’ (*marcar la diferencia*), which means to make the differences between people -usually of wealth, power or status- obvious. This becomes clear at the end of Carolina’s reflection above, when she says: ‘differences are made’.

Other common expressions used in this context emphasise the importance of the ‘gaze’. The participants describe how some people are ‘looked down upon’ (*ser mirado en menos*) or ‘ill looked’ (*ser mal mirado*)⁴⁹ by others, such as Jaime in the previous quotation. This idea is also present behind the expression ‘you are treated as you are seen’ which is used by Gloria in the first quotation. All these expressions are suggestive as they highlight the importance of the gaze in the experience of respect, which, as noted in Chapter 1, is an intrinsic component behind the word respect as its Latin roots (*respectere*) means precisely ‘to look again’.

Another important element of this narrative is that it cross cuts gender, social class and age. The case of social class is particularly interesting given that socioeconomic elements – such as income and dress – tend to be the main drivers behind this struggle for respect. This means that the existence of this struggle is recognized by both: the interviewees who believe it is difficult for ‘them’ to be respected as equals, and the interviewees who believe that for ‘others’ it is difficult to be respected as equals. However, it is especially sensitive in the experience of those who feel they do not always receive categorical respect when they deserve it. This aspect will become more evident in the next chapter when discussing the direct experiences of disrespect that are experienced by the participants, but it is worth mentioning here.

For now, this can be perceived in the fatalist tone of some participants when describing these situations. Expressions such as “*things have always been like this*” or “*you don’t have any other option than accept it*” – as in the case of Gloria, above – were more present in those who saw themselves as potential victims of these situations. Conversely, this fatalist tone was less present in those who saw themselves as potential perpetrators, such as Martín in the second quotation, who acknowledges that he treats better at people who are well-dressed. Certainly,

⁴⁹ In Chilean slang, ‘being look down upon’ (*ser mirado en menos*) means, literally, being looked as ‘less’, so the translation is something like ‘being looked at as someone with less value’. ‘Being bad looked’ (*ser mal mirado*) means being looked at with disdain.

this lack of fatalism does not involve pride either. In fact, there are very few interviewees who place themselves as the ones who might deny respect to others based on socioeconomic reasons, and they acknowledge this as a confession, still sanctioning this behaviour. This happened a couple of times, above all in the voice of upper class participants, such as Martin. In another example, when I ask Regina whether people can feel respected in Chile, she replies: *'Yes, but it is very difficult, because we discriminate too much'* [Regina, UC, 62].

The vast majority of interviewees, however, tended to distance themselves of these behaviours, as they are highly sanctioned: the ones who 'discriminate', 'stress the difference' or 'look down upon others', namely, who make others feel bad because their lack of credentials or resources are considered as people with little value as it can be noted in Jaime's words above. This is understandable in light of the mandate of egalitarian courtesy already discussed, and it leads the majority of interviewees to depict themselves as highly respectful toward others, which is an aspect of the narratives that I explore in more detail in Chapter 9.

It is worth noticing that what it is particularly being sanctioned by the participants when describing this struggle for respect is the 'feeling of superiority' displayed by the perpetrators of disrespect. People who feel superior to others tend to 'look down upon' them. This can be perceived in Jaime's words above, as he criticizes the people who look down upon others but also the ones who 'presume'. In Chile this is called *'arribismo'*. The 'arriviste' (*arribista*) is considered as someone who wants to demonstrate what she has in order to be considered of a higher social status. Both behaviours: looking down upon others and being an arriviste, are usually linked in the narratives, as it can be observed in Jaime's words who connects both behaviours in the same reflection.

Another type of behaviour which tends to be connected with the practice of looking down upon others is the practice of humiliation. 'Humiliation' which is a stronger concept usually linked to the practice of 'abuse'. The reality of 'abuse' was constantly highlighted by the interviewees as a key element of social interactions in Chile, particularly, those which are defined by an imbalance of power. In this point, the struggle for equality intersects with the realm of authority, as it is believed that people who exert authority in Chile tend to humiliate others. Camilo, for instance, tells me that in Chile *"people use tanks to kill ants"* [Camilo, MC, 47]. Or Elisa, for instance, tells me:

“I feel like in Chilean society the people who have the tools, and above all the resources to command respect, they do command respect; the ones who don’t have them [the resources], they can’t command respect, and people walk over them” [Elisa UC, 32].

This narrative is supported by the conviction that people in Chile are not good at complaining or fighting for their rights. Several interviewees told me that in Chile people are submissive and *“don’t know how to complain”*. However, this is something that seems to be changing. As mentioned before, there have been several processes of democratization in Chilean society, and the logic of ‘rights’ is becoming more important.

It is important to stress as well that this narrative is focused on social interactions. Therefore, the form of inequality that the participants are sanctioning is also located in the realm of interactions. This configures the existence of a distinctive type of inequality which is different from other types of inequalities such as income inequality. Even though they might be related, what produces unease in this context is not a differential of resources, *but the differential treatment received by those who should be treated as equals in light of their shared humanity*. This can be appreciated in the words of Valeria, for instance, who explains to me that there are ‘inequalities related to the human side of things’, which are different from other forms of inequalities:

‘[there are] inequalities related to the human side of things... (...) that you won’t be treated in the same way as someone who is sweeping or begging; she won’t be treated in the same way, you will be treated with more respect, she won’t’ [Valeria, MC, 59]

This concept coined by Valeria is particularly powerful, as it points towards the core of the phenomenon behind this narrative. As it has been discussed in Chapter 3, there are several studies which have demonstrated that when people from middle and lower social classes refer to their experience of inequality they emphasise ‘interactive inequalities’, ‘inequalities of treatment’, ‘or ‘inequalities of dignity’. The findings of this study are aligned with those studies. The use of respect as heuristic tool has allowed this form of inequality to emerge, precisely because this type of inequality involves the violation of one particular type of respect, i.e. categorical respect.

In this context, it is possible to observe how this type of inequality is never considered legitimate. As discussed in Chapter 3, although in Chilean society there are forms of inequality which seem to be considered as legitimate – e.g.: income inequality which is seen as derived of merit – the inequality of respect which violates categorical principles is not. As Gloria argues in the next quotation, she understands that people with higher levels of education have

‘privileges’, but those privileges are not enough ground to justify the violation of categorical respect. Because in the end, as she eloquently says, ‘we all go to the toilet’:

“Look, this is the thing, as people usually say, “we all go to the toilet”. It’s okay that people who studied a little bit more have some privileges, but they shouldn’t be disrespectful to the people who are worst- off or couldn’t do better. And that’s what people don’t understand in this society” [Gloria, LW, 47]

In this regard, it is also interesting to note that in the context of this experience – -unlike the lack of cordiality – those who perpetrate disrespect have more distinctive features. Both people in position of power as people with higher socioeconomic status or higher degrees of education are named as those who look down upon others.

Still, I should mention that when interrogated about the possibility of being respected in Chile, a minority of interviewees focused on other struggles for equality, beyond the realm of interactions. As the key element of this struggle is that there are differences which are unjust, when I asked the participants whether people can feel respected in Chile there were many forms of unjust differences which were brought into light. For instance, some of them mentioned the differences in access to essential rights (i.e. the right to education and health) or the differences in resources – (i.e. income inequality). These reflections are expected in light of the neoliberal features of the country, already discussed in Chapter 3, which have produced a highly segregated health and education system as well as high levels of income inequality. This can be appreciated in Jaime’s words:

“I believe it is very difficult to feel respected in Chilean society... there are too many rights which are violated: education, health... It is also a lack of respect that having so much money, there is so much money in this country, and there are only 7 businessmen who get all the money, and there are people who do not have anything to eat. It is a lack of respect that some people live with, I don’t know, a miserable wage of \$200.000⁵⁰, which is really miserable, and there are others who have millions of dollars. That’s a lack of respect, a lack of respect to the people, to the country” [Jaime, MC, 36]

In spite of this, most participants focused their reflections on the struggle for equality in the realm of social interactions. For instance, when describing inequalities in access to the health system, many interviewees brought into the narratives aspects associated to the differences of treatment. As it will become clear in the next chapter, what produces unease in this context is not just that the rich have access to better health than the poor, but the fact that the rich are better treated by doctors or nurses at the level of social interaction.

⁵⁰ This corresponds to £200

It is also important to note that a minority of interviewees focused on struggles for equality which were not based on socioeconomic differences. Although socioeconomic differences are predominant in this narrative, people also acknowledge the struggle for equal respect of sexual minorities, the disabled and women. However, in this section I have emphasised socioeconomic differences, as they dominate the narratives. As noted in several studies, issues of class tend to be predominant in Chilean's experiences of inequality (e.g.: Garretón & Cumsille, 2002)

Finally, a distinctive feature of this narrative which makes it different from the struggles for cordiality and authority, is the absence of nostalgia. This can be observed in Gloria's words when she says, *"this has always been like this, and it will keep been like this"* or in Carolina's words when she argues *"I have always seen it"*. A similar rationale can be found in Rodolfo's words, who states that things have not changed since slavery onwards:

"This has been always like this, always... slavery, all those things (...) if you think about it, as modernization moves forward, and years go by... at the end of the day, it is the same cake with different flies" [Rodolfo, MC, 57]

This absence of nostalgia is linked to that fatalist tone already detected in the narratives and it was mainly present in middle class and working-class interviewees who saw themselves as potential victims of these experiences. Its clear consequence, as it can be deduced from Rosa's words below, is the naturalization of inequality. If there is no a different past to long for, it is difficult to imagine a different future. As Rosa explains, even if she feels angry about 'the differences', she 'is used to them' and there is nothing she can do:

"I feel that we all feel the same, we don't care, we don't care because we are used to this, we haven't lived something different; yes, you do feel angry about the differences, but you can't go against it, how are you going to? You would have to march, but I'm not going to achieve anything" [Rosa, WC, 53].

What this narrative indicates, is that unlike authority and cordiality, in the case of equality there is no a 'golden' past to remember. Inequalities in Chile are so ingrained in everyday lives, that it is not possible to long for a different past, neither utopian – as in the case of the struggle for cordiality – nor real – as in the case of the struggle for authority. Equality in Chile is, then, an 'impossible nostalgia': a reality that produces malaise, but it is naturalized and accepted as something that will not change even though it hurts.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the image that the interviewees have regarding Chilean society from the perspective of respect and disrespect. I have shown that this image tends to be quite negative as respect is depicted as a permanent struggle. I have identified three main forms of struggle: the lack of courtesy, the crisis of authority and the absence of equality.

At the same time, I have shown that these struggles are associated with certain forms of nostalgia in which the participants long for a past in which things 'tended to be different'. These nostalgias are associated to the struggle for cordiality and the struggle for authority, involving elements of both communitarian as well as authoritarian nostalgia. I have highlighted that the struggle for equality does not allow the participants to formulate any kind of nostalgia as inequality is seen as an impermanent feature of Chilean Society.

The analysis of these struggles has proved to be fruitful to elucidate the expectations of treatment held by the participants. In particular, the analysis has shown which differences of treatment are considered just, and which ones are considered unjust. Whereas the struggle for cordiality (in particular, the struggle for 'deference') and the struggle for authority reveal that there are certain differences in treatment that there are still justified and missed, the struggle for equality reveals that there are differences of treatment which are no longer considered just.

The analysis of these struggles has also been enlightening in terms of understanding the everyday challenges around the experience of the different types of respect. On the one hand, both the struggle for cordiality and the struggle for authority reveal the everyday challenges around the *experience of positional respect*. When the struggle for cordiality involves a lack of deference, namely, a violation of the expectation of treatment in the context of asymmetric relationships, it clashes with the mandate of deference which is so ingrained in the narratives of the participants. The struggle for authority, in turn, clashes with the mandate of obedience which is also crucial in the learning of respect. On the other hand, both the struggles for cordiality and equality reveal the challenges around the *experience of categorical respect*. The struggle for cordiality in the context of symmetric relationships points toward the fact that it is difficult to grant categorical respect to others when the social bond seems fragile. The struggle for equality demonstrates the difficulties of experiencing categorical respect in a country in which, in practice, performance respect (due to attributes such as education, money, among others) dominates the achievement of respect.

Finally, the analysis of these struggles has shed a new light on the idea posed in Chapter 5: that there is a tension between different forms of respect. I argued that there seems to be a tension, on the one hand, between categorical and positional respect, on the other hand, between categorical and performance respect. In this chapter, these tensions were examined further, and further theorised through the analysis of struggles.

The struggle for authority confirms the tension between categorical respect and positional respect. Whereas the participants seem to miss the enactment of certain forms of positional respect, they have also become part of a wave of democratization in which categorical respect becomes more important. Alongside this, the struggle for equality confirms the tension between categorical respect and performance respect. Although in normative terms categorical respect seems to be crucial, in practice, performance respect seems to be the real driver of respectful relationships.

But how are these tensions lived by the participants? In this chapter, the participants acted mainly as observers of Chilean society. In the next chapter, I focus on their direct experiences and they become the protagonists.

Chapter 7: The self-image of being respected and the experience of (dis)respect

7.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I analysed the image of Chilean society that the interviewees elaborate when reflecting about respect. Therefore, I focused more on their opinions as observers than as protagonists. In this chapter I analyse the self-image of the interviewees as direct recipients of (dis)respect. That is, I show how and why they feel treated with respect or disrespect in their everyday lives.

In the first section, I articulate and analyse the existence of a dual self-image in which most participants see themselves as highly respected by their families or friends, but highly disrespected in the public domain. Beyond this common feature, I show how the type of disrespect they see themselves as experiencing in the public domain differs according to social class, which signals as to how the experience of disrespect is actually unequally distributed. Furthermore, I demonstrate that there are interviewees who have an awareness of privilege in the context of the distribution of respect, whereas others have an awareness of disadvantage.

In the second section, I focus closely on the experience of disrespect by analysing examples provided by the participants. I argue that the reality of this experience cross cuts all the interviews, although the contents and intensities of this experience differ greatly among them. Also, the resources that people have to act in the context of these experiences clearly vary

according to social position. In this context, the forms of inequality involved in the dynamic of respect and disrespect become evident.

7.2. The self- image of being respected

An important finding that emerged from the analysis of the interviews is that most people hold an image of themselves as recipients of respect and disrespect. That is, most people are able to reflect on whether they tend to receive or not the expected amount and type of respect that is at stake for them on each particular interaction. Certainly, this finding was partly triggered by the interview schedule, in that I asked the interviewees whether they tended to feel respected in their everyday lives. However, as will be demonstrated below, this image is quite consistent through the narratives, and people are able to reflect on the reasons why they are respected or disrespected by others. A small minority of interviewees –usually, the most privileged ones – articulated that they had never thought about this question before. But for the majority of participants this was a crucial issue, and they were able to think of themselves either in terms of advantage or disadvantage in the distribution of respect.

It should be noted, that most of the time this answer was not unidimensional, as the interviewees could identify domains in which they felt more respected than others. In particular, they tended to draw a line between the private and the public domain, by asserting that they were highly respected by their families, friends or colleagues, but disrespected in the public domain. This can be exemplified in the words of Laura, who is a 30-year-old middle class clerical worker. Laura feels respected in her ‘circle’ but not in the ‘country’:

“More than in my country, I feel respected in my circle (...) with my friends, at my workplace, I do feel respected: but if we talk about Chile, in general, it is more complicated”. [Laura, 30, MC]

This kind of answer was very common, and it was present in interviewees of all ages, genders and social classes. To some extent, it resembles a phenomenon which has already been noted in other studies (e.g. PNUD, 2012): the disjunction between evaluations regarding the self, which tend to be positive, and evaluations regarding the society, which tend to be negative. This is clearly present in the discourses on respect. As discussed in Chapter 6, when talking about Chilean society, most of the interviewees present a dramatic view of respect. However, when they talk about their personal lives, they frequently offer a more positive perspective.

It is important to stress, however, that this optimism should not be confused with the total absence of disrespect in their lives. Certainly, some interviewees are privileged enough to have a distant relation to the experience of disrespect. The majority, however, has struggled in order to be respected, which is precisely why they depict a positive image of their personal experience: because they have struggled, and sometimes succeeded. This points towards an element which is central in the understanding of respect and it will be developed in the next chapter: the role of agency in the achievement of respect.

At the same time, it is key to observe how disrespect in the public domain is defined, as the content of disrespect changes from one interview to another in a way that the structure of advantage and disadvantage behind the distribution of respect starts to emerge. Whereas some participants feel disrespected in the street or in their abstract relationship with the elites, others feel disrespected as citizens or in their relationship with institutions. Thus, when narratives about the experience of (dis)respect are closely examined, there are clearly two broad narratives: one which is defined by the partial awareness of privilege and one which is defined by the partial awareness of certain forms of disadvantage. I add 'partial' in both cases, as all interviewees are able to depict experiences in which they are subjects of both 'respect' and 'disrespect'. Almost nobody thinks of herself as 'totally' privileged or 'totally' deprived of (dis)respect. But the intensity and content of those experiences change greatly among interviewees, which is why they still think of themselves as rather privileged or disadvantaged.

The (partial) awareness of privilege

In the narratives of upper-class interviewees as well as some middle-class interviewees, it was usual to find an awareness of their privileged condition in the context of the economy of respect in Chile. Sometimes, this was a partial awareness, as they depicted themselves as highly respected in their private lives but still disrespected in the public domain. An example of this can be seen in the words of Gonzalo. When I ask him whether he feels respected, he tells me:

“In the micro-personal domain, yes. In the macro-personal level, I sometimes think ‘hey, I am Chilean and the people who are running this country, the ones who manage the power, they are not respecting the people they should be respecting, and the people they have to serve’ [Gonzalo, UC, 45]

This quotation is illuminating, as Gonzalo draws the line between what he calls 'his micro-personal domain' and the 'macro-personal level'. Consistent with the 'dual' image that most

interviewees have, he feels highly respected in his private life but not in the public domain. In this context, however, he feels disrespected in his abstract relationship with the elites. This is a form of disrespect which is present in almost all the interviews and it conveys the intense malaise that Chileans have regarding the behaviour of the latter. It is important to observe here that some interviewees, usually upper-class men, were able to think about disrespect *only* in that abstract public sphere, whereas others, were able to bring disrespect to the centre of their everyday experience. Social class and gender play central roles in this.

Another example of this can be seen in Hernán's words. Hernán is a 45 year old middle class man, and when I ask him whether he feels respected in Chile he answers:

“(...) in my family and at work, yes, I do; but not in the street; for instance, as a pedestrian, do cars respect crosswalks? No, they don't, so they don't respect me” [Hernán, 45, MC].

As noted in the previous chapter, one of the most common struggles for respect that people mention in their narratives is associated with the lack of cordiality in the street. Therefore, this is also a form of disrespect which is present in almost all interviewees.

Both disrespect in relation to the elites, and disrespect as lack of cordiality in the street, are everyday forms of disrespect that almost all interviewees experience and, therefore, are not triggered by specific participant features. There are, however, others form of respect and disrespect that are associated to the interviewees' features, which were usually less present in the narratives of the most privileged interviewees. This is telling, as it signals how the experience of disrespect is unequally distributed in the sample.

For most upper-class interviewees, however, the awareness of privilege was crystal clear. Nicolás, for instance, a 51-year-old upper class man, told me *“I have never felt discriminated or disrespected. But I know that my reality is not the majority's reality”* [Nicolás, 51, UC].

This kind of answer was typical in the upper class. As noted, the collective imaginary regarding respect in Chile is quite negative, so when the interviewees told me that they actually felt respected, they usually felt forced to explain why they were 'exceptions' in the context of an everyday experience of disrespect. In this context, there were two typical explanations.

