

## Civil Construction workers' struggles at COMPERJ: issues for union action and occupational health

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**Abstract** *The Rio de Janeiro Petrochemical Complex is one of the most significant heavy civil construction projects in Brazil. In 2014, we witnessed a significant strike for improved working conditions, which exposed different perspectives on workers and union representation. This study analyzes the meanings exposed by worker and union action in their implications for the collective defense of health in this strike experience. Qualitative social research employed investigation techniques such as participant observation, documentary survey, and interviews with workers and union leaders. The results produced a brief reconstruction of these struggles from the workers' perspective, analyzing the strike agendas such as the organization, mobilizations, and tensions between base workers and the union representing the category. Noteworthy was establishing a Base Commission decided by the very workers to act independently from the official union. We observed different responses from the State, companies, and the representative union to stifle the workers' struggle. Finally, we identified a struggle for improved working conditions and the collective defense of health by workers' organizations in the workplace.*

**Key words** *Civil construction, Labor unions, Occupational health, Strikes, Outsourcing*

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## Introduction

In Brazil, a new cycle of large, heavy Civil Construction (CC) works driven by the