On the one hand, there were interviewees who mentioned certain resources such as educational attainment or income. Andrea for instance, a 30 year old middle class safety manager, when

asked if she felt respected in Chile, replied: *"I think yes, I am (...) I'm not a millionaire, but I think it is related to the fact that I have access to certain things, or I can pay certain things"* [Andrea, 30, MC]. In a similar fashion, Elisa, a 31-year-old upper class lawyer, replies to the same question:

"I feel like I have achieved some very conventional standards that make me stand in a very comfortable position in relation to this question about respect (...). In certain spheres, I will be validated because of my studies. Certainly, for people who ask 'if you are the daughter of' no, in that context probably I will never be validated because I come from the regions⁵¹. However, those people will say 'well, but she is a hardworking girl, outstanding...' So, there are some standards I have met, I studied abroad, I speak another language, so I will fit" [Elisa, UC, 31]

This answer is illustrative of the kind of answers that upper class interviewees, above all those who had experienced upward mobility, would reply to my question. Elisa is aware that she is respected because she possesses the degree of educational attainment which is needed to be respected in certain spheres. She is also aware that she does not possess all the 'requirements' to be respected: she is not 'the daughter of', which means that she does not come from an upper-class family. She does not come from the capital either – 'I come from the regions', she says – which means that she does not belong to the traditional elite. At the same time, however, she is aware that she can compensate her lack of 'lineage' by means of merit: 'they will say she is a hardworking girl'. This process of compensation is very telling. It points towards the heart of the moral economy of respect in Chile: whereas capital accrual –in terms of education and income – is very important, there are some triggers of respect which are not based on achievement. Yet, the lack of those elements can be compensated via merit, which is consistent with the relevance attributed to merit in Chilean society. These kinds of 'mechanisms of compensation' are very interesting and frequent during the narratives. They have a similar form to the pair 'morals over money' that authors such as Lamont (2000) or Prasad et. al. (2009) have discussed on their studies. I will be drawing attention upon them.

The very same rationale of Elisa can be found in Paulina's account. Paulina is an upper-class woman who works as director of a public organization. She also defines herself from an experience of upward mobility. When I ask whether she feels respected she tells me:

"Yes, I feel respected, but I also feel that I have all the labels that Chilean society needs... So when you ask me if I feel respected I tell you, yes, I do, but I also tell you that my family is from a humble origin. My aunties' story... they are people who are still miners. I have cousins which are not part of the caste which dominates this country. But I was lucky, both my parents studied in university, they convinced me of studying, and I reached this position which is for [privileged] people.... And I keep relating myself with

⁵¹ Essentially, this means outside Santiago, the capital of Chile. Chile has 15 regions, and when people assert that they 'come from the regions', they mean that they do not come from Santiago.

privileged people because of my job. So, it is as if you'd need 10 labels to be able to belong. I have them" [Paulina, UC, 45]

In the same way as Elisa, Paulina is aware that she has been able to compensate her 'humble origin' with her studies. Therefore, she places herself as privileged in the hierarchy of respect in Chile, but she emphasises that her departing point has been different from those who come originally from upper class families. In fact, she points out she has had to live an 'internal process' to not feel 'less' than those with privileges. She describes this process as 'healing a social wound'.

These discourses were accompanied, most of the time, by the interviewees' assertion that they were highly respected but not for the right reasons. In this context, some interviewees coined terms such as the idea of 'false respect'. For instance, Mario, who is a 36-year-old middle class man with a clear story of upward mobility, tells me that he is respected because of his position – he means his socioeconomic position – which is not the ideal trigger of respect:

"Do I feel respected in Chilean society? Yes, I do feel respected in Chilean society [...] but I feel that this is based on things that shouldn't have an influence on this. I feel that people sometimes respect you for the position you have [...]. I'm not at all convinced that society respects you for being you, for how you're as a person" [Leonardo, MC, 36]

As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, quotations like this describe the normative tension that exists in Chile regarding different types of respect. Normatively, people would argue that categorical respect (i.e. human dignity) should be the trigger of 'real' respect, whereas performative types of respect (i.e. particular features of the person) are considered to be the 'actual' trigger of respect. Although this fact is normatively sanctioned by the interviewees, when their discourses are closely examined, most of them also believe in the importance of performative forms of respect. What happens, however, is that these performative forms are morally based: in order to grant respect to someone, they will deny the importance of position or income, but they will assert the importance of merit, kindness or other moral features such as honesty. As Leonardo's words show – 'they don't respect you for *how* you're as a person' – he does not believe that respect should be based on pure human dignity, he believes that respect should be based on virtue. This shows the relevance that performative respect has in the narratives, and how moral behaviours – either merit, or personal attitudes – are essential in its achievement.

In line with the importance of the moral domain, the second explanation that upper class interviewees gave to justify their condition of being respected is related to their qualities. Isabel, for instance, a 45-year-old director of a small non-profit corporation, tells me that she is respected because she does her work properly and "well done work produces respect" [Isabel,

UC, 45]. Similarly, Lucas, a 32-year-old upper class architect, tells me that he is respected at his job and in his family. When I ask him why, he replies by saying that he has done things well.

“[...] in Christian values you are obviously taught that you earn respect by doing positive things. You might go, I don’t know, to ‘La Legua’⁵², and the kids are taught that they will be more respected by killing a police officer. In my sociocultural context you try to do good things, to say it in some way, or fix things... [...] and I think that I have done some things relatively well, by which I have got some positive feedback, or perhaps you can call it respect... to start, my wife, that you say ‘let’s do a family together’ I think that is respect too” [Lucas, UC, 32]

This quotation shows three things which are central in the dynamics of respect. First, it reinforces its contextual nature. Lucas mentions ‘Christian values’ as a cultural heritage that might influence his understanding of respect. Second, it reveals the intersection of the distribution of respect with class inequality. Lucas insinuates that his way of earning respect might be different to the one followed by poor kids. In fact, he implies that the upper class gains respect by doing ‘good things’ whereas the poor gain respect by means of negative behaviours such as killing. This is one of the clearest examples of the moral dimension of class (Sayer, 2005); in this particular case, it shows the moral superiority which is self-attributed by the upper class in relation to people from other classes. Third, it shows the centrality of the process of ‘earning respect’, which is heavily stressed by upper and middle class interviewees (I discuss this process in detail in Chapter 8).

It should be noted, however, that for some participants the process of earning respect involves fighting against structural inequalities. This might involve class or gender inequalities. For instance, , when I ask Gabriela whether she feels respected she tells me:

“I do [...] but I have the perception that I might be someone a little bit exceptional. And why am I [respected]? Because I earned it. Now I can tell you that yes, you can earn respect [...] if you work hard and strong in order to stand out in professional environments [...] In order to stand out, I normally work as five men. So yes, I earned respect, but I earned it from a departing point of inequality, I had to work a lot harder to gain my promotions” [Gabriela, UC, 45].

This quotation shows the importance that gender inequality plays in the struggle for respect. It also shows how the disjunction between the self and the society, tends to be associated to a previous personal struggle. Gabriela considers herself as an exception in the context of Chilean Society. As most of the interviewees, she described Chile as a place in which it is very difficult to obtain respect. However, she feels that she has earned it: as a woman, she has ‘worked as five

⁵² *La Legua* is one of the poorest neighbourhoods of Santiago.

men' to fight against gender inequality. Therefore, she considers herself as someone who is respected; not because she has not suffered gender discrimination, but because she has succeeded in her struggle against it.

In sum, most upper-class interviewees and some middle-class interviewees were aware of their privileged condition in the distribution of respect. This privilege was explained because of the possession of certain resources (such as income or educational attainment), or because of moral behaviours (such as merit or virtue). Furthermore, this privilege is not always straightforward, as there is a *journey* behind it. For some of them, this journey involved the compensation of certain triggers of respect they could not achieve (e.g.: upper class origin, being a man), for other triggers of respect they could indeed achieve (such as merit or moral virtue).

The (partial) awareness of disadvantage

Unlike upper-class interviewees, lower-class interviewees tended to assert with more frequency that they were not respected enough in Chile. This was also the case for some middle-class interviewees. In the same fashion as upper-class interviewees, they also asserted that they were more respected in their private life than in the public domain, but in these narratives it was clearer that the forms of disrespect that they experienced were triggered by features of themselves, or at least by features of what they considered to be their group of belonging. For instance, Violeta, who is a 47 years old salesperson, tells me that she feels much respected by her friends, however, she does not feel respected as a citizen, when she compares herself with more privileged ones:

“I don't feel respected in society, because I feel like my rights are not respected, and also, the difference among those who have privileges –and more than privileges- and us who live as we can, is too big; we make our wages last as we can, and we are walked over [*se nos pasa a llevar*]” [Violeta, 47, MC]

This is very typical of the way in which disrespect is described by the middle and working classes. Violeta says “*se nos pasa a llevar*”, which is a Chilean expression to say that someone ‘walks over you’ or that your rights are not respected. She also divides the world in two: ‘them’ (those with privileges) and ‘us’ (the ones who have to live as we can), and she interprets the gap between the two as a huge disrespect. The same argument can be observed, for instance, in Manuel, who is a 64-year-old skilled manual worker. When I ask him whether he feels respected he replies:

“In Chilean society? You mean how are we viewed? No, we aren’t respected, because you can see it, you can see it. For instance, we were given a house, thirty six square meters!, whereas the rich people, where I have to work and build houses for them, they have one hundred and forty square meters [...] So how are we going to be respected? Tell me! Tell me where respect is? As I told you before, for respect to exist, we have both to be eating rice; because if I am eating rice, but you’re eating potato peel, is there any respect?” [Manuel, 64, LC].

This quotation is very powerful. Manuel is telling me that for respect to exist, there must be a principle of equality involved. Similar to Violeta’s case, Manuel is talking about ‘them’ and ‘us’. When ‘us’ become the referent point in the narrative, Manuel strongly argues that there is no respect. However, when he talks about himself, Manuel feels that he is respected, because he has a particular skill which is valued in the job market. He also has a very strong sense of self-respect: ‘I value myself as a person, because I have coped’ [Manuel, 64, LC].

Still, there are other interviewees who clearly think that they are not respected. For instance, I asked Sandra, a 38-year-old working class woman, if she felt respected, and she replied:

“Many times I don’t. Because you need money for everything. If you have money, anywhere you go you will be respected, and you will be attended as a queen; but if you don’t have money, or you aren’t dressed with brand-name clothes, you won’t be attended as... it should be” [Sandra, LC, 38].

Consistent with the notion that some upper class interviewees feel respected because they have high degrees of education or high incomes, Sandra’s quotation reveals how many working class interviewees do not feel respected because they lack those resources. Bernardo, for instance, who is trying to finish his secondary education at the age of 59, and works as a taxi driver, asserts that he constantly suffers humiliation or feels looked down upon by others. In this context, he feels the need to explain to me that the ‘he has value too’, which never happened in the context of the middle or the upper class interviews. Interestingly, Bernardo refers to *me* as a way to articulate this:

“I have the same value as you and any other person, perhaps I don’t have the same education, but I’m worthy, I’m a person, of flesh and bones, same as you. Same as the one you showed to me here, and this one too⁵³” [Bernardo, LC, 59 years old]

The conviction of own personal value was crucial in the discourse of several working class interviewees. Gloria, for instance, who is a 47 years old cleaning assistant, explains to me that, even though Chilean society tends to be highly discriminatory, she has never experienced disrespect, because of her attitude, because of her ‘self-love’ [*amor propio*]. It is important to

⁵³ He refers to the doctor and the entrepreneur of the vignettes which were used in the end of the interview.

observe the place of self-respect in this narrative. As noted in Chapter 4, self-respect plays a crucial role in the process of receiving and granting respect: but instead of be considered as an *outcome* of respect – which is the usual assertion in the literature (Honneth, 1995; Rawls, 1977) – it tends to be signified as the *reason* to demand respect from others. Self-respect becomes, thus, a resource. If you love yourself, you will not allow others to disrespect you:

‘I think that for the way I am, I haven’t had any experience in which I really have felt disrespected, no, to be honest I don’t have any memory of that... you will always have differences with people, but not a lack of respect. But I believe that this is related to, as I said, how do you stand in life, to your self-love’ [Gloria, 47, LW]

It is important to mention that when people from the working class state that they are respected, they tend to attribute this either to luck or some particular features of their personality. In the same way as the case of the upper class, they feel compelled to explain to me why they feel respected in Chile considering the crisis of respect that allegedly exist in the country. But unlike the upper class, their reference point is not the society as a whole but their class: in fact, they make the assumption that people in their same position tend to suffer disrespect. For instance, Rita, who is a 38 year old domestic maid, tells me that she ‘thank God’ she is respected at work. This is related to particular features of her employers, who she considers to be good people.

“Thank God I have had good experiences, because I have met people who have not had very good working experiences in the kind of job I do. Because they tend to be underestimated, I have heard, they are looked down upon. But thank God I haven’t lived that, at least visibly; I don’t know behind my back, perhaps they talk behind my back [laughs], but... I, at least, have been very well treated, thanks God, yes. I can’t say otherwise; I’m grateful for that”
[Rita, LC, 38]

Working class participants also refer to the process of ‘*hacerse respetar*’, which literally means ‘make others respect you’ (alternatively, it can be translated as ‘to command respect’). It is interesting to note that the concept of commanding respect [*hacerse respetar*], which is heavily used by the working and the middle class, is slightly different from the concept of earning respect, which is stronger in the upper class. Although both concepts allude to the temporal dimension of respect, commanding respect tends to be a more defensive attitude which has to be put into place to prevent potential abuse or humiliation. Earning respect, on the contrary, tends to be a less defensive attitude, which is associated to the positive struggle for ‘becoming’ a respected person (I compare both process in detail in Chapter 8). Another example of this can be found in Carolina, who is a 38-year-old middle class clerical worker. When I asked her if she

feels respected, she said that she did, but this was only because she knew how to command respect.

“I think I am, but I think that depends on you, to command respect [*hacerse respetar*], because there are people who... (...) their personality, it is like you can have a truck passing over them and they don't complain, it is like they don't make others value them... Me, instead, if there is something unfair, above all in relation to myself, no, [I say], ‘this isn't going to end like this’” [Carolina, MC, 38]

It is interesting to observe how Carolina explains to me that being respected ‘depends on you’. This assertion was heavily mentioned. Underpinning this narrative there is a self-blaming attitude, in which people tend to be considered responsible for how they are treated by others. This can be seen, for instance, in the voice of Ramiro, who is a working class salesperson. Ramiro tells me:

“I don't feel so respected, but I command respect [*me hago respetar*]. As I was telling you, if I look weak, I won't be respected; if I look confident, nobody will tell me anything” [Ramiro, LC, 38]

As noted, implicit in this narrative, there is the idea of the struggle. Jaime, for instance, articulates this idea when I ask him if he feels respected:

“Mmm yes, but because I have had to fight a lot for that to happen, I always demand my rights to be respected, always” [Jaime, MC, 36]

In sum, in the accounts of middle and working class participants, respect tends to be a struggle. Clearly, this process is not unique to the working class. Some upper class interviewees did also describe themselves as fighting for respect. However, what I am arguing is that the kind of respect that people have to struggle for, and the resources they have to actually succeed in this struggle, vary enormously according to gender and class. Thus, as the quantitative analysis showed (see Chapter 4): plenty of people might feel respected in Chile, but the struggles behind this feeling differ greatly in the population. To have a clearer picture of these differences, in the next section I will focus on the experience of disrespect.

7.3. The experience of disrespect

In this section I try to make sense of the *lived experience* of disrespect. This is essential in order to draw conclusions regarding the distribution of respect and disrespect. In doing this, I shed

light on what is signified as disrespect, and I show the great diversity of experiences that are defined under this concept. In Chapter 5, I argued that respect should be understood in two levels: as *a normative principle* and as *a practice*. This distinction can also be applied to disrespect. As the opposite of respect, disrespect can be defined as *a violation of the form of interaction that people expect to have with others in light of the assessment of the value held of themselves and others*. These violations are actualized through concrete practices, which will vary depending on the realm in which the interaction occurs. This is why the meanings of disrespect can vary so greatly. In the context of the interviews, people elaborated on a range of experiences such as lack of courtesy, discrimination and denial of rights, to violence, sexual abuse and humiliation, all of which were understood as disrespectful behaviour. In some of these examples, the interviewees acted as observers; in others, however, they were the recipients of disrespect. In this section, I focus on the latter. I show that even though ‘disrespect’ as an experience is not exclusive of any particular group of the population, the content, intensity, emotions, resources and strategies involved on this experience does vary greatly according to their personal features, above all, gender and class.

7.3.1 Disrespect as a distant experience

As previously noted, the experience of disrespect is not exclusive of any group of the population. As it will become clearer in the following sections, almost all people are able to narrate an experience in which they have felt disrespected. However, there was a minority of interviewees, above all, older upper class men, for whom the experience of disrespect was a distant experience. When I ask Martín, for instance, who is CEO of a big company, if he can tell me an experience in which he has felt disrespected, he replies to my question:

“It is difficult, because I don’t know how you can identify whether you have been respected or disrespected (...)” [Martín, UC, 46].

This answer is very illuminating, as it reveals the kind of distance that some interviewees had to this experience. As it will be noted in the voice of other interviewees, disrespect is something that you usually ‘feel’; once you feel it, there is no doubt that you have actually experienced it.

Another typical way in which upper class interviewees related to the question of disrespect, was by placing it only in the public sphere. René, for instance, who is a 60-year-old CEO of a public organization, explains to me that he always tends to feel respected. For him, respect is related to freedom, so the only moment of his life in which he felt systematically disrespected was during

Pinochet's dictatorship. After this period (1973-1989), he doesn't find any real reason to feel disrespected:

"Are we talking from the nineties onwards, right? Because if you ask me about my time as a student, yes, I didn't feel respected. But talking from the nineties onwards, I generally feel respected, perhaps there are things I don't like, but I feel respected [Rene, 60, UC]"

As noted in section 7.2, these types of experiences are never linked to 'particular' features of the interviewees but are forms of disrespect which are (at least potentially) experienced by everyone. Some of them, for the same reason, could only think of experiences in the street. For instance, Gonzalo, a 45-year-old upper class man, tells me that he felt most disrespected when he was driving his car and some people threatened him after an incident of road-rage. Other interviewees could only think of exceptional experiences. For instance, Isabel, a 45-year-old upper class woman, told me that she felt disrespected when her friend's husband yelled at her with very bad words because she was late for an appointment: '*roto de mierda*⁵⁴!' ('shit idiot') she reflects. None of these experiences had left enduring marks on their lives.

There were, however, other experiences which were harder for them; for instance, when they felt bypassed at their jobs for not being informed of some decision. This was especially hard for those who were in positions of power. Alfredo, for instance, who is the CEO of an important company, tells me this story of his past, when he was the director of a big area in another company. The CEO of the company chose not to tell him that they were investigating a possible fraud which might be operating in one of the units under his control.

"[...] in that moment the first thing that came to my head was the feeling of lack of respect for me, because I was in charge of the situation, of that area, and they had not involved me. And it was painful; this was a Saturday, I had to wait all Saturday afternoon and Sunday until Monday, and then, in the morning, I went to speak with the CEO" [Alfredo, UC, 48]

In this case, Alfredo felt disrespected because he might be distrusted, so he asked for a meeting with the CEO and the issue was quickly solved. A similar experience was narrated by Alvaro, who is a 37-year-old sub-director of a big company. He told me that the only experience of disrespect he can think of is when he was bypassed by his subordinates. It should be noted that in these examples, disrespect is associated to the violation of a principle of inequality and not of equality. This can be explained by the fact that the form of respect which is at stake in these

⁵⁴ It is interesting that she uses this expression "*roto*" (which literally means 'broken'). "*Roto*" is a term which was used in Chile to name the uneducated poor, originally in the countryside, and today it is used by the upper class to name people who either are poor or behave badly, as the person in the example.

experiences is associated to authority, a form of positional respect which is inherently an asymmetrical experience. This reinforces the point, which has been already highlighted in Chapter 1, that respect can be both a symmetrical and asymmetrical experience; a feature of respect which has been overlooked in some works on the topic (e.g.: Sennett, 2003) as it has been rightly pointed out by Reich et.al. (2009).

What it is also interesting to note, is that in all these experiences, the interviewees have plenty of resources at their disposition to face the situation. Like María, a 43 year upper class lawyer, who tells me that one of the moments of her life in which she felt most disrespected, was when she decided to resign from her job and her old boss did not respect the agreement they had previously reached regarding the conditions of her way out. She decided to go straight to the top and speak with the director, and the issue was quickly solved.

The same display of agency and resources can be seen in the following story narrated by Nicolás, who works as a manager of a small company. Nicolás is gay, and he feels that he has been privileged enough not to be discriminated. The only experience of disrespect that he remembers is one in which his boss – the owner of the company – made a comment about his sexuality in front of other people. They were in a meeting, discussing how to face a problem of discrimination that one chief of section had perpetrated against a Peruvian worker. Nicolas's boss was really angry and he said, in front of everyone: *'in this company nobody is discriminated; I have never discriminated you for being homosexual!'* Nicolas felt very uncomfortable, and he confronted his boss by asking: *'why do you make this comparison?'* and he replied: *'this is why: I am telling you to your face!'* Nicolas immediately asked for a meeting with him and the other owner of the company. He depicted the situation like this:

“I called the CEO, who is his uncle, I sat them together, and I started the conversation: ‘I want to express my deepest discomfort for this situation [...] what I really did not appreciate was your aggressive way of saying things, and I am not doing this for me, I am doing it for my partner, my family and all the people who love me and will not tolerate something like this’ [Nicolas, UC, 51]

In that very same meeting, Nicolas was offered an apology, and after the meeting, the CEO even congratulated him for facing the situation in this open and direct way. There are two elements which should be highlighted in regard to this experience. On the one hand, it is a single event: Nicolás insists that he moves in a privileged environment in which he does not suffer discrimination. On the other hand, Nicolás has several resources to face this situation and he can quickly restore his sense of self-respect.

Another form of disrespect was 'the denial of rights', so the experience of denial of rights was not exclusive of the working class. It was mentioned by the middle and the upper class too. However, the content was different. I noted two forms in which the middle and sometimes the upper class experienced disrespect as a denial of rights. On the one hand, it was related to the experience of consumption i.e.: fighting for your consumer rights. Camilo, for instance, who is a 37-year-old middle class manager, tells me that one of the experiences in which he felt most disrespected was when he went to a shop to change a product and the shop assistant did not want to change it. Camilo asked to speak with the manager and he ended up with this product changed.

On the other hand, middle and upper class interviewees mentioned the experience of being robbed as an experience in which their rights were not respected enough. As I discussed in Chapter 5, there is a strong perception in the population that criminality has increased in Chile. This perception tends to be linked to an authoritarian nostalgia, which combines the fear to the expansion of crime with the fear to the expansion of rights. Elena, for instance, is a 61-year-old pharmacist, who currently works as an employee, but in the past owned her own pharmacy. Elena has suffered several robberies. For her: robbery is the primary experience of disrespect. She explains to me:

"[...] the assaults, they are a huge lack of respect, because they are planned in advance (...) and it shows also a lack of respect for one's integrity. I felt like it was a direct attack to my integrity, not just my physical integrity, but also my emotional integrity" [Elena, 61, MC]

The act of robbery as an example of disrespect was sometimes used, by the interviewees, as a proof that the experience of disrespect crosses cuts across social class. The rationale behind this assertion is that people from the working class would 'disrespect' the rich by robbing them; whereas the rich would 'disrespect' the poor by looking down upon them. A curious 'tie' which would explain why disrespect is something that, eventually, everyone can experience.

7.3.2 Disrespect as a closer experience

When disrespect becomes narrated as a closer experience in the upper and the middle class, this tends to happen in the voice of women, or people who have experienced upward mobility. One of the experiences which produces more suffering and anger is that related to being excluded for lack of social credentials. Loreto, for instance, has a degree in business administration and

works in an important company. She did not belong – originally – to the upper class. She studied in a state school, which in Chilean society is a marker of low status. Loreto narrates this experience, in which she went to a job interview and the interview lasted only 5 minutes. The interviewer looked at her CV but *only* paid attention to the school to which she went. He also used a very pejorative language to refer to this school, by changing its name. The school was named ‘Antártica Chilena’, which means, ‘Chilean Antarctic’, and he referred to it, flippantly and pejoratively, as ‘the Penguin School’ (he speaks in English):

‘I had an interview with this lawyer (...) and he reads my CV and asks: ‘school?’, and I said ‘there it is’. My School is called ‘Chilean Antarctic’, so he says: ‘The Penguin School’. I looked at him with no expression, like, really? And he told me: ‘and where is this, is in the Antarctic?’, and I told him, ‘no, in Vitacura⁵⁵’, [and he replied] ‘I’m going to look at it on my way home today’. And that was all the interview. He told me: ‘we’re going to evaluate this, we will call you’ (...) ‘No, I said, don’t evaluate anything; I’m really not interested in working here’. [So he replied]: ‘ah, she is little but has guts⁵⁶! So I left” [Loreto, UP, 33].

This experience reveals something which is well known in Chile: the importance of the school, more than the university, in the access to certain jobs and circles of power. The school is a strong marker of distinction in Chile, due to the educational system being highly stratified according to income. In this experience, the interviewer only asks for Loreto’s school. It is a state school, but it is located in an upper class neighbourhood. This is why he says: ‘I will look at it on my way home’. Loreto told me later: ‘you feel diminished’. The experience of being diminished is one of the most acute forms of disrespect which is present in the interviews. Sometimes, the victim has resources to face the situation, but for others, the only option is to quit, as Loreto does.

Another similar experience is that of being belittled, which usually occurs when someone make assumptions about other person based, for instance, on gender. These experiences cross cut social class but are gender specific. For instance, Javiera, who is a successful upper class lawyer, tells me that one of the moments in which she usually feels disrespected is when men try to minimize her in the workplace, for instance, by changing her name in a diminutive form; in this, case, ‘Javierilla’, which means ‘little Javiera’ or darling [*mijita*], which is an informal way in which older people address young girls. This is something that might be considered ‘cute’ by some people, but men never address men like this.:

⁵⁵ Vitacura is an upper class neighbourhood in Santiago.

⁵⁶ He is using a very pejorative slang term here (*choriza*). This word means that the person has courage, but at the same time, it means that the person is poor or even chav [*flaite*].

“.. (...) respect is at stake in everyday things, things which are so simple... for instance, when you are in the workplace and instead of calling you ‘Javiera’ they call you ‘darling’ or ‘Javierilla’, which is like the extreme version of it... I have had both experiences (...) being recognized as a person, for what you are, for your contributions and non-contributions, but as a human being. And the other [experience] which is something different, it is like a sub-category of person, it is ‘little darling’ [*mijita*] or ‘Javierilla’, or something like that. So what is this all about? So I reply: ‘excuse me, Rafaelillo?’, and then with humour, ‘what are you saying, little darling’ [*mijito*]? So I use humour but I make the point, because people sometimes are not aware that they do these things...” [Javiera, UC, 48]

This experience is interesting as it shows three things: on the one hand, that the experience of disrespect can be subtle; as Javiera says, respect can be at stake in very simple things, such as the way in which someone is addressed by another person. On the other hand, it reveals that the experience of disrespect is sometimes associated with the violation of a principle of equality. As Javiera argues, this experience is annoying for her because she is being treated as a ‘sub-category of person’ which means that she is not being recognized as a full human being. This experience also reveals the sorts of tactics that women sometimes use to ‘make the point’ of equality, as Javiera eloquently says. Instead of confronting her colleague, she chooses to address him in the same way as he addresses her, by using the diminutive form of his name (Rafaelillo instead of Rafael) or calling him ‘little darling’, but in the male version of it: ‘*mijito*’.

These kinds of tactics are similar to those of Carolina, who tells me that she feels disrespected when she feels invisible. Carolina is a 38-year-old assistant in a big company, and when some of her male colleagues approach to her to ask for her boss, they forget to greet her. So instead of saying ‘hi’ first, they directly say to her ‘is this person here?’ She then replies: ‘hi, good morning’, in an attempt to force them to greet her. However, they usually do not understand her tactic, and then just insist with their question: ‘is this person here?’.

These gender-based forms of disrespect are sometimes quite subtle, but others are quite overt. For instance, Andrea, a 30-year-old middle class woman who works as a safety manager in the construction sector – a traditionally male activity in Chile – narrates an experience in which the chief of a particular project did not want to work with her because she was a woman.

“[...] so he told me: ‘are you the safety manager?! I was stunned, I was not expecting something like this, and he said ‘I don’t work with women’. I told him: ‘well, you will have to get used to work with women’. And he replied: ‘I’m not planning to build a female toilet’, so I said: ‘I don’t know, but my boss transferred me to this project, so you will have to build a female toilet because I won’t pee behind the tree’ [Andrea, MC, 30]

For Andrea, this is the experience of her life in which she felt most disrespected. After this first encounter, in which Andrea felt, according to her own words, 'humiliated', she lived the most difficult months of her working life. None of her recommendations were heard, and she was treated as if she was invisible. After some months, she decided to quit the job, and she was offered to be transferred to another project. In this situation, Andrea could not use any tactic to deflect disrespect.

7.3.3 Disrespect as an everyday experience

For some middle class interviewees, but above all, working class interviewees, disrespect was ingrained in their everyday lives. When I asked them if they could narrate experiences in which they had felt disrespected, they did not struggle in finding examples. A common form of disrespect was associated with the denial of rights. For instance, several interviewees described experiences in the public health system. In this context, one of the most typical experiences is related to excessive waiting times. For instance, Sandra, who is a working class woman, told me of an experience in which a doctor delayed her access to the maternity unit when she was about to deliver her second child:

'... so I was bleeding, so we went to the emergency department, and the doctor who was in charge didn't want to attend me, because he was doing other things, [he was] talking in the phone... we had to argue with him for about one hour; [ask him] whether he could please give me... the only thing he had to do was to sign an authorization for hospitalization, just that, signing... and he wouldn't do it; he saw how I was, that my [blood] pressure was high, and he didn't do anything" [Sandra, 38, LC]

Something particularly telling of this experience is that, according to Sandra, she could not make the doctor sign the authorization. There is a third person, who is in a power position, who had to intervene for her:

"... so there was a woman who was the security guard, and she went to speak with him and told him 'please, sign soon or this woman is going to deliver her baby here', [so he said] 'but I'm busy, I'm speaking on the phone...' (...) so she told him: 'if you don't sign the authorization the only one who is going to be in trouble is you, if this woman delivers her baby here; everything is being recorded, she arrived one hour ago, and she has been complaining for about one hour' (...) and then he rushed and signed the hospitalization's authorization, only then. And soon after my baby was born, almost there, in the waiting room. And this like... it makes me angry' [Sandra, 38, LC].

In these kinds of situations, people tend to stress the feeling of anger, but above all, powerlessness ('impotence'). Powerlessness is an emotion which is almost absent from middle and upper class discourses. The interviewees also mention the strong inequality between those who only have access to the public health system, and those who have access to the private health system: the difference among the two systems is also interpreted as a sign of disrespect. Another situation which is usually signified as disrespect is being distrusted. As Anselmo, a 32-year-old working class man says to me, the 'right not to be mistrusted' tends to be violated, above all for young working class men. Marcos, for instance, a 33-year-old working class man, told me that the one moment in which he felt most disrespected he had ever been was when he was unfairly accused of stealing money from a car. As a security guard of a private hospital, one of his tasks was to take care of the cars. After he finished one of his rounds in the parking, he heard a furious client yelling:

"(...) so I finish my round, and after five minutes, I got a call, and there was this person, shouting and swearing, and when I arrived, he tells me: 'you are the thief who stole two thousand pesos from my car!!'; I was stunned, I hadn't even got close to his car (...). So, causing this fuss for two thousand pesos? Why would you take a risk for so little? I think this is the worst situation I had lived in this job. I felt so bad, so degraded as a person for being humiliated like that for allegedly having stolen two thousand pesos (...) I think that was the most ugly experience I have had in mi life regarding disrespect (...) I had never experienced something like this before, because my parents always instilled good values to me: being a hardworking person, responsible, and to date, it has always been like that" [Marcos, 33, LC]

What is interesting about this experience is that Marcos did not feel disrespected only because he was accused of robbery; but also because of the amount of money which is involved in the accusation: two thousand Chilean pesos is the equivalent of two pounds. The presumption that he would 'risk' his honour for so little is doubly painful. The accusation is even more painful as his self-worth is partly based on his self-image of righteousness and honesty. As he says at the end, he felt very bad because his family instilled him with 'good values'.

Something similar can be seen in the following extract. Rosa tells me that one of the times of her life in which she felt most disrespected was when her son was accused of being a drug user, in the context of a parents' meeting in her son's school. She tells me the following:

"... (...) so they started to talk about the students, and the kids who go to my son's school they are not from a class, well, I can't really tell if it is low, upper, middle, but they are kids with a lots of troubles with drugs; so the teacher and one of the parents said that all the kids in the school smoke weed, and that all the mums knew that. In that same week, my son had had his phone stolen from his locker, so in that moment I felt disrespected and I told them: "look, I'm sure my son is neither a junkie nor a thief; actually, my son is

the one who was robbed, so you cannot tell that my son fits in the parameter that you have about this school', so in that moment I felt that my kids were being disrespected, and I was being disrespected, as a family (...) what I did, what I raised" [Rosa, LC, 53]

Disrespect is especially painful for Rosa because the values of her family are at stake in this accusation. She felt that her son was disrespected, but above all *her*, as a family chief. She says 'what I raised', because *she* raised this kid, so if he is being accused of being a junkie, she is, by extension, being accused too. Like Marcos, Rosa feels that her core values are at stake in this accusation.

This same rationale can be found in the following experience. One of the hardest everyday experiences that people associated to disrespect was the experience of sexual abuse, or sexual harassment. This experience was only present in the narratives of women. Many of them mentioned street harassment, which is a massive problem in Chile; but only working class women mentioned direct experiences of abuse or even rape, sometimes perpetrated by their husbands, and others by their employees. Lourdes, for instance, who is a domestic worker, told me how often she experienced sexual harassment by her employees.

"... (...) because when you're alone, you also suffer from sexual harassment, in which men tell you, or even at work, your bosses [*los patrones*⁵⁷], they insinuate... 'Do you need money? We could do this', and you say 'what?! Come on, please, I'm working, I'm a maid', [and they say], 'but you're beautiful, what are you doing here, you might do other kind of jobs'" [Lourdes, 55, LC]

Lourdes continues:

'(...) and these things happen, actually it happened to me, I used to work in a house in which the boss [*el patrón*] used to insinuate to me, and he offered things to me, he gave things to me, and I said 'why?', and he said 'because you are a very good woman', and he would caress me, [and say] 'anything you need you can count on me', and when the time arrived, I said no, I said 'I can't'... and I cried, and cried, and I said 'why?, this is so denigrating!', I mean, how can they humiliate you like this, how?! So, just because I am the maid I have to have sex with my boss? No!" [Lourdes, 55 LC]

This example powerfully illustrates the experience of disrespect at the intersection of gender and class: her employer, a man who is in a position of power over her offers her money to have sex with her. He constantly tries to 'buy' her and uses as an argument her aesthetics: 'you're beautiful; you could be doing another job'. In this experience, Lourdes refuses, but she has to

⁵⁷ She does not use the term boss (*jefe*) but '*patrón*' which is the term that workers would give to their bosses in the countryside, above all in the context of big family country states (*fundos*). This is typical of the colonial heritage of Latin America.

‘tolerate’ the harassment because she cannot lose her job. This experience sheds light on the inequality of resources to fight against disrespect. But it also sheds light on the connection between disrespect and self-worth. As per other experiences discussed in this chapter, Lourdes feels bad because her dignity is associated with the avoidance of this kind of behaviour. She tells me during the interview how she was taught by her aunt to never be a ‘street woman’:

‘ (...) my aunt used to tell me: ‘I don’t want you to ever be, nor even consider to be, a street woman’, and I asked her ‘what is a street woman?’, ‘a woman who sleeps with several men’ ... and I, miss [*señorita*]⁵⁸, thanks God, I have never done anything like that for money (...) because I have heard stories of mothers who have been prostitutes, and I say, working never denigrates, but this kind of job, it does... ’ [Lourdes, 55, LC]

Thus, the experience is doubly painful. On the one hand, the commodification of the body is one of the acute experiences of disrespect. The ‘other’ – in this case, Lourdes – becomes a commodified other, and the consideration of her willingness to be involved in the practice is denied. There is violence, subordination, and abuse of power. On the other hand, Lourdes sees the core of her dignity attacked. This is a constant in working class experiences of disrespect.

For instance, another experience was narrated by Alicia. Alicia tells me that, from her perspective, racism is a lack of respect. When I ask why, she tells me that her employees have been ‘racist in terms of eating’. I did not understand the term, so when I ask again, I realized that she coined this term because one of her first experiences of disrespect mixed racism with discrimination in the context of a dispute about food:

“... Once I went to a job interview, and I started immediately (...) the landlady was there, she was supposed to cook, and I had to clean and iron. And when it was about lunchtime, the lady told me that I could eat, and told me ‘ok, food has been served in the kitchen’, so I asked ‘what is being served?’ there was one pepper, one bread and one onion, and she told me ‘that’s what Peruvians eat’. Of course I got pissed off, I asked her to pay me the morning and I took off” [Alicia, 56, LC]

This experience reveals several dynamics which are crucial in the experience of disrespect. First, Alicia is Chilean, not Peruvian, but she is dark skinned and she is a maid. The landlady allegedly confused her with a Peruvian woman –although it is not entirely clear in the story if she actually thought that she was Peruvian or she told her that as an insult. The Peruvian population tends to suffer discrimination in Chile. As migrants, Peruvian women often work as

⁵⁸ Lourdes is calling me miss [*señorita*] as she is using the formal second singular person to address me. As discussed in the chapter 3, this is a sign of how I was treated by some lower class interviewees.

maids. Independent of this, she is clearly offering Alicia an insufficient lunch, and she is arguing that she might eat it because she is 'different' to her.

There are several experiences of disrespect in the narratives of domestic workers which involve food. Rita, for instance, tells me that she has been lucky enough not to experience any of those, but she tells me stories that she had heard from other maids. For instance, she tells me that she had this friend who was only allowed to eat 'old' food. Rita found this outrageous, because 'even animals do not eat old food' [Rita, 38, LC]. Alicia tells me another story:

(...) "I used to work in a house, I worked 5 years in that house (...) and the lady used to buy me, for instance, one cucumber. I had to eat that cucumber and it had to last me for about 1 week, and they would eat cheese, tomato and avocado, and I could only eat cucumber. Or, she cooked pasta, and she served me just a little. She served a bigger portion for herself, and she also added a steak. To me, that is being racist in terms of eating" [Alicia, 55, LW]

As with the cases of sexual abuse and mistrust, these experiences are painful because they involve a difference in dignity. Alicia articulates this point in this very eloquent statement:

"It bothers me because we are all equal. In my view, we are all equal; with the difference that some [people] have studied more, they have other skin colour; [or she] has other eye colour, another hair, is fatter or skinner, or she just has a better economic situation. But for me everyone is equal" [Alicia, 55, LW]

It should be noted, however, that domestic work involves some particularities in Chile, which suggest that dignity might not be the only principle which is being violated in these examples. Many maids live in the houses in which they work (*'puertas adentro'*) which means that they become 'part' of the family – although this relationship is ambiguous. This is theoretically important, as this kind of job is located in the intersection between the public and the private domain. Using Honneth's (1995) terms, the experience of disrespect in the context of domestic work tends to combine the violation of two forms of recognition: 'formal respect' and 'love'. In this context, the difference in 'food' is certainly a metaphor of a difference in dignity but also, it can be interpreted as a lack of care or love.

The difference in dignity is a recurrent theme in the working class interviews. There are plenty of experiences which are linked to this issue. Some of them, are signified under the language of 'being look down upon', an action which is highly resented by people. Jaime, a middle class man who has experienced upward mobility, told me this story from his past. When he was a waiter, he was working in a traditional café in Santiago, and he had to serve a well-known presidential

candidate. When Jaime approached him to ask what he wanted, the presidential candidate did not order from Jaime directly, but asked the person who was sat with him to tell Jaime what he wanted. As it can be seen in the quotation below, Jaime does not only consider this as a huge lack of respect, but he also concludes that this presidential candidate has no value. Feeling superior to others is heavily sanctioned in the Chilean moral economy of respect.

(...) once I had to serve [name of presidential candidate], he didn't tell me which coffee he wanted, he asked the person who was next to him to tell me which coffee he wanted, he didn't speak to me, that shows a huge lack of respect; for this reason I don't value him; a person that does that, is worthless; [name of another presidential candidate], he also, [he said], 'tell him that I want a lasagne', [so his assistant told me] 'he wants a lasagne'. So, they want to run this country (...) and they are not able to speak to a waiter? to a person who is willing to serve them with his best good will?, that is a lack of respect, it speaks very badly of that person" [Jaime, 36, LC]

Something important to note about these experiences is that they usually trigger practices of self-exclusion. For instance, Ernesto, a 43-year-old working class men, who felt discriminated when he was working in an upper class neighbourhood, explained to me that he decided not to work again in upper class neighbourhoods: "(...) because people are very... they look down upon you. For that reason, that very same day I said: I won't work in an upper neighbourhood again" [Ernesto, 43, LC]. A similar rationale can be found in Gloria's account. Gloria insists that she has never felt discriminated, but she recognizes, at the same time, that she avoids the places in which she could actually feel discriminated.

"...I feel like we live in a society in which you have to adapt, in quotation marks. I mean, you know where you can get on, and where you can't; because, even though you love yourself, and you respect yourself... I won't be going to a place in which I know I won't be liked. What am I going for? to have a bad moment? It would be absurd. One thing is that I love myself, I know what I am capable of, but if I am certain that I'm going to be disrespected, that I'm going to be discriminated, what I am going for?" [Gloria, 47, LC]

In conclusion, disrespect is an experience that everyone might live. As long as certain expectation of treatment is violated, people will signify that experience as disrespect. However, the forms of disrespect, and the resources that people have to fight against it, are very unequally distributed. Most of the experiences described by upper class interviewees – above all men – constitute exceptions in their lives; also, they do not produce enduring consequences for them. On the contrary, the experiences described by working class people, women, or middle class interviewees who fight for mobility, tend to involve a violation of principles which are essential to people's self-worth. At the same time, whereas upper class men can display clear strategies to face disrespect, women tend to adopt tactic behaviours, or they simply leave the situations in

which they face disrespect. Working class people, on the other hand, can develop practices of self-exclusion to avoid encountering these experiences.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has depicted the self-image that the interviewees hold regarding themselves as recipients of respect and disrespect. This image varies according to social position, although there are some common features in the narratives which cross cut social class, gender and age. For instance, the disjunction between a positive image regarding the self and a negative image regarding society is an element which is present in almost all the narratives. However, the images of society and the forms in which respect and disrespect are signified vary enormously according to social position. In fact, most of the interviewees agree that respect is something you have to struggle for in Chile. However, the sorts of respect that people have to struggle for, and the resources they are able to display in this struggle, vary enormously according to gender and class.

In a similar fashion, the experience of disrespect is not exclusive of some groups of the population, although the reasons why they feel disrespected, as well as the intensity, frequency and consequence of these experiences, tend to differ greatly according to social position. Moreover, the resources that people have to act in the context of these experiences are very different.

Via this analysis, I have been able to illuminate the form of inequality which is involved in the experience of respect and disrespect. Unlike inequality of income, the inequality of respect cannot be thought in terms of possession or dispossession, but in terms of types and means: respect and disrespect are potential experiences for almost every human being, but the forms of respect and disrespect which are available vary according to social class and gender.

Yet, people keep fighting to get respect. In the next chapter, I will explore further two processes which are described by the interviewees: gaining respect and commanding respect. This will shed light on the processual nature of respect, and also, on new inequalities.

Chapter 8: The temporal nature of respect: between ‘earning’ and ‘commanding’ respect

8.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I depicted the self-image that the interviewees hold regarding themselves as recipients of respect and disrespect. I highlighted that even though the experience of both respect and disrespect cross cuts the lives of almost all interviewees, the types of experiences they face and the resources they have to act in the context of those experiences vary significantly according to gender and class.

In this chapter I offer a closer look at the ‘process’ that underlies those experiences. As noted, several interviewees refer to the processes of ‘earning respect’ (*ganarse el respeto*) as one which is key in the course of their lives. This opens the possibility of understanding respect in a temporal logic. I would like to interrogate this temporality. In so doing, I put special emphasis upon the different criteria by which the interviewees think they can earn (or lose) respect. I argue that the analysis of these criteria is a powerful methodological tool to understand the hierarchies of value that people construct and legitimise in their everyday lives. I also explore the logic of ‘value accrual’ which lies beyond the phenomenon of respect. Can respect be accumulated? And if so, how?

In the second section, I explore the similarities and differences between the processes of ‘earning respect’ and ‘commanding respect’ (*hacerse respetar*), which is another form by which the interviewees describe how they secure respect in their lives. I show that whereas ‘earning respect’ operates through a moral logic, ‘commanding respect’ operates thorough games of

power, as it is related to the practice of imposition or sometimes defence against potential abuse. I also argue that, as with earning respect, commanding respect does follow a temporal logic, but in two ways: on the one hand, people learn how to command respect; on the other hand, commanding respect takes time.

Finally, I pose the question of whether there is a connection between these two processes. I highlight that the key commonality between them is that they indicate the importance of agency in the achieving of respect.

8.2. The temporality of respect

One of the most salient features of the experience of respect is its *temporal* nature. This is a finding which clearly emerged from the analysis of the corpus of interviews of this study. Through the course of the interviews, many participants emphasised that ‘respect is earned’, and some of them argued that they felt respected precisely because they had succeeded in their attempt of earning it. Gabriela, for instance, says: “(...) *why am I [respected]? Because I earned it*” [Gabriela, UC, 45] whilst Ramiro, argues “(...) *respect is something you earn, you can’t impose it*” [Ramiro, MC, 38]. These kinds of statements indicate that some people experience respect as a process; a process in which they play an active role in terms of securing -or failing to secure- higher levels of respect for themselves.

This feature of respect has also been reported in the literature. From classic studies on the subject, such as ‘*In search of Respect*’ (Bourgois, 2003) to the most recent ones, such as “*Getting Respect*” (Lamont. et al, 2016), there is a tendency to assume that respect involves a temporal process as people tend to elaborate strategies to earn it, keep it and avoid losing it. As noted by Skeggs and Loveday (2012), in everyday life respect is not experienced as a permanent property of persons.

Defining the scope of this process is not, however, straightforward. To start, this process seems to coexist with several other forms of getting respect which are not seen as depending on a process, at least, in normative terms. This is particularly true for the case of getting categorical respect, which is the form of respect that is supposed to be driven by the acknowledgement of human dignity. This creates an interesting tension in the narratives. The phrase ‘respect is earned’ involves a tacit legitimisation of the fact that respect *should be* earned, something that can be sensed, for instance, in Alfredo’s words:

“I think that Chile, yes, it is a place in which you can earn respect, you can earn stuff. I’m not saying it is easy, but I do not believe that anything which has value should be so easy” [Alfredo, UC, 48].

As it can be noted, Alfredo’s rationale legitimises the fact that respect should be earned. This contradicts the assumption that ‘everyone’ deserves respect, an assumption which is strongly ingrained in the normative discourses around the topic, as discussed in Chapter 5. In fact, a minority of interviewees became aware of this tension during the interview and explicitly criticised the common-sense belief that respect is to be earned. This can be observed, for instance, in Valeria’s words, who, unlike Alfredo, tells me that respect should *not* be earned:

“It is difficult to get respect... I think respect... people sometimes say ‘respect is earned’, I don’t think it is earned. I think respect is something that must come with you. I don’t think I have to earn your respect or anybody else’s, this is something that kind of... you’re born with” (Valeria, MC, 59)

At face value, it is tempting to conclude that this difference in opinion might be explained by social position. To some extent, it is easier for someone like Alfredo to assert that respect should be earned than for someone like Valeria. Alfredo is an upper-class man who is CEO of a big company, whereas Valeria is a lower middle-class woman who works as a shop assistant in a department store. As noted in Chapter 6, the types of experiences of respect and disrespect that people face and the resources they have to act in the context of those experiences are clearly stratified by gender and class. Therefore, Alfredo is certainly in a position of advantage compared with Valeria in terms of his capability of being respected in certain domains. In fact, one could argue that the assumption that ‘respect is earned’ acts as an ideological justification to legitimise the inequalities of respect.

It should be noted, nonetheless, that for most participants, both assumptions (respect should be earned/respect should not be earned) can coexist. This can be explained by the multiplicity of meanings that are mobilized through the word respect, something which has been emphasised several times in previous chapters. When people argue that ‘everyone deserve respect’ and, therefore, ‘respect should not be earned’, they associate it with human dignity (categorical respect), but when they argue that ‘respect should be earned’, they associate it with esteem (performative respect), a realm in which the differences in respect are deemed as legitimate. This rationale can be seen in the words of Antonio, who argues that, in virtue of equality, there is a basic form of respect which should not be earned. However, he adds that this form of respect should just be the ‘departure point’, which leaves the door open for the existence of ‘other’ forms of respect which can legitimately be earned:

“(...) I think there is a point in which you have to respect the other [person] per se, because sometimes we say ‘respect should be earned’, but I think you first have to respect anyway (...) I don’t have to earn respect if we are equal, right? so that’s the departure point” (Antonio, MC, 46)

Even though people can normatively question the fact that respect ‘should’/‘should not’ be earned, the truth is that most of them experienced the process of earning or losing it. In fact, most of them establish hierarchies between different forms of earning respect. Therefore, in the following pages I focus on the analyses of the different criteria by which people consider they can ‘earn respect’. I argue that understanding these criteria is a powerful tool to unveil the hierarchies of value that people construct and legitimise regarding themselves and others. As noted by Skeggs and Loveday (2012), the temporality involved in respect enables us to understand the forms of ‘value accrual’ which people experience in their everyday lives. Is there a logic of respect-accrual? Does this logic vary per gender and class? These types of questions are addressed in the following sections.

8.2.1. Earning respect: merit, honesty and decency

Alfredo is a 48 year old CEO of a big company in Santiago. He attended a middle class secondary school and an elite university in Santiago de Chile. He is married and has children. When Alfredo tells me about his life, he emphasises that he has earned respect. As with other upper class interviewees, Alfredo is aware of his privileged position in the distribution of respect. But he thinks that his effort has been the main driver of his current privilege:

“I have earned things, and today I have a good position, of power, that enables me, as I told you before, to have a good time, to make good money, to educate my family, my kids, to make my wife happy... so I feel like society has granted me a space of respect. And I’m privileged if I look at others’ realities” [Alfredo, UC, 48]

I ask Alfredo how can respect be earned, and he explains to me that respect is earned through a mixture of talent with sacrifice. But he also adds the importance of being ‘respectful and grateful’ of the person who gives you the opportunity to have a job. Alfredo is thinking here about his relationship with his bosses –the owners of the company- who had trusted him to become the CEO. In the context of this discourse, ‘being respectful’ is conflated with *obedience*. Therefore, the mixture of talent, sacrifice and obedience seems to be the key to success:

“M: (...) From your point of view, how do you earn respect?

A: (...) at work, I don't know any other template than sacrifice, to do your best, and frankly, to be really grateful and respectful of the one who gives you the opportunity of working for him. At the end of the day, if you have the abilities, because this is not just linked to perspiration, you probably must mix perspiration with talent; if you have a little bit of both, you finally produce spaces to be respected, you produce spaces to be valued" [Alfredo, 48, UC]

The importance of sacrifice and hard work is a recurrent theme in these narratives. To some extent, the notion of 'earning respect' seems to reflect the importance of 'merit' in the imaginary of Chilean society. As it has been noted in many studies, inequalities which are seen as derived from merit are highly legitimised in Chile (e.g. Castillo, 2010; PNUD, 2017b). Thus, the assumption that 'respect is earned through merit' (either through sacrifice and/or talent), tends to legitimise the hierarchy of value which is expressed in social relations. Many upper-class interviewees, above all the ones who were in positions of power, stressed that they were respected because they had worked to be respected. This narrative was heavily focused in the workplace:

"I have always felt valued in my job, but I have also done things to be valued, I mean, I have worked to be valued (...) with what I have done, I have made people value and recognize me" [Regina, 62, UC]

Some of them, particularly women, also emphasized that the process of earning respect involved fighting against inequalities. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, gender plays a significant role here. In this context, it is interesting to compare the discourse of Alfredo -which was analysed above- with the discourse of Gabriela, a female upper-class lawyer. Like Alfredo, Gabriela thinks that she is respected because she has earned it; but she is aware that earning respect has been more difficult for her than for her male colleagues:

"I do [feel respected] but I have the perception that I might be someone a little bit exceptional. And why am I [respected]? Because I earned it. Now I can tell you that yes, you can earn respect [...] if you work hard and strong in order to stand out in professional environments [...] In order to stand out, I normally work as five men. So yes, I earned respect, but I earned it from a departing point of inequality, I had to work a lot harder to gain my promotions" [Gabriela, UC, 45].

The discourse of merit, however, is not the only one which is behind the logic of 'earning respect'. Upper class interviewees also mention other moral behaviours, such as being 'honest' or 'being a good boss', as features that enable them to be respected. This can be observed in Adolfo and Martín's narratives. Adolfo, for instance, emphasizes the importance of having an ethical conduct, and Martín emphasises the importance of 'doing good':

“I believe people earn professional respect because of their ideas and their behaviour (...) if a boss pays bribes, what can he expect from his subordinates?” [Adolfo, 59, UC]

“I don’t think I have anything special to be more respected than others... I feel that in my field, yes, I might be respected, but not because they are like that [respectful], but because, I don’t know, I feel like I have done things right, and people respect much more those who, quotation marks, do good” [Martín, UC. 46]

It should be noted, however, that this type of moral logic is stronger in the narratives of working class interviewees. In working class discourses the notion of ‘earning respect’ was mentioned with less frequency than in the upper class. But when it was mentioned, moral attitudes such as honesty or kindness were more emphasised than the typical meritocratic discourse linked to effort, sacrifice or talent. Sandra, for instance, who is a working-class woman who works as maid, tells me how she has taught her son to earn respect.

“I always tell my eldest [son], the only thing I can give him, because I won’t be able to give him wealth, the only thing I can give him is his studies, so he can make a living by himself, and being responsible, and he has to know how to earn respect...” [Sandra, LW, 38]

I asked Sandra how someone could earn respect and she emphasized two sources of respect: on the one hand, being honest, and on the other hand, not to belittle others, the latter being a practice which is heavily sanctioned by working class interviewees:

“(...) if a person isn’t honest, do you think she is going to earn respect from others? If she is arrogant, or conceited, and belittles people who are worst off...do you think she is going to earn respect from others? No!” [Sandra, LW, 38]

I found similar answers from other working class interviewees. For instance, Fernando told me that respect is earned by being good to others, and Gastón stressed that he has earned respect because he helps people. In fact, he interpreted the action of granting me an interview as an action that will trigger my respect, because he is ‘helping me’ in the context of my research.

“thanks to all the things that you do, and thanks to how you are with people, you achieve that, you achieve that people respect you (...) people always say that one earns respect, no, I think one makes it, one makes respect, one makes respect with attitudes, with being good, being good for the others” [Fernando, 58, LW]

“Yes, I believe that I feel respected because... they⁵⁹ don’t always respect me, but I feel respected because, at the moment, I’m doing my bit to help everywhere, and that bit is the respect that everyone feels for me; to me, that is respect, here, right now, you need something, an interview or whatever, if I can help you, you will respect me” [Gastón, 43, LW]

⁵⁹ He means his boss and his colleagues.

Gastón's discourse resembles Skeggs and Loveday's (2012) finding regarding how respect for the British working class is associated with loyalty and help. These findings seem to indicate, that for working class interviewees the moral domain -in particular, linked to virtuous behaviours- is the place par excellence where they can earn respect.

It should be noted, nonetheless, that the discourse of merit is also present in working class discourses, above all in younger working class interviewees. However, this discourse is always mixed up with other moral attitudes. A good example can be found in Estefanía's words, who tells me that respect can be earned through honesty (not being a thief) but also by studying.

"To me, respect is something you have to earn (...) everything is related to the family. You see in the news, the thieves, what kind of respect are you going to ask from them?, it's not about thinking in a mediocre way and justifying delinquency, because there is this cliché, people say 'son of thief becomes a thief', but you can't say that, if the person wants to do better, she is going to do better anyway; there are so many bursaries to study today, and some people do better, and why? because they respect, they have values, because they know, they respect themselves as persons, that's what your parents teach you; you can live in the most miserable house in the world, a house which might be even falling down but if your parents give values to you, if they give you respect for yourself..." [Estefanía, 28, LW]

It is also interesting to note, that Estefanía mentions the importance of 'self-respect' as the driver that makes people to fight for respect. This particular use of the concept of 'self-respect' – which has been already highlighted in previous chapters- it is one of the most interesting findings of this study. Instead of being an outcome of respect from others -as moral philosophy suggests- self-respect is constantly mentioned as the driving force that motivates the interviewees to earn and -as we will see in the following section- to command respect.

'Earning respect', is not, however, the only language that people use to refer to the process of accumulating respect. When this process is linked to decency, people talk about 'inspiring respect' (*darse a respetar*)⁶⁰. 'Darse a respetar' emphasises that the person has a decent or morally correct behaviour. This expression was used above all by older working class women. Lourdes, for instance, who is a 55 year old working-class woman who works as a maid, tells me that she has always inspired respect because she is a worker.

"M: Lourdes, do you feel respected in Chilean society?
L: it is like you have to inspire respect [*darte a respetar*], I have always inspired respect...

⁶⁰ It is difficult to translate this concept. On my reading, it is closer to the British version of 'respectability' (Skeggs, 1997) as it emphasises behaviours which show inner character.

M: How come? Can you tell me more?

L: I mean, I'm the maid [*nana*] who works in the house, I do my work well, and that work is respected, right? I have to be respected because I work, I'm a worker, I have a family to fight for, to educate, so I need society to respect me in that regard" [Lourdes, 55, LW]

The very same rationale can be observed in Carmen, who is a 59 year old woman who also works as a maid. Carmen tells me that she inspires respect because she never goes to parties:

"Well, yes, I feel respected, because... well, I think that you have to inspire respect [*darse a respetar*]. I'm never... when I was young I used to party a lot, but now I go from my home to my work, and then I don't go out, so, yes, I feel that I'm respected" [Carmen, 59, LW]

But why is morality the main source for respect-accrual, at least, in narrative terms? How does respect-accrual differ from the accumulation of other resources such as income? I would like to argue that what is distinctive about respect -at least in its performative dimension- is that unlike resources such as income, which can be inherited, respect is seen as depending on people's individual behaviours. This renders respect a more even playing field for fighting for value; a moral register in which everyone can eventually win. The idea of 'earning respect' opens the possibility for someone who has less access to traditional resources that elicit respect -such as income, education and power- to be legitimately more respected than others. This is especially important in light of what it was discussed in Chapter 6: that in everyday experience, traditional resources such as income, education or power are seen as the real drivers of respect in Chilean society. This signals the importance of agency in the achieving of respect. It demonstrates, as discussed in Chapter 7, that agentic behaviours can compensate the lack of traditional sources of capital in the process of getting respect.

The logic of earning respect also opens the possibility of withdrawing respect for someone who is abusive in his/her position of power. This has a strong connection with the concept of 'false respect' discussed in Chapter 5. As Ramiro says: "(...) *respect is something you earn, you can't impose it*" [Ramiro, MC, 38]. The kind of respect that people 'earn' is different from the kind of respect that people get only because of their power position. Thus, someone in position of power -e.g. a boss- can be respected because of his/her position (and therefore, be respected in terms of positional respect), but can be, at the same time, disrespected because he/she is abusive (and therefore, can be disrespected in performative terms). Here is where the concept of 'commanding respect' becomes important, which is the practice I will analyse in the following section.

8.2.2. Commanding Respect: authority, domination and prevention of abuse

As noted, 'earning respect' is not the only expression used by the participants to describe the process of securing respect. The expression 'commanding respect' [*hacerse respetar*], was also heavily used in the interviews. As noted in Chapter 7, this expression can be literally translated as 'make yourself respected' or 'make others respect you'. It has a clear connotation of imposition or force, that is why I have decided to translate it as 'commanding respect'. Unlike 'earning respect', this expression has a stronger connection with the experience of authority and power. This is important in the context of this study considering that, as discussed in Chapter 6, authority has become a contested field in the experience of Chileans. Some interviewees show clear signs of authoritarian nostalgia, whereas others seem eager to establish democratic and horizontal relations as well as to demand their rights. In spite of this, for most participants there is an assessment of Chile as a place in which the powerful tend to humiliate the powerless. This is consistent with other studies which have shown the extent to which the experience of abuse is extended in the country (Araujo, 2008; PNUD, 2004).

To be respected, people *need to learn* how to command respect, otherwise, they will not be respected. That is almost a mantra for the Chileans. This narrative can be specially seen in the words of several working and middle class interviewees. As can be observed in the quotations below, many interviewees assume that they must command respect to avoid being walked over:

"You have to command respect, otherwise you won't be respected. It is what I was telling you before, here in Chile people respect the one who has money, the one who is arrogant, but that is not respect, that is to fear; you fear the powerful, you fear the rich; so, if you don't have those things, people can walk over you" [Ramiro, 38, MC]

"Yes, because I'm a rebel... if you look weak, too quiet, people will walk over you, and I see that. I tell the others, 'how can you put up with this?', because I couldn't" [Valeria, 59, MC]

"(...) if you don't respect others, nobody is going to respect you, people will walk over you, so you have to command respect to be respected" [Carmen, 59, LC]

In this context, as noted in Chapter 7, several middle and lower class participants explained to me that they had not felt disrespected because they knew how to command respect. This is why most of them held an image of themselves as respected by others: not necessarily because there was absence of disrespect in their lives but because they knew how to prevent disrespect from

happening. That is the core of the meaning of commanding respect. This can be observed in the words of Leonardo and Verónica:

“I always try to make things clear, if I respect you, you can’t disrespect me” [Verónica, 50, MC]

“(…) perhaps in the few occasions in which I have lived something like that [disrespect], my personality enables me to raise my hand and say ‘you know what? I don’t like this’, therefore, they can’t finally walk over me” [Leonardo, 36, MC]

It is interesting to note that commanding respect usually involves a learning process. Many interviewees emphasised that after living experiences in which they were disrespected, they learned how to command respect. For instance, Carolina, who is a middle-class secretary, tells me that after being mistreated by a colleague, she learnt not to let others walk over her ‘just for being the secretary’. Ramiro, in turn, who works as a shop assistant and is gay, explains to me that after being discriminated against several times, he learned to command respect by not letting others make judgements about his way of life.

“Since that time [an action of disrespect], I did not let anybody walk over me. Not because I’m the secretary, or the assistant, you can walk over me” [Carolina, 38, MC]

M: (…) how one can command respect?

R: ‘How do you command respect? You have to be very confident about yourself, you have to respect yourself first (…) after many years I realized that my tastes, my way of dressing, or my way of thinking, they are mine, nobody can make me change by forcing me to change, instead, they have to give me reasons, and there [I can say] ‘ok, you’re right’ (Ramiro, MC, 37)

Something relevant to observe is that, for Ramiro, commanding respect involves, first, respecting himself. This indicates that there is a connection between ‘commanding respect’ and ‘self-respect’. As noted in Chapter 5, for most participants, self-respect is the driver that makes them learn to command respect.

Commanding respect involves, therefore, a learning process. It is in this sense that commanding respect does also involve a temporal logic, but in a different form than the process of earning respect. On the one hand, people learn how to command respect, i.e. they learn how to communicate to others that they cannot be walked over. On the other hand, commanding respect takes some time. This is particularly true when the person who needs to command respect suffers from any form of structural inequality. To exemplify this, I will analyse Teresa’s story.

Teresa is a middle-class woman, who works as a secretary in a private company. When I ask Teresa whether she feels respected she replies *'Now, in my forties, I do... I command respect [me hago respetar]'*. This answer intrigues me, as it indicates that something changed in Teresa's life. I ask her, then, what does she mean by this, and she replies that, at present, she has more character and more experience, above all after overcoming some hard moments in her life. *"If I don't feel good, I leave, I won't make my life hell, because I don't know how long I am going to live"*. Later in the interview I learned that Teresa had had a partner who used to be very jealous and had been aggressive and abusive to her.

I asked Teresa what it is to command respect. In order to explain herself, Teresa decided to tell me the following story. As I mentioned, Teresa works as a secretary, but in her free time she practices an oriental type of dance. This is an activity which is *'often misunderstood'*, according to her own words, due to the sensuality associated with it. On one occasion, Teresa and her dance teacher were hired to dance for an event. When she learnt that the audience was going to be only men she hesitated about taking the job. However, she finally accepted. Once there, soon after she and her friend started dancing, she heard the men in the public wolf-whistling⁶¹. Teresa felt deeply uncomfortable and during the break talked to her friend and told her *'I can't do this'*. Her friend replied by saying what Teresa recalled as *"wise words"*: *"Teresa, you are going to command respect here, so smile, get dressed and let's go!"*. What happened after that, is what Teresa understands as *"a very powerful scene of commanding respect"*. Teresa's son was present during the event –he usually takes pictures when she performs– so she told me what her son had told her later:

“(...) my son told me that after the first set, they were saying ‘she is so hot, she is so pretty!’ (...), but in the second set he heard them saying ‘it’s really cool to see a different culture’, so things changed; and at the end, they told me that they had found our work really interesting, really professional (...) that is to command respect, in what I do; it may seem very trivial, but that is a form of respect(...) in your work” (Teresa, MC, 45)

Teresa's story symbolizes in a very graphic way the process of commanding respect from the perspective of gender. The temporality that she describes in her story –the different reactions that her performance elicited in the audience– can also be observed in the experiences of other women in very different domains. Every day women fight for others to ‘acknowledge’ who they are, ‘beyond’ their bodies, beyond their gender. A common feature of those experiences is that there seems to be a departure point in which a woman is seen as an object or as an inferior being, and an arrival point in which a woman is seen as an equal or is valued in terms of her

⁶¹ Whistling in Latin America is a way of signifying that a woman is beautiful.

performance or achievements instead of her gender. The journey in between is what women sometimes describe as ‘earning respect’ –such as Gabriela, in the previous section- but some specific moments of that journey require women to ‘command respect’.

Commanding respect has different meanings according to the type of disrespect that people face, as well as their power position. For instance, several interviewees described the process of commanding respect in the context of the workplace. In this realm, the ‘other’ who people have to command respect from is either the boss or the subordinate. As a result, commanding respect in the context of the workplace means two different practices. On the one hand, as a worker, ‘commanding respect’ usually involves preventing abuse from the boss. On the other hand, as a boss, it usually means ‘being obeyed’ by your subordinates.

A clear example of commanding respect as a worker can be observed in the story of Valeria, who works as a shop assistant in a department store. Valeria explains to me how she commands respect from her boss.

“V: I feel like I’m more respected than other girls who look humble (...) I’m respected, but not everyone is so lucky; well, you have to command respect too, I command respect.

M: And how do you command respect?

V: For instance, I don’t pay homage to the bosses, for me the bosses are human beings with better luck than us, nothing else” [Valeria, 59, LW]

As it can be noted in Valeria’s words, commanding respect is a defensive attitude which anticipates the possibility of being abused. The common sense is that the one who is in position of power or authority –in this example, the boss- will abuse the one who is in a non-dominant position. Thus, the non-dominant elaborates strategies to avoid that potential abuse:

“This thing about calling ‘boss’ to your boss; I never call her ‘hey, boss’, no, [I call her] ‘Mrs. Lucía’ (...) and the other girls [ask me] ‘but why do you call her Mrs. Lucía? call her boss!’ [and I say] ‘no, why?’ If I call her ‘boss’ I’m telling her ‘walk over me’, and I’m not going to tolerate that” [Valeria, 59, LW]

It is important to note, that the practice of commanding respect from the point of view of the subordinate does not necessarily involve a critique of the other’s authority. In reality, commanding respect tends to involve setting a limit to that authority; or, to put it in other words, setting a limit to what is considered as illegitimate in the exercise of that authority. For

instance, whereas giving instructions might be deemed as legitimate, 'walking over someone' is not. This can be observed in the words of Loreto⁶²:

"[respect] is one of the important values that you should keep in your life; respecting the other and respect for yourself. And that involves commanding respect, which can be very hard with some people, and it can be a challenge, to make things clear without saying anything. And sometimes that involves having courage, to have guts, because sometimes, people that you don't know, maybe older people, or people with a higher rank in your job... (...) their authority doesn't give them the right to walk over someone" [Loreto, UP, 33]

When the interviewees hold a position of authority in their workplaces, however, commanding respect means being obeyed. This can be seen, for instance, in Alvaro and Lucas's words. They are both young upper class men who have to exercise authority in the context of their jobs. Alvaro, for instance, explains to me that he commands respect from his colleagues by demonstrating – '*with strength but serenity*' - that he has control of the situation:

"[In my job] people respect each other; well, you have to command respect too, because I guess there are people who have been disrespected, but not in my case, because I command respect' [Alvaro, UC, 37]

"M: How do you command respect?

A: respecting, first, respecting, being deferential, and when you feel that someone gets upset or disrespects you, answering with strength but also with serenity, to make your point and demonstrate that you're the one who is in control. There is a saying that I always use: 'hard with the problem, but respecting the person' [Alvaro, UC, 37]

Lucas, in turn, explains to me that he has to remind the other 'who is he speaking to'.

Commanding respect, then, involves placing the other and yourself; it involves an imposition of power:

"(...) but not everything is so nice, there are times in which you must say things up-front, and I don't know, command respect, as people say in quotations marks, like being more frank, to set out rules to the other, and say 'hey, you're speaking to me, I do this, I'm this' [Lucas, UC, 32]

Commanding respect can therefore involve domination. Unlike the logic of earning respect, the practice of commanding respect does not necessarily involve a claim of legitimacy. As Jorge, an

⁶² It is worth noticing that, like Ramiro above, Loreto also establishes a connection between 'commanding respect' and 'self-respect'. As noted, self-respect is a key driver when commanding respect.

upper class psychologist tells me, the elite in Chile has always known how to ‘command respect’:

“(…) you asked me if people can feel respected... (…) [the powerful] can tell you that yes, there are conditions in this country to command respect; and they have all the conditions and all the power to command respect. In fact, if we extrapolate this to a broader political context, what the Chilean aristocracy did in ‘73⁶³ was to command respect” [Jorge, 42, UC]

In sum, ‘commanding respect’ is a key practice in the process of accumulating respect. But it is lived differently according to the position of the interviewees. Whereas for women commanding respect can involve making others to see them beyond their gender, for people in position of power it can involve making others accept their authority. As argued in Chapter 1, respect is a normative expectation which conveys how people think they should be treated by others according to the assessment of the value of themselves and others. Therefore, analysing why and how people consider they should ‘command respect’ enable us to understand the potential situations in which people in different positions are at risk of not being treated as they expect. At the same time, the analysis of this practice shows how agency plays a significant role in the process of securing respect. Even though the interviewees have different power positions, they all find strategies to stop disrespect from happening. Understanding this is crucial in order to grasp why most interviewees consider themselves as respected by others: sooner or later, they all learn to command respect.

8.3. Conclusion

This chapter has interrogated the temporal nature of respect by comparing two practices which are constantly mentioned by the participants when explaining why they are respected by others: the practice of ‘earning respect’ and the practice of ‘commanding respect’. Both practices suggest that getting respect involves a ‘process’, as people need to either earn it or command it, in order to secure it in their social interactions.

I have shown that each practice follows a particular logic. Whereas earning respect consists of displaying certain behaviours which trigger respect by others, commanding respect involves displaying strategies to prevent or stop disrespect from happening.

⁶³ He means 1973, the year of the coup d’état which marks the beginning of the political Dictatorship.

The narrative of earning respect reveals the importance of 'performative respect' in the everyday experience of respect in Chile. There are two main forms by which people 'earn' respect: by displaying meritocratic behaviours (e.g.: being hardworking) or virtuous behaviours (e.g.: being honest). Both types of behaviours show the importance of the 'moral domain' in the achievement of respect. Although the narrative of earning respect was stronger in the middle and the upper class, it was also present in the working class. For all of them, the moral domain occupies a central role in securing respect. However, virtuous behaviours are more emphasised in the working class than in the upper class.

The narrative of commanding respect reveals the constant fear that the participants have of being 'walked over' in their social interactions. This fear is particularly acute in the context of asymmetrical relationships, but it is present for both those in positions of authority and those in subordinated positions. It is important to emphasise this, as it has been argued that the exercise of authority in Chile is cross cut by a permanent 'fear of subordinates' (a fear to not being obeyed by them) (Araujo, 2016). My data suggest that even though the possibility of not being respected by your subordinates is a constant fear for people in positions of authority, it is clear that people in subordinate positions also have a permanent fear of being walked over by others.

There is also an indication in the data that there is an interesting dynamic between both narratives: earning respect is the long-term process, whereas commanding respect is a concrete strategy that can be use during the process of earning respect.

I have argued that both practices involve a temporal dimension, as they both 'take time'. But most importantly, both narratives signal the space for *agency* in the struggle for respect. Respect is an agentic domain. People can 'do things' to get more respect in their social interactions. They can either 'earn' respect by means of their moral behaviours -usually merit or virtue- or they can 'command' respect by being strong and not letting others walk over them.

This explains why the structure of advantage in relation to respect is sometimes difficult to grasp. Although some people are more likely to experience disrespect than others, there is the belief that getting respect depends on you as it is mediated by agency. This turns respect into a more even domain: everyone can struggle to be respected. The moral domain is the domain per excellence in which this struggle becomes more democratic. Although income and education are seen as the real drivers of respect in Chile, moral attitudes can always compensate their absence. And when morality is not enough, there is always the recourse to power: if you cannot earn it, you will command it.

Chapter 9: The self-image of the ‘respect’ giver: the biographical exception

“E: The truth is I have always been very respectful [*silence*]. It is awkward to tell you this...

M: Why?

E: Because nobody is going to tell you ‘I have always been disrespectful’, right? [*laughs*”
(Emilio, 47, UC)

9.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed the temporal nature of respect. I showed how agency plays a central role in the achievement of respect, as the interviewees think that they can display practices to either ‘earn’ it or ‘command’ it. In this chapter I analyse the self-image that the interviewees hold regarding themselves as agents of (dis)respect towards others; namely, how they think of themselves as either givers of respect or perpetrators of disrespect in their social interactions. By doing this, I show how the interviewees relate themselves to the moral imperative of ‘respecting others’, which, as I discussed in Chapter 5, is very ingrained in their narratives. I explain that most interviewees thought of themselves as ‘respectful’ towards others, and therefore as ‘exceptions’ in the context of Chile, that is considered a disrespectful society (see Chapter 6).

In the following section, I interrogate this ‘narrative of exceptionality’. I focus on the reasons that the interviewees provide to justify their exceptionality, and I show that they are usually linked to their biographical experiences. I also show how this exceptionality differs according to social position, as there are different forms of being exceptional. I also reflect on my place as a ‘listener’, by posing the question of whether the interviewees had the ‘need’ to depict themselves as respectful. As Emilio says in the opening quotation of this chapter, it seems that nobody would tell me -*the interviewer*- that they were disrespectful.

I argue that the analysis of this narrative is useful as it enables us to shed light on the understandings of respect that are mobilized when people think of ‘others’, and therefore, what

they think that 'others' deserve in terms of treatment. But more importantly, this narrative shows that people gain value by acting towards others in what it is considered a 'respectful' way. Unexpectedly, this forces me to set up the question of whether respect can be an 'instrumental resource' which, in turn, plays a role in subordination.

9.2. The self-image of respect giver

As noted in Chapter 2, during the interviews I asked the participants to reflect on their experiences as 'recipients' of respect and disrespect. This methodological choice has the consequence that I approached my interviewees as potential receivers of respect and disrespect, but I did not approach them as potential grantees of respect and disrespect.

Many of them, however, brought this aspect of their experience to the interview. By discussing how 'others' were acting towards themselves or others, they unavoidably talked about how they themselves treated others in return. And by doing this, they communicated to me whether they thought of themselves as respectful or disrespectful. I will call this feature of their narratives 'the self-image of respect-giver', and I mean by this, *the image that the interviewees hold of themselves as respectful or disrespectful towards others*.

There were two main forms by which the interviewees communicated their self-image of 'respect-givers' during the interview.

Firstly, some of them asserted that they were 'respectful' towards others when reflecting about whether they were respected by others. In this context, they argued that they were respected because they always respected others in return. As noted in Chapter 5, a key rule of 'lay normativity' around respect, is that respect should be reciprocal. The participants usually argued that *'you get respect only if you give it back'*. Although one of the key findings of this study is that this rule is sometimes overthrown by another one -i.e. *'you get respect only if you command respect'* [see Chapter 7 & 8]- it is nonetheless important in the narrative of the participants. A good example of this can be found in the words of Eugenia, a middle-class psychologist who thinks that she is respected in her everyday life -at work, at home- because she actively forges relations of respect with others. The same can be observed in the words of Verónica, who is a lower middle-class retail worker:

“I do feel respected, but that’s because I actively seek that, I forge respectful relationships, I mean, I consider myself a person who respects others in general terms, so I demand the same respect for me, and when that doesn’t happen, I take care of it” (Eugenia, 39, UM)

“Thank God I haven’t had any problem at my job, because I always say the same, if I treat someone with respect, I logically have to get the same back. And if someone disrespects me, I take care of it immediately. I’m not disrespectful, so I won’t allow disrespect towards me” (Verónica, 50, MC)

Both, Eugenia and Verónica, think of themselves as being respected by others because they are respectful. They also clarify that if they are disrespected, they ‘take care of it’, which shows, again, how strong the narrative of ‘commanding respect’ is in the interviews. But what I want to bring attention to now is that they are both communicating their self-image of respect givers: they think of themselves as respectful.

Secondly, many interviewees asserted that they were respectful towards others when I interrogated them about the importance of respect in their lives. In this context, they usually explained that they were respectful towards others because they had learnt to be like this. This is an aspect of the narratives that I already showed in Chapter 5. I showed that there are several ‘mandates’ regarding respect that the participants express, mainly by narrating memories of their childhood. These mandates can be classified in two main types: on the one hand, they are related to practices of courtesy in the context of non-hierarchical relationships, which are intertwined with a principle of equality (for instance, you have to greet everyone, in spite of their social position). On the other hand, they are related to practices of deference and obedience in the context of hierarchical relationships, which are intertwined with a principle of difference (for instance: you have to obey those in positions of authority, you have to respect the elderly).

In light of these mandates, the participants tend to think of themselves as respectful. But how are these mandates enacted? In the following section I analyse the most typical examples that the respondents give to justify their self-understanding of ‘being respectful’. This will shed light on how respect is enacted in social interaction and, in particular, on the dilemmas actors face when trying to convey respect in the context of both hierarchical and non-hierarchical relationships.

9.3. The narrative of exceptionality

Something particularly striking about the judgements elaborated by the interviewees in terms of their role as agents of respect and disrespect is what I call the '*narrative of exceptionality*'. I mean by this the fact that, unlike 'others', they considered themselves as having a respectful behaviour towards others. This argument usually takes the following form: 'nowadays people do not respect others, however, I am always concerned about respecting others'. As discussed in Chapter 6, when the interviewees analysed Chilean society 'through' the lens of respect, the verdict was lapidary: they usually described that people in Chile –and above all, Santiago- had to struggle to be respected in a society in which respect had been 'lost' in many ways. Therefore, when describing themselves as 'respectful' towards others the interviewees offered explanations to justify this exceptionality.

In the following sections, I show the different forms of exceptionality that the interviewees describe, as well as the justifications they provide for them. I show that this exceptionality is usually explained by drawing on biographical experiences. This confirms, as mentioned in Chapter 5, that the role of memories is crucial in the self-understanding of being respectful.

9.3.1 Different forms of exceptionality

In light of the multidimensionality of respect, being respectful towards others has different meanings. For instance, it can mean 'being deferential', 'being obedient', or 'treating the other as an equal'. Accordingly, there are different forms of being exceptionally respectful. I identified two main forms in the narrative of exceptionality which are, in turn, linked to two of the three forms of 'struggles' for respect that I identified in Chapter 5: on the one hand, many interviewees declared that, unlike others, they were especially deferential or polite to others. This is linked to the struggle for courtesy or deference. On the other hand, many interviewees thought that, unlike others, they did not mistreat people from lower social classes. This narrative had many forms and is linked to the struggle for equality. The third form of struggle - the crisis of authority- did not trigger a clear narrative of exceptionality, as the interviewees did not depict themselves as exceptionally obedient in relation to others, but they depicted their generation as much more obedient than the youngsters, something I discussed in Chapter 6.

In the following sections, I explore examples given by the interviewees to describe the two main forms of exceptionality.

9.3.1.1 I'm respectful: I'm deferential to others

First, many interviewees described themselves as exceptions in the context of the everyday experiences of lack of courtesy or consideration which were described in Chapter 6. They would say, for instance, that 'people don't give up their seat anymore on the bus, but I always do it'; or 'people don't look at the other, I'm always worried about the other'. Two examples of this narrative can be seen in the quotations below. In the first one, Carolina tells me that, unlike others, she is always keen on giving up her seat on the bus. In the second one, Bernardo tells me that, unlike others, he is always keen on helping disabled people:

"(...) the older ladies get [on the tube] and run to their seats, as if they were to get a prized seat!, and they sit and sometimes look around[...].I, instead, don't do that; I always have the awareness of looking around, or, once I'm seated I start looking around, looking around, and I look at people's bellies [women's pregnant bellies], and things like that, and then [if I realize] there is nobody [who might need the seat] I stay seated, above all if I'm seated in the seat for the disabled/pregnant" (Carolina, 38, MC)

"If I see someone who can't walk, I don't look away and leave her there. You see that in the street, in my job you see that often. Many [drivers] see someone in a wheelchair, an elderly woman, and elderly man, and when they ask them to stop, they pass straight by them, because they can't be bothered, they don't see that the person needs a lift, needs to be transported, and [needs to be] respected, just how she is, because she didn't ask to be like this (...) so when I see a disabled person, I make things the most comfortable possible for her" (Bernardo, 59, LC)

In both quotations, the interviewees distance themselves from others who tend to be disrespectful –other women in the case of Carolina, other drivers in the case of Bernardo- and assert their value by stating that they are different from them. This narrative was present in interviewees from all social classes, but it was particularly relevant in the narratives of lower and lower-middle class interviewees. In this narrative, the interviewees tried to demonstrate, with several examples, that they were courteous or deferential with others, usually the more vulnerable ones (the disabled, the pregnant woman), and that they did care for them.

9.3.1.2 I'm respectful: I don't look down upon others

Another form of exceptionality, which was particularly strong in the interviews, was concerned with the way in which the participants relate to people from other social classes. In this context, many of them stated that they never looked down upon people from more disadvantaged backgrounds. Therefore, they described themselves as exceptions in the context of the struggle for equality in social interactions, which was the second form of struggle for respect identified in Chapter 5. They would say, for instance, that 'people usually look down upon the poor, I never do it'.

This narrative was triggered several times when I asked them to reflect on how society treated people from different occupations. When discussing the case of the garbage collector, for instance, many of them, such as Hernán and Sonia, in the quotations below, would state that, unlike others, they always greet the garbage collector:

"...I don't do it, but some people don't even look at the garbage collector, they don't greet them" (Hernán, 45, MC)

"I always greet at the garbage collector, but not all people are like this" (Sonia, 48, MC)

As it can be noted, in both examples the practice that is signified as portraying respect is 'greeting', which is the most basic way of acknowledging the presence of the other. If respect is defined as 'to see the other' (Sennett, 2003), it does make sense that greeting has such a vital importance in the experiences of the interviewees. As noted in Chapter 5, the mandate of courtesy is linked to a mandate for equality: *everyone* deserves to be greeted.

In this form of exceptionality, the interviewees distance themselves from someone (in this case, a general 'other') who tends to look down upon the one in a more disadvantaged position. As in the previous example, they assert their value by stating that they are different from them. This narrative was present in interviewees from all social classes, but it was particularly relevant in the narratives of middle and upper-class interviewees. In the following sections, I will analyse two variants of this narrative.

I'm respectful: I don't abuse my subordinates

As noted in the previous section, one of the strongest narratives of exceptionality is focused on the practice of respect in the context of inter-class relations. This narrative was especially strong in the case of upper-class interviewees in positions of authority, but in their narratives, this exceptionality took a specific form, as it was mixed with another form of exceptionality, which can be defined by the statement 'unlike others, I don't abuse my subordinates'.

A good example of this is the story of Camilo. Camilo is a 37-year-old middle class man who works as a safety engineer in a hospital. Because of his job he is in a position of authority, in which he is entitled to give orders to people who are in more subordinate positions than him (e.g. cleaners and builders among others). Camilo explains to me, as can be observed in the quotation below, that he considers himself as being especially empathetic towards others, thanks mainly to the teachings of his father. This empathy prevents him from being abusive of people in more precarious positions:

"The truth is I have always been very empathetic, in different forms, all my life, I have always looked after the neighbour. My father taught me that. He used to tell me (...): "You should not use tanks to kill ants"⁶⁴. So he taught me that even if you happen to be 'at the top of the wheel' now, in a position where you have some power, you should not abuse your power to treat the one who is in a more precarious position. And I think I have done that well" (Camilo, 37, MC)

A very similar narrative can be found in Leonardo's interview. Leonardo is currently chief of a branch at a financial institution. Leonardo has recently experienced an important promotion at work and his career path has put him on a rapid route of upward mobility. Leonardo comes from a lower-middle class background: he studied in a technical secondary school and a professional institute, getting a university degree later in his career. Leonardo thinks that he does not walk over others -in particular, his subordinates- because his parents never did it, but also, because he 'comes from below':

"Fortunately, I come from below, which is really different from immediately reaching a position at the top. But I also think that respect is something that is produced at home. My father, my mother, I always saw them respecting [others], and they never walked over someone because they had a little bit more money, a little bit more education, not at all. I think this is related to your origin, to your home. I don't know if it's something that can be developed during your working life, this comes before that. As a chief I respect everyone, regardless of their positions, regardless of their roles; I jump in the

⁶⁴ This is a common saying in Chile and means that you should not use disproportionate resources to accomplish a minor task. It is usually applied in the context of power or force.

elevator (...) from the cleaner to [people at] the top, I greet everyone alike" (Leonardo, 36, MC)

Finally, another example of this narrative can be found in María's interview. María is an upper-class lawyer who comes from, according to her own words, a very traditional family. According to her, she is respectful towards her subordinates -in particular, her maid- thanks to the example of her parents, who never mistreated their children, but also, never mistreated the maid, the doorman or the gardener:

"(...) This is something you see when you're a kid, perhaps you don't notice, but you see it in the way your parents treat each other, if they treat each other well, with love, how parents treat their children, how they treat the maid, the doorman, the gardener, and in this regard, my parents are very respectful, they are very delicate, and one learns that, I mean, maybe you don't learn it consciously, and then you apply it to your life. I mean, if someone see her mother mistreating the maid, perhaps it's something you're going to replicate later" (María, 43, UC)

As can be noted, something striking about these narratives is the role that 'parents' play as 'models' that justify the exceptionality. In this context, the interviewees do not only place themselves as exceptions but also their parents, who are the ones who taught them to respect people in low rank positions. It is interesting to note that, by reflecting on respect, they do not draw on any form of 'shared' framework -such as rights- that assert what their subordinates deserve. There is no institutional discourse of equality or 'good treatment', but the private teaching of their parents. This reinforces the importance of the family in the learning of respect.

I'm respectful: I value others below me

Another form of exceptionality was related to the possibility of valuing people from lower social positions. In this context, in addition to the role of their parents the interviewees gave a prominent role to certain biographical experiences that forced them to have inter-class encounters in which they learnt to value people from other backgrounds.

A good example can be observed in Sofía's words. Sofía is an upper-class assistant manager. Sofía's father was a high rank Air Force officer, so she grew up in what she describes as 'the military family'. This means that she spent part of her life living in household complexes in various parts of the country, which were specially designed for the military and their families. As she explains to me, there was a social division between the families of the officers and the families of the non-commissioned officers (usually from less educated backgrounds): they lived

in different houses, they attended different social gatherings. However, the children did attend the same school -something very odd in Chile, which has one of the most stratified educational systems in the world. This produced social friction, as, in her own words, people would make 'differences' between the children. However, Sofía thinks her parents taught her not to make those differences. And from her perspective, this has allowed her to *value* people in less advantaged social and power positions than her:

"(...) we all went to the same school, and some of my classmates, who were the children of officers -and I knew them better because during the weekends there was a lunch in the official's club, so I saw them there- they would make differences in the way they treated [the children of the non-commissioned officers] ... I can't remember the words they used in that time, but [they would say] 'you're a chav [*flaite*]', or 'I won't go to play at you house' (...) I always felt embarrassed about those things. And I feel fortunate of having parents who don't make those differences" (Sofía, 37, UC).

"(...) I learnt from seeing them [my parents]... and that's one of the things that has helped me to have good relationships with the people I work with, and I mean from the person who is in reception to my boss (...) it's about understanding that all of us compose this mechanism; I mean, if someone is missing, everything fails; and it's about valuing people, if you have them in front of you, you have to greet them; those are very little details, but they make a lot of difference" (Sofía, 37, UC).

As it can be noted, Sofía still gives a very prominent role to the teachings of her parents, but it is above all the experience of inter-class encounter which makes her understand that she can 'value' people from other backgrounds too. It is worth noting that her understanding of 'valuing' others is still enacted through practices of egalitarian courtesy, such as greeting. But I want to bring attention to the fact that her inter-class experience allows her to reflect on others' 'value'.

This is a pattern in the interviews. A very clear example of which is the story of Alfredo. Alfredo is a CEO of a big company. He studied business in an elite university and attended a privileged secondary school. Alfredo tells me that when he was young, his father's business went bankrupt and he had to move neighbourhood. This experience, which was painful for him when young, forced him to get to know people from other social backgrounds. He also met people from other social classes by playing tennis. According to Alfredo, both experiences allow him to 'interact' as equals with people from other social classes, which is linked to the fact that he is able to 'value them':

"As I was telling you, this is because of my life story... (...) I had to interact with different people, some of them very well-off, others not so much. Sports make you close too... because I played tennis a long time, and there I could see someone who arrived with his father in a Mercedes Benz, and the son of the ball person, let's say, and that makes you closer a little bit, to different social levels, different levels of education, and it allows you

to relate to them equally. I mean, I can sit at a table with a minister and the next day I can sit at the table with a construction worker, and it's not a problem for me. And I think that is... good" (Alfredo, 48, UC)

What is particularly interesting about Alfredo's story is that he explicitly asserts that this experience enabled him –in his own words- to 'find value' in people from other social backgrounds. In this context, he does not think that his parents actively sought to teach him this, but that his life experience enabled him to understand this:

"My experience of having interacted with people, and having found value in people that perhaps were neither a CEO nor that important, but were a ball person, or the guy who went to fix something..." (Alfredo, 48, UC)

"And this is not because I sought it or because my parents sought it, but my life developed in a way that allowed me to move well and swim in every place, to say it in some way. And at the end of the day this allows me to do this, to look at the guy who cut the grass and understand him as someone who is worth it, and can teach you things. It is the same here [his work], this guy I interact with the whole day, the one who acts as a gofer, my assistant, the younger workers, the good professional, and the one who is not so professional but it's still good, all of them have their valuable part; but when you haven't had, I think, the luck of interacting with them, it's harder, and I think it's harder for them as well..." (Alfredo, 48, UC)

The quotation above is very rich. Alfredo says that if you do not have the luck of interacting with people from other social backgrounds it is 'harder'; he does not complete the statement, but following his own words, it seems that he was trying to say that it is hard to find value in people you do not interact with. It is worth noting that Alfredo is not referring here to an unconditional form of respect which is triggered by shared humanity (i.e. categorical respect). He is referring to the possibility of 'valuing' someone who, in his own words, might eventually 'teach' you something. Alfredo is therefore depicting the process of developing conditional respect (i.e. performative respect) towards people from other social classes; in this context, respect is closer to esteem than to the recognition of dignity.

It is worth noting that Alfredo's story is intertwined with guilt, in the sense that he is aware he has not provided the same experience of interaction to his children. Essentially, even though he understands the 'value' of having relationships with people from other socio-economic backgrounds, he has decided to give his children a lifestyle that prevented them from meeting people from lower social classes, and eventually, developing respect for them.

The role of biographical experiences of inter-class interaction in the development of performative respect is a crucial one. Unlike the previous narrative, the interviewees are not

just acknowledging that they should not abuse their subordinates, or that they should greet them, but they are giving a step forward and arguing that they might interact with them as equals because they value them, or because they foresee the possibility of valuing them. Certainly, this alleged equality is limited, but it goes further than that equality described in the context of practices of egalitarian courtesy.

This is the same rationale that can be observed in Elisa's words. Elisa is an upper middle-class lawyer, who has experienced upward mobility. Elisa argues that it is important for her to have friends from different social backgrounds, and she explains this as a trait of her character, based on the fact that she never lived in a 'bubble':

"(...) I have a background, I don't know, my parents, they are both from the countryside, and my grandparents, my grandfather was illiterate (...) so those realities are not alien to me, I don't feel like I have lived in a bubble, let alone in [city of origin], which is a city in which you have to pass through several bad neighbourhoods to get from a good neighbourhood to the university, there is no lack of information as I feel it happens here [in Santiago], and that makes you live in a more diverse way; my circles of friends, the groups of people I interact with, they are a reflection of this; I mean, of course there are certain affinities, I have friends from university, from school, they are people you spend a lot of time with, so you tend to be like-minded, but in the university, which is a little more diverse, I had two or three groups of friends, and also had a series of 'satellite friends', who were really diverse, they didn't have anything to do with each other, so I feel that social validation is very important for me, and I don't mean group social validation, I mean social bond validation, for me it's always been a challenge and something very enriching to meet people from different places, and not meeting them as if I was doing them a favour and going 'down' [to meet them], but a real feedback (*retroalimentación*)" (Elisa, 33, UC).

It is interesting to observe that Elisa acknowledges that most of her friends are 'like-minded' (a euphemism in this context to talk of social class), but she explains that during her university years she opened herself up to people from other backgrounds. It is also worth noting that she feels compelled to explain that she does not seek those friendships as a 'favour' to them. She even coins a term to explain how important this is for her own sense of value: she opposes 'group social validation' (being validated by belonging to a group) to 'social bond validation' (being validated for establishing relations with others).

What these narratives suggest is that there are biographical experiences that configure dispositions of distance and/or closeness to people from different social classes. A key finding in this context is that performative respect in the context of inter-class relationships can only be developed when people have the opportunity to interact with others in spaces that enable them to interact as equals (i.e. the university, the school, the tennis court). Still, to what extent these

experiences foster enduring dispositions to equality in social interactions is not clear-cut. I will discuss this problem in the following sections.

9.3.2 The ‘exceptional’ self: gaining value through respect

The narrative of exceptionality is very tricky. Indeed, there are several reflections that can be made in virtue of its existence. First, there is the obvious contradiction that for exceptionality to exist, not *everyone* can be an exception. Therefore, we might be tempted to question the veracity of this narrative, above all, considering the dramatic view that the interviewees portray when describing social interactions in Chile. However, defining the status of the ‘truth’ of the narratives of the interviewees is not a relevant aim in the context of this research. For an experience of respect or disrespect to exist, there needs to be someone (an observer or, more importantly, someone involved in the interaction) who labels the experience as respect or disrespect. The point of view of the actor is inescapably linked to the existence of the situation: there is no respect or disrespect without someone who experiences a situation *as conveying* respect or disrespect.

This epistemological stand, however, becomes a little more complicated when we analyse the judgements that people elaborate regarding their own actions towards others. In this context, we inescapably miss the point of view of the ‘receiver’ of respect or disrespect and we can only rely on the point of view of the ‘grantee’ or –eventually- the ‘perpetrator’. This is certainly problematic, as we must face the following conundrum: how do actors become aware that they are being disrespectful? As respect is, above all, a game of expectations, it is highly likely that actors sometimes disrespect others without noticing it, and therefore, it is expected that they think of themselves as respectful, except for those ‘acute’ moments of disrespect in which -by means of confrontation- they become aware of their role as perpetrators of disrespect.

I would like to argue, however, that assessing whether this exceptionality is *true* is less productive than assessing why and how this exceptionality is expressed. Consequently, the key question that should be posed is why the interviewees decided to *assert* in the context of the interview that they were usually respectful and who they are speaking to when they say that they are respectful; namely, what do I (as interviewer) represent in the context of the interview for them to be inclined to spontaneously argue that they tend to be respectful?

On the one hand, as discussed in Chapter 5, 'respecting others' is a moral imperative in Chilean society, therefore, one could argue that in the context of the interview -which resembles the condition of social interaction- it was difficult for the interviewees to acknowledge their 'failure'. On the other hand, the narrative of exceptionality sheds lights on the fact that 'being respectful' is considered valuable by the interviewees. In fact, some of them explicitly said that being respectful of others 'adds value' to themselves. By respecting others -and by being 'seen' as someone who 'respects' others- people can also accumulate respect, and therefore, value. So, if this narrative is expressed, it is primarily because they were trying to ascertain their value in the context of the interview. At risk of being redundant, I will argue that 'being respectful triggers respect'. This opens-up the possibility of thinking of respect as an 'instrumental' resource (as a 'means' to gain value).

The narrative of exceptionality is therefore very informative. There are three reasons why. First, it sheds light on the fact that respect can be a resource. Second, it helps us to gain an understanding of how interviewees see 'others' (usually their equals) relating to 'others' (sometimes their equals, but most of the time not). To be exceptional, you have to compare yourself with someone who, when being in your own position, carries out the normal (or non-exceptional) behaviour, namely, to treat another in a disrespectful manner. Beyond the fact that the interviewees think of themselves as exceptions, what is key is to identify how they describe the ones that act as their *mirrors*: the ones they want to distance themselves from in the narrative. When someone stresses that she never mistreats the disabled, she is, at the same time, asserting that there are others who do mistreat them. When someone stresses that her parents were especially respectful because they did not mistreat the maid, they are, at the same time, asserting that there are many others, in the same position as their parents, who do mistreat maids. In this context, the analysis shows that people want to distance themselves from mainly two 'typical' disrespectful behaviours: lack of deference (to the vulnerable) and lack of equality (to the poor or the powerless). Whereas lower-middle class interviewees tried to distance themselves from the first form of behaviour, upper-middle class interviewees made an effort to distance themselves from the second.

Third and finally, the narrative of exceptionality is informative because it enables us to understand what the interviewees think that others 'deserve'. For the first form of narrative, what is at stake is the enactment of deference, in particular, for the most vulnerable. What is clear in this narrative is that the vulnerable 'deserve' special consideration. For the second form of narrative, what is at stake is the enactment of equality in social interaction. And what can be observed in this context, is that people consider it important that everyone -even the poor-

deserve to be 'seen', and therefore, 'greeted'. Only interviewees who had experiences of inter-class encounters were able to give a step forward and assert that everyone deserves to be 'valued'.

In this context, it is not that odd that many interviewees in positions of authority had depicted themselves as exceptions, since -borrowing the language of pragmatic sociology- the enactment of respect in the context of hierarchical relations is one of the most difficult 'tests' that people have to face in their everyday interactions. As Boltanski (2008) has noted when trying to model the actors' sense of fairness⁶⁵, hierarchical relationships are complex as people who are equals in terms of their shared humanity (the 'equality' constraint), find themselves in situations in which someone has a legitimate claim to give orders (the 'order' constraint). To reduce the tension between the 'equality constraint' and 'the order constraint' other constraints should be added to the situation; in particular, Boltanski explains, the constraint that no person should be considered as having a definite sense of 'greatness' (worth). Translating this scheme into the realm of respect, respect in the context of hierarchical relations is enacted when that balance is kept: on the one hand, when the subordinate obeys, but on the other hand, when the person in charge develops practices which 'recall' the shared humanity of both the powerful and the powerless. That is why greeting is so important: it is not just about mere formality or politeness, it is also about recognising that the other is a legitimate other who in some respects is an equal, and therefore, 'matters'.

9.3.3. The suspicion: equality and symbolic violence

There is a very thin line between respect and paternalism. Many interviewees were aware of that. In fact, something particularly interesting about the narratives of upper class interviewees is that on many occasions they made explicit that they were not performing these practices of respect as an act of charity, and therefore as an asymmetric act. This can be seen in Elisa's words (above) when she states that she is not approaching diverse people to 'do them a favour'.

These kinds of reflections were quite frequent during the interviews, and came up when the interviewees were talking about respect but also when they were discussing inequality more generally. In this last context, for instance, many upper-class interviewees told me that they did care about inequality, and they described private practices they did to 'contribute' to correct it.

⁶⁵ Boltanski develops this analytical scheme to understand the actors' sense of *fairness*, but I think it can be extrapolated to understand the actors' sense of *what is respect*.

One of the preferred practices they described was helping their domestic maids (mentioned much more than paying taxes), for instance, by giving them some extra money or helping them to pay their children's education. In this context, many of them explicitly stated that this was not an act of charity. Regina, for instance, who is director of a big company, tells me that she does not help her maids as an act of charity, but because they also help her in return. For her, helping her maids is 'valuing' them:

"I have always felt touched by this theme [Inequality], because sometimes I wonder, what can I do to help? And I have always tried to do some things to help..." (Regina, 62, UC)

"I feel the moral obligation of trying to improve people's way of lives, in general, but also particular ways, but not as a charity, but as a contribution, so people might feel valued, it is not about giving alms. For instance, my domestic maids, I reward them because they also help me, so it's not charity" (Regina, 62, UC)

Why do they need to express this in the interviews? What I observe in the narratives is that when upper class interviewees think that they bring 'respect' to the interactions with people from lower social classes, they usually display practices closer to 'caring', not equality. Some of them are aware of this, that is why they 'hurry' to explain me that that is not their intention. These practices of 'caring' are -by definition- asymmetric, and they are scarcely linked to recognition of 'rights'. This can be observed in the following quote, in which Adolfo tells me that he helps his maid -i.e. he pays her well, he helped her to pay for her house- but he does it because, unlike others, he sees that she deserves it, because she is 'hard working':

"(...) I give money and time (...) with my wife we visit this home [for poor women] and we give them affection, and money (...) I try to pay good salaries (...) to my domestic maid, I pay her well, I help her. I gave her money [so she could have access to] her housing subsidy (...) I'm happy to help hard-working people... because I see that the person is making an effort" (Adolfo, 59, UC)

The suspicion of charity is not without foundation. In fact, some interviewees did experience this for themselves. For instance, Jorge is an upper middle-class psychologist who works as human resources manager of an important company in Chile. Jorge attended one of the most elite universities in Chile, without having an elite background himself. Jorge also grew up outside the capital (Santiago). When he moved to Santiago to study in this elite university, Jorge interacted with many students who came from elite private schools. Jorge tells me that the way they approached him can be described as 'protection treatment', a term he coined to describe when someone cares for you without integrating you to his circles:

“[What I call] the protection treatment, it was basically being worried about your needs, they would ask you if you were fine; but they would never integrate you in their social groups, but they would help you” (Jorge, 42, UC)

The so called ‘protection treatment’ can be defined as the form in which the upper class usually relate to the lower classes. This explains why, as noted before, Elisa highlighted that she was not ‘doing a favour’ to her friends by approaching them, or why Alfredo felt guilty because even though he had learnt to value his workers by interacting with them, he was not giving his children the possibility of interacting with people from other socioeconomic backgrounds (i.e. his children attended to both exclusive schools and universities).

Respect, therefore, when linked to ‘caring’ does not mean, necessarily, the enactment of equality. An interesting example, in this context, can be found in Martin’s words. Martin is CEO of an important company, and he does have, unlike other interviewees of this study, an elite background. Martin attended both a university and an elite school. Martin tells me that he tried to be ‘respectful’ towards his workers. However, he feels that the things that he does are just ‘scraps’ [*migajas*], a term that it is used in Chile to mean ‘almost nothing’:

“I think it’s really hard, it’s really hard, the things that I do are just, quotation marks, scraps [*migajas*], the things I try to do are scraps, I don’t know, you do what you can, to increase the wages of those who earn less, you try to increase the wealth of other people, I don’t mean wealth in terms of money (sic), you try to make others understand that you do care about them, that you don’t only care about you but about them too, but those are just scraps... I’m not sure you earn respect by doing that, but people feel that their leader, quotations mark, feels respect for all of them. But, I mean, I’m far from that, I can’t say that I’m an unbiased leader either. I am respectful, I try to be solidary, I try to be empathic, but in everyday life you make mistakes many times, and you walk over people, all it takes is for me to say a word and you can be disrespectful, so I’m part of those people who are disrespectful, and I’m aware of it which is perhaps worse” (Martín, 46 UC)

These kind of ‘confessions’ were not very frequent, but they are illuminating in the context of this discussion. As noted before, ‘being respectful’ is a practice that it is linked to people’s sense of value: people earn ‘respect’ (value) by ‘helping others’ and ‘being able to interact with’ others, i.e. by treating their subordinates well. As Martín says, he is not sure that he earns respect like this but he admits that it is important that their workers feel that their leader feels ‘respect’ for them.

The possibility of ‘earning’ respect by appearing as ‘respectful’ to others is especially relevant considering the Chilean context. As noted in Chapters 3 and 6, there is an increasing demand for respect and equality in social interactions, something that has been identified in several studies

(e.g.: Araujo, 2013a 2013b; PNUD, 2017a 2017b) and that I have interpreted as a demand for '*equality of value*'. Some upper-class interviewees acknowledge that 'respect' has become more important at their workplaces. In their language, this is being translated into a demand for more 'ethics', as they are also aware that the elite is being challenged because of their failures in moral behaviours (e.g. corruption). Regina, for instance, tells me that there is an increasing awareness in the elite that people should be treated with respect, with a 'reasonable' equality:

"Things have been evolving, luckily, in favour of workers, people are being more listened to, [the elite] is more scared of social unrest, of [social] movements, the strikes; so [these things] are a matter of conversation, these things are more noted; companies are starting to have transparency policies, everything has to be seen, we should treat everyone with respect, with a reasonable equality" (Regina, UC, 62)

An interesting question to pose in this context is whether respect can be considered as a 'functional resource', or, as Honneth (2007) discusses for the case of recognition, an 'ideological' resource. There are suggestions in the literature that respect can be used as a 'tactic' to prolong exploitation (Simon et al., 2006), or could be an important ingredient in the legitimization of economic inequality (Mayol et.al, 2013). Arguments like this are even more important when considering that the upper class' understandings of respect towards more disadvantaged others are linked to practices of caring or cordiality, which, as Bourdieu argued [1977, 1994] for the case of charity, can be understood as forms of symbolic violence which reinforce domination.

In this context, another important question that should be posed is what the political consequences of stressing 'respect' as a matter of justice are. For instance, coming back to a traditional debate in political theory, it is important to reflect on the extent to which the demands for respect and recognition can produce the displacement of demands of distribution. Although there is certainly a demand for '*equality of value*' that should be acknowledged (i.e. the demand for being treated as an equal in social interaction), Chile is still one of the most unequal countries in the world in terms of distribution of income. So the challenge for a critical sociology is, on the one hand, to acknowledge the suffering produced by inequality in social interaction (i.e. the suffering produced by, e.g. the practice of 'being looked down upon'), and on the other hand, to clarify the conditions that really contribute to diminishing the possibility of being devalued. As noted before, one of the few practices that triggers the possibility of equal valuation is symmetric interaction, in which people from different socioeconomic backgrounds are placed in a position in which they share exactly the same '*value*'. This shows how the construction of respect does not only depend on moral dispositions, but on material conditions that facilitate the construction of symmetry in social interactions.

9.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed the self-image that the interviewees depict of themselves as givers of respect and disrespect. I showed that they usually consider themselves as respectful towards others, and, in particular, as 'exceptions' in the context of two typical practices of disrespect: the lack of deference (toward the vulnerable) and the lack of equality (toward the one who belongs to a lower social class or a more disadvantaged power position). Whereas the first form of exceptionality was mentioned more so by lower-middle class interviewees, the second one was more frequent among upper-middle class interviewees, in particular, those in positions of authority.

The analysis of this exceptionality, and the explanations associated with it, proved to be very rich in terms of understanding several aspects of the moral economy of respect in Chilean society. By analysing the justifications that the interviewees provided to explain their exceptionality, I discovered that 'being respectful' is in itself a source of personal value, so the interviewees actively sought to present themselves as respectful toward others in the context of the interview, which, I argued, resembles the context of social interaction.

I also discovered that the forms of respect that people consider that others deserve do certainly vary. This was especially interesting when thinking of the intersection between categorical and performance respect. Whereas some upper-middle class interviewees identified the possibility of 'valuing' others from more disadvantaged backgrounds, some of them only asserted the possibility of 'caring' for them or 'acknowledging' them (greeting them). This finding is problematic for a country in which the demand for respect -in particular, for 'equality of value'- has become more important, as it opens-up the possibility of crystalizing practices of symbolic violence. Turning respect into a demand for justice involves then several risks. The challenge for a critical sociology is to clarify the conditions and practices that truly contribute to the reduction of the experience of devaluation and the suffering associated with it.

Conclusion

This thesis started by making three invitations to the reader: to reflect sociologically on the experience of respect and disrespect, to think on issues of inequality through the lens of respect, and to look at the everyday lives of Chileans from this perspective. I mentioned that this thesis involved an 'heuristic bet': that by doing systematic research on respect it is possible to further the sociological understanding of inequality. Therefore, in this concluding section I reflect thoroughly on this bet.

In so doing, I start by summarizing the main findings of this study, in terms of the research questions that guided it. I reflect on the main contributions that can be drawn from it, and I suggest further avenues for research. Finally, I return to what I have called my 'heuristic bet' and offer a reflection on the extent to which respect was a subject worth studying to shed light on the experience, reproduction and consequences of inequality.

Answering the Research Questions

This research was articulated around three research questions which were thought as essential steps in the process of understanding *the relationship between the experience of (dis)respect, the meanings and relevance attributed to (dis)respect and the narrative of inequality*. In this section I show how the findings help to answer these questions.

RQ1: What are the meanings and relevance attributed to respect and disrespect?

My findings support the conclusion that respect has multiple meanings in everyday life. However, I have offered an analytical attempt to organize this multidimensionality by providing a definition of respect that encompasses its different variations. Based on the literature review, as well as on the analysis of the data, I suggested in Chapter 2 that respect is the norm, the language and the practice through which we communicate value to others, which is culturally situated and changes historically according to how value is defined in any given context. In this regard, there is a certain unity underlying the phenomenon of respect which should not be disregarded and certainly justifies a systematic exploration on the topic.

The empirical multidimensionality of respect can be explained because the mechanisms of value attribution are multiple, and also because there is a practical dimension of respect which adds variation to this phenomenon. For this reason, it is possible to analytically identify different types of respect. I have suggested that there are three main types: categorical, positional and performative, and I have suggested that all experiences of respect involve a particular principle, a domain and a practical expression. I argued that the limits between these three types of respect are in tension and looking at these tensions is a fruitful way to read cultural changes regarding the expectations of treatment in social interactions.

My research indicates that respect is essential in people's everyday experiences. On the one hand, respect is a moral mandate that people learn and teach and therefore configures expectations regarding how they think they should be treated by others and how they should treat others in return. In this regard, respect is certainly crucial in the development of the self, as the way we are treated conveys messages regarding the extent to which we are valued for the reasons we perceive (or have been taught) we should be valued.

Contrary to my initial expectations, I did not find enough evidence that either the meanings or relevance of respect are stratified according to class. In the case of Chilean society, as discussed in Chapter 5, the different meanings as well as the importance of respect are mentioned by participants of all the social classes I sampled. The same happens with the moral mandates – i.e. the mandate of egalitarian courtesy, and the mandates of deference and obedience – as well as with the rules of respect, such as reciprocity and self-respect. What it is clearly stratified, however, is the form that the participants relate to those mandates and rules, the types of experiences of disrespect that they face and the resources they have to secure respect in their lives. I should also add that there is some evidence that the meanings of respect could show

greater variation according to generational differences, which opens interesting possibilities for further research.

RQ 2: What is the distribution of the experience of being treated with respect or disrespect?

The findings of this thesis indicate that the experience of respect and disrespect is unequally distributed. However, this inequality does not always take the form of a simple gradient in which people possess higher or lower amounts of respect. Based on the outcomes of the secondary analysis, as well as the analysis of the interviews, I have suggested that instead of thinking of respect as a stock to be distributed it is better to think of respect as a resource that people have differential strategies to access and for which to fight. The reality of inequality becomes apparent in the *process* of getting respect and not necessarily in the outcome of being respected. This helps to explain why, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 7, most of my respondents claim that they are respected by others, even though respect involves a struggle, as discussed in Chapter 6.

These struggles are different according to the form of respect which is at stake. There are struggles for categorical respect, which are related to the difficulties of being treated with equal dignity in comparison to others. There are also struggles for positional respect, which are related to the challenges of being treated with deference or being obeyed when holding roles which allegedly justify a special form of treatment. There are also struggles for performative respect, which are related to the attempt to be valued for possessing certain resources or for displaying certain behaviours which are considered desirable.

By looking closer at the participants' experiences, I detected two main processes through which people secure respect in their lives: the processes of 'earning' and 'commanding' respect. Both processes together, which were discussed in Chapter 8, elucidate the temporal nature of respect as well as on the importance of agency in its achievement. Whereas 'earning respect' is related to the possession of moral attributes which trigger respect by others, 'commanding respect' is linked to displaying defensive strategies to prevent or stop disrespect for happening.

The structure of advantage and disadvantage in the experience of (dis)respect is defined by the unequal position that people hold regarding their capability of achieving the different types of respect that are stake in social interactions. All participants depict struggles to secure respect, but the resources they exhibit and the types of respect they fight for, are clearly different. In this context, class and gender are of particular importance.

For instance, upper-class interviewees tend to have a certain awareness of their privileged condition in the hierarchy of respect. This privilege is related to the possession of certain resources (such as income or educational attainment), or because of moral behaviours (such as merit or virtue). However, for some of them – usually women and participants who had experienced social mobility – this privilege had been achieved by compensating certain triggers of respect they could not achieve (e.g.: upper class origin, being a man) for other triggers of respect they could indeed achieve (such as merit or moral virtue). That is why I argue that an important way to unveil inequalities of respect is by looking at the processes of compensation that operate when people describe why and how they are respected by others.

I also showed that even though experiencing disrespect was a possibility for all interviewees, the experiences of disrespect described by lower class participants and many women tended to involve an attack to the core of their dignity (e.g.: being distrusted, being looked down upon, being denied access to health, being sexually abused) and feelings of helplessness were common in the narrative of these experiences. These kinds of experiences and feelings, which resemble the form of disrespect that Lamont et al (2016) have named as ‘assault on worth, were relatively absent in the narratives of middle and upper class participants, as well as in the narratives of men. This does not mean, however, that lower class interviewees or women thought of themselves as permanently disrespected. They still find ways to command and earn respect, and in this process, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 8, the role of self-love (self-respect) is crucial.

RQ3: What is the narrative associated with the experience of respect and disrespect?

In relation to this question, my research demonstrates that the narrative of respect and disrespect triggers a conversation about the way in which people think they should be treated by others and the way they should treat others in return. In this regard, it is a conversation which unavoidably produces assessments about social interactions.

From this perspective, it is understandable why the language of (dis)respect is sometimes mobilized in the conversation about inequality, as this language is mobilized when the achievement of any expectation of treatment is at stake. In this regard, when people hold expectations of equal treatment and these expectations are violated, the language of disrespect conveys the frustration of these kinds of expectations.

This, however, is not always the case. People hold both expectations of equal and unequal treatment, therefore, *although all forms of disrespect are experienced as unjust, they are not*

always experienced as an expression of inequality. Disrespect is the violation of an expectation of treatment, therefore, it always triggers malaise and a certain feeling of injustice. However, for this experience to be understood as a form of inequality, the person who feels disrespected should attribute the disrespect to a particular feature of her own self (or group of reference) that makes her *different* from others. Lack of courtesy, for instance, can be experienced as an expression of the speed of modern times (when an unknown person does not look at you when walking on the street) or can be experienced as an expression of inequality (when someone from the upper class does not look at you in the eyes for being from a lower social class). In this second case, the experience of disrespect is framed as an attempt against equal dignity – as discrimination or humiliation – and the emotions which are triggered by the experience are usually more painful than the ones which are triggered in the first case. It is at this point when the narratives of disrespect and inequality become entangled: when the violation of an expectation of treatment is attributable to the unequal position that someone holds in a hierarchy of difference.

This is why it is important to clarify the type of respect that is involved in any claim for respect. In the specific case of Chilean society, I showed that the conversation about respect triggers three main narratives which are united by the common assertion that respect in Chile is a ‘struggle’ and it is something that has, to some extent, been lost. This struggle is focused on three main dimensions: the absence of equality, the lack of cordiality and the crisis of authority. These struggles shed light on the tensions between categorical and positional respect, as well as between categorical and performative respect. The first form of struggle – the absence of equality – sheds light on the expectations of equal treatment that Chileans hold, and supports findings from other studies relating to the longing for a greater equality of treatment in social interactions (e.g. Araujo 2013, PNUD 2017).

The language of respect is, however, ambiguous, and the practice of respect involves the risk, for the same reason, of reinforcing domination. This point was addressed in Chapter 9 where I showed that ‘being respectful’ towards others is considered a valuable attribute which helps to secure respect. By analysing the way in which respect is enacted, I showed how the practices of respect from upper class participants towards people in more disadvantaged positions were closer to understandings of caring than understandings of equality. This reinforces the idea, already suggested in the literature, that the enactment of respect can be an ambiguous political resource. It also reinforces the importance of paying attention to how respect is defined.

Assessing the heuristic bet: on moral economies and compensation mechanisms

The aforementioned research questions were essential steps in the process of answering the main question of this thesis, namely, *what is the relationship between the experience of (dis)respect and the phenomenon of inequality*. In this regard, I conclude that the experience of disrespect and the phenomenon of inequality are connected in three levels.

First, I have shown that *the experience of disrespect and the experience of inequality can converge*. Some types of disrespect are experienced as an expression of inequality, for example: the differences among the rich and the poor in access to health, and the differences in treatment among men and women, „ This can be explained because there is a form of respect which is considered to be egalitarian in nature – categorical respect – and therefore, disrespect can be experienced as a form of inequality when involves a violation of categorical principles. Disrespect can also be experienced as a form of inequality when the achievement of performative respect becomes harder for those who are in a disadvantaged position in relation to the resources that usually enable it (e.g.: education, income). This second case is especially sensitive due to the importance that performative respect has in participant narratives: performative features are usually considered as the real triggers of respect in Chilean society.

Second, independent from how disrespect is experienced, *there is an inequality in the distribution of respect that can be reconstructed*. Based on the literature, I argued that there are two reasons why studying respect alongside the issue of inequality is relevant. The first, related to the question of its distribution, involves interrogating the inequality of respect as a type of inequality in its own right. This was addressed through the thesis from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives. By looking at the perceptions as well as the narratives regarding the experience of respect and disrespect, I interrogated the form of inequality that it is involved in this experience, and I argued that this inequality can be observed in that there are certain *forms* and *sources* of respect that are more available to some people over others. In this regard, my thesis indicates there is an inequality of respect that can be studied and mapped.

In addition to this, when doing research on the experience of respect, *there is a particular form of inequality which emerges*. This form of inequality is related to the way that people are valued and therefore treated by others. In this context, I believe that doing research on respect sheds

light on the experience of what I call, borrowing from Zilveti (2017) 'inequality of value', and refers to the fact that people are treated differently by others according to their perceived 'worth' and that treatment is usually considered 'unjust' by those who, as a consequence of that treatment, feel devalued. The consequences of devaluation can be devastating in terms of both self-fulfilment as well as access to resources and opportunities.

Third, in a more analytical argument, *the inequality of respect can help to reinforce traditional forms of inequality*. Based on the literature, I argued that that one of the reasons why respect and inequality should be studied together is related to the possibility of thinking of the inequality of respect as an explanatory force behind the reproduction of traditional forms of inequality, such as income or power. I claimed that the way in which the inequality of respect might reinforce these forms of inequality is by being part of their legitimation.

Based on the analysis of my data, there is evidence that the understandings of respect, and, in particular, the hierarchies of value behind them, help to reproduce traditional forms of inequality in Chile. To shed light on this issue, I would like to draw on the concept of 'moral economy' coined by Thompson (1993) and further expanded by Fassin (2009).

Originally, when E. P. Thompson coined the concept of the 'moral economy of the poor' he emphasised that the grievances of the poor – which were at the heart of the food riots in early eighteenth century England he was trying to explain – should be understood in the context of traditional moral assumptions regarding what were legitimate and illegitimate practices in the economical dealings of the community. These assumptions affected what was understood as just prices for food in the context of an emerging market economy of supply and demand.

As noted by Fassin (2009), this concept has been expanded and used in two different forms: as a way to signal pre-capitalist economies, but also as a way to signal the assumptions that sustain the legitimization of practices and beliefs within a particular community, both in the economic realm but also beyond the economic realm. In this latter understanding, the valuations intrinsic to moral economy come to be part of market economies too. For this reason, the concept has been used to describe beliefs around income inequality, as it conveys the importance of understanding the moral assumptions that lead people to either reject it or legitimize it (e.g.: Frei, 2016; Sachweh, 2012).

As a system of moral beliefs regarding what is just and unjust, I believe that this concept can be used to think about the dynamics of (dis)respect too. One of the key findings of this thesis is that

there is a clear system of beliefs that sustain the process of granting and demanding respect from others, that it is coherent, transmitted, learnt and taught, and have practical consequences in people's lives. The concept of moral economy is useful to think on this system of beliefs, as it conveys two elements that are relevant: on the one hand, that there is an economy of respect in which people struggle and look for strategies to accumulate it; on the other hand, this economy is sustained upon several moral beliefs regarding what is just and unjust in terms of value attribution⁶⁶.

Following this perspective, this thesis can be read as an attempt to delineate this moral economy of respect in Chilean society. At various points in the thesis, I have outlined the beliefs that sustain the process of giving, demanding and receiving respect in Chile. This has shed light on how value attribution operates, and the feelings of justice and injustice associated to it.

The moral economy of respect in Chile is defined by the belief that there are forms of respect which everyone deserves (categorical respect), forms of respect which are legitimately owed to only some people (positional respect) and forms of respect which is legitimate to fight for (performance respect). It is also believed that categorical respect should not be violated because of the importance of performative or positional attributes. In the reality of everyday experience, however, both performance and positional respect seem to be the 'real' drivers of respect. Therefore, there is a general acknowledgement that categorical respect is violated (inequality as an experience) as respect is dependent on resources such as money, education or power (this is the false respect, which is considered unfair). This experience coexists, however, with the belief that there is a realm of agency in which people can act and fight against this. People find strategies to secure more respect, either by commanding it or earning it. In this context, a key element of the moral economy of respect in Chile is what I suggest calling as *mechanisms of compensation*. These mechanisms can be grasped when looking at the process of earning respect. People find ways to compensate the lack of traditional triggers of respect (education, income) with alternative resources such as effort, virtue, intelligence, i.e.: merit. Therefore, people earn respect (value) by displacing the importance of the source of respect to which they cannot have access and affirming the importance of the source of respect they can attain. In this logic, merit becomes salient.

In this context it can be argued that *the moral economy of respect intersects and reinforces the moral economy of inequality by helping to legitimize inequalities which are seen as an outcome of*

⁶⁶ The concept of 'moral economy of respect' has not been used systematically in the literature. There is however the suggestion that there is an 'economy of esteem' (Brennan & Pettit, 2004).

merit. As I argued in Chapter 3, the literature suggests that the moral economy of inequality in Chilean society can be defined by two principles: first, the legitimization of inequalities which are seen as the outcome of merit, second, the critique to inequalities of treatment which put into question the equality of dignity (Frei, 2016). The importance of merit in the legitimization of inequality has been broadly studied in both the international and the Chilean context. However, the question that remains to be solved is why merit turned to be so central in the moral economy of inequality. Although there are certainly ideological explanations associated to the cultural dominance of neoliberalism – and its ideological emphasis on merit as the driver to success– it is interesting to interrogate the mechanisms through which this belief comes to be internalized.

The answer I would like to offer, based on my research, is that merit has become a central element in the moral economy of respect, not only of inequality. This means that merit has become a central element in the process of value attribution in Chilean Society, and therefore, has become a key element in assessments of self-worth. It is because value attribution in Chile is dominated by the principle of merit, that inequalities based on merit becomes justifiable. This is an example of how the study of respect helps to understand the reproduction of inequality.

In this regard, an interesting possibility for further research is to explore how different ‘moral economies’ of respect reinforce traditional forms of inequality. Any form of inequality – such as class or gender – can be read as a process of distribution of value. Doing research on respect allows for the understanding of how individuals and groups struggle for the acquisition of value. Therefore, the study of respect contributes to the understanding of how any process of distribution of value becomes legitimate, and therefore, as I bet, helps in the understanding of the reproduction of inequality.

Final words

Respect is a phenomenon that deserves sociological attention. At the most basic level, respect is a language that is used by individual and collective subjects to make claims associated with equality or justice, and therefore, sociology should offer a framework that facilitates public discussions on the subject, considering that there are different types of respect.

On an analytical level, doing research on respect is productive as it helps to understand the expectations of treatment that people bring into social interaction, how those expectations are

framed, and which expectations are successful or frustrated. In this regard, researching respect is key not only to answer questions regarding inequality – as it was my initial contention – but to interrogate the dynamics of social interaction more broadly. As the limits between the different types of respect are in constant negotiation, looking at claims for respect can be a productive way to analyse how expectations of treatment change or clash among individuals or groups. This is an interesting possibility that I had not originally foreseen and certainly opens avenues for empirical research.

Thinking about Chile from the perspective of respect has provided a rich route to delve into the tensions that surround the everyday life of a neoliberal country which holds an ambiguous relationship with the ideal of equality. Because there are forms of respect which are egalitarian in nature, doing research on respect enables the understanding of *how the normative ideal of equality translates into expectations of equal treatment*. I have demonstrated that there is a longing for equality in social interactions which clash with the everyday reality of mistreatment. I have also demonstrated that this process intersects with other phenomena such as the crisis of authority and the crisis of the social bond.

Finally, I would like to end this thesis by reflecting on the extent to which thinking on respect is useful to shed light on questions which are relevant from the point of view of social justice. In this regard, I should acknowledge that this thesis is not value-free. I do share the belief that, considering the consequences that disrespect has upon people's lives, inequality of respect should be addressed in order to achieve higher levels of social justice. I understand that the ideal of equality involves a relational dimension (Anderson, 1999). But I also argue that in order to clarify the normative language to address this kind of inequality, it is important to have a clear understanding of how respect in reality works, and to be open to understanding that there are inequalities of respect which might be considered as legitimate.

For this reason, a key task for sociological thinking with critical ambition is to explore the different claims for respect that operate in different contexts and unveil the mechanisms behind the definition and the process of securing respect. There is also the task of offering normative languages to address the inequality of respect. Is it possible to aspire to the equalization of respect? Is it desirable? I hope this thesis has contributed to shedding light on these difficult questions, and hopefully, opened up a conversation about them.

Appendix

Appendix n1: Status Scale, Torche (2005a)

Occupational group	Typical occupations
Professional in science, engineering and health	Medical doctor, dentist, architect, engineer, chemist, statistician
Professionals in business, law and others	Lawyer, accountant, economist, writer, composer, psychologist, librarian
Professionals in education	College professor, secondary, primary and special education teacher
Associate professionals in business, law and others	Business assoc. prof., govt. social benefits official, police inspector, commercial designers
Managers in production, operations and finance	Manager in infrastructure, construction, finance, personnel, transportation, hotels
Other associate professionals	Engineer technician, Telecom. Technician, computer assistant, aircraft pilot, medical equipment operator, agronomy technician, optician, nurses
Secretaries and numerical clerks	Secretary, data entry operator, stenographer, library clerk, mail carrier, coding clerk
Other clerical workers	Clerical worker nec
Cashier, tellers, and receptionists	Cashier, teller, receptionist, travel agency clerk
Shop sales workers	Shop sales person, demonstrators, models
Managers in wholesale or retail trade	General manager in wholesale and retail trade
Drivers	Taxi driver, bus driver, crane operator, lifting truck operator
Personal services workers	Childcare provider, nursing home attendant, hairdresser, beautician, valet
Welders, blacksmiths, toolmakers and mechanics	Welder, blacksmith, tool maker, mechanic, potter, printer, motor vehicle mechanic
Service workers	Travel attendant, housekeeper, waiter, bartender, travel guide
Plant and machine operatives	Mining, papermaking, power-producing plant operator, cement, pharm., plastic, food, weaving, electrical machine operator, automated assembly line worker
Construction workers, plumbers and electricians	Bricklayer, carpenter, plumber, electrician, painter, roofer, miner

Other skilled manual workers	Butcher, baker, wood treater, cabinet maker, weaver, tailor, sewer, shoe maker
Porters, messengers and doormen	Window and vehicle cleaner, messenger, doorman, garbage collector
Cleaners	Shoe cleaner, office and hotel cleaner, hand launderer
Stall and market salesperson	Stall and market salesperson
Street and door-to-door vendors	Street salesperson, door-to-door vendor, telephone salesperson
Animal producer, forestry and fishery workers	Dairy producer, poultry producer, forestry worker, fishery worker, charcoal burner
Labourer in mining, construction and manufacturing	Unskilled labourer in mining, construction, maintenance, transportation and assembling, freight handler
Subsistence farmers	Subsistence agricultural and fishery worker
Domestic servant	Maid, domestic cleaner
Field croppers, vegetable growers and gardeners	Field crop grower, vegetable grower, tree grower, gardener, mixed-cop grower
Farm labourers	Farm-hands, forestry labourer, fishery labourer

Appendix n2: List of participants

LOWER CLASS				
Pseudonim	Occupation	Educational Attainment	Age	Gender
Estefanía	Make up artist	Complete Secondary Education	28	F
Rita	Domestic servant	Incomplete Secondary Education	38	F
Sandra	Artisan and domestic servant	Incomplete Secondary Education	38	F
Gloria	Cleaner	Incomplete Secondary Education	47	F
Roxana	Seamstress	Technical Education	48	F
Verónica	Saleswoman	Incomplete Secondary Education	50	F
Rosa	Seamstress	Technical Education	53	F
Lourdes	Domestic Servant	Incomplete Secondary Education	55	F
Alicia	Domestic Servant	Incomplete Secondary Education	56	F
Carmen	Domestic Servant	Incomplete Secondary Education	59	F
Anselmo	Shelf stoker	Incomplete Secondary Education	32	M
Marcos	Security Guard	Complete Secondary Education	33	M
Ernesto	Security Guard	Incomplete Secondary Education	39	M
Gastón	Construction Worker	Incomplete Secondary Education	43	M
Manuel	Electrician	Incomplete Secondary Education	64	M
Fernando	Lather Operator	Technical Education	58	M
David	Security Guard	Complete Secondary Education	52	M
Bernardo	Taxi Driver	Incomplete Secondary Education	59	M

MIDDLE CLASS				
Andrea	Labour Risk Preventionist	University Education	30	F
Laura	Secretary	Technical Education	30	F
Carolina	Secretary	Technical Education	38	F
Rayén	Office assistant	Technical Education	37	F
Eugenia	Chief of area	University Education	39	F
Teresa	Secretary	Technical Education	45	F
Violeta	Saleswoman	Incomplete University Education	47	F
Sonia	Office Assistant	University Education	48	F
Valeria	Saleswoman	Complete Secondary Education	59	F
Elena	Pharmacist	University Education	61	F
Rebeca	Saleswoman	Complete Secondary Education	58	F
Claudio	Clerical Worker	Technical Education	36	M
Leonardo	Chief of office	University Education	36	M
Jaime	Restaurante Chief Supervisor	Technical Education	36	M
Camilo	Labour Risk Preventionist	University Education	37	M
Ramiro	Salesman	Complete Secondary Education	38	M
Hernán	Clerical Worker	Technical Education	45	M
Antonio	Accountant	University Education	46	M
Luis	Office Assistant	Technical Education	49	M
Rodolfo	Office Assistant	Complete Secondary Education	54	M

UPPER CLASS				
Elisa	Lawyer	Postgraduate Education	31	F
Catalina	Lawyer	University Education	31	F
Loreto	Business Administrator	Postgraduate Education	33	F
Sofía	Business Administrator	Postgraduate Education	37	F
Graciela	Owner of a Publicity Company	University Education	39	F
María	Lawyer	University Education	43	F
Isabel	Business Administrator, CEO	University Education	45	F
Gabriela	Lawyer	University Education	45	F
Paulina	Economist	Postgraduate Education	45	F
Javiera	Lawyer	University Education	48	F
Regina	Business Administrator, CEO	Postgraduate Education	62	F
Francisco	Business Administrator	University Education	28	M
Andrés	Psychologist	Postgraduate Education	30	M
Lucas	Arquitect	University Education	32	M
Álvaro	CEO Company	University Education	37	M
Jorge	Business Administrator	University Education	42	M
Gonzalo	Business Administrator	University Education	45	M
Martín	Business Administrator, CEO	University Education	46	M
Emilio	Arquitect	University Education	47	M
Alfredo	Business Administrator, CEO	University Education	48	M
Nicolás	Business Administrator	University Education	51	M
Adolfo	Business Administrator, CEO	University Education	59	M
René	Business Administrator, CEO	University Education	60	M

Appendix n3: Interview Schedule (translated version)

Topic	Questions – (aspects to enquiry)
INTRO	<p>✓ Before starting, I would like to thank you for your time, and explain to you what this is all about.</p> <p>Aspects to mention:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Confidentiality agreement, ask for permission to record - Interest in opinions and experiences (there is no good or bad answers), etc.
I. Identity and sources of self-worth	<p>✓ The first thing to know is who you are. To start this interview, I'd like to ask you to tell me a little bit about you... Who are you?</p> <p>Address aspects such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Age, children, civil status - Activity or profession (how long the interviewee has been doing this activity, why did she leave her last job, does she like her current job, does she feel valued in this job, etc.) - Activity of the partner - Children. Values she wants to teach them. Expectations for them.
II. Meanings of respect	<p>✓ Going now directly into the topic of this interview. I'd like to start with a very general question: What is respect for you?</p> <p>Address aspects such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Importance of respect, at the individual and the social level. Do you think that respect is important? Is respect important for you? - Concepts, distinctions that conforms her notions of respect - Relational contexts in which respect/disrespect is displayed: work, couple, family, the street, the doctor, social services, etc. - Sources of respect: dignity, effort, merit, status, class, income, moral - Profiles of people who deserve respect and people who don't
III. Respect in Chilean Society	<p>✓ Now I'd like to invite you to talk about Chilean society. In your experience, can people feel respected in Chilean Society? Please tell me about this...</p> <p>Address aspects such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reasons. Why people are respected or disrespected? Why some people are more respected than others? - Relationship between respect and inequality. Is there any link? - Profile of people who grant respect to others. Profile of people who withdraw respect to others. - Who deserves respect and who does not. Are there people who deserves more respect than others?

<p style="text-align: center;">IV. Experience</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Thinking now in your personal experience, do you feel respected in Chilean Society? ✓ People usually don't feel equally respected in all situations. I'd like to ask you if you can think about one situation of your life in which you have felt specially respected, and another situation in which you have felt specially disrespected. Could you tell me about these experiences? <p>Address aspects such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contexts, who is the other (the one who respect and the one who disrespect) - Reasons, why this happened? (does she identify individual or social reasons) - Subjective impact. How did she feel in these situations. Which consequences these experiences had. What did she do?
<p style="text-align: center;">IV. Inequality</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Now I'd like to talk about inequality in Chile. "Today it is usually argued that Chile is a very unequal society. What do you think about this?" <p>Address aspects such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emotions. What the interview feels regarding inequality. - Reasons. Why is Chile unequal/equal? - Time. Has inequality/equality changed over time? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Now I'd like to invite you to do an exercise, regarding income inequality. Here I have 3 hypothetical countries. Country A is a country in which the income gap is relatively small. The richer 1% of the population concentrates 5% of the wealth of the country. Country B is a country in which the income gap is a little bit bigger. The richer 1% of the population concentrates 15% of the wealth of the country. And country C is a country in which the income gap is even bigger. The richer 1% concentrates 30% of the wealth of the country ✓ Which country do you think is more similar to Chile? ✓ In which country would you like to live? Why?

<p>V. Distribution v/s Respect</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ I'd like to invite you to play a sort of game. Here I have 6 cards with 6 activities/professions: 'DOCTOR', 'ENTERPRENEUR', 'TEACHER', 'SECRETARY', 'CLEANER' and 'CONSTRUCTION WORKER'. ✓ Can you rank these activities according to how much do you think the people that perform them earn? ✓ Can you give me an estimate of their income? ✓ Can you rank them now in terms of how important do you think they are for society? ✓ Do you think that people who perform these activities are equally respected in Chilean Society? Why? - Before finishing, I would like to come back to the exercise we did before and mention that, in reality, Chile is more similar to country C. What do you feel about this?
<p>CLOSING:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ I would like to ask you if there is anything you would like to add, something I didn't ask about and you think it's important. ✓ Last questions of identification (in the case something is missing) ✓ I'd like to thank you for your time and your sincerity in responding this interview. 	

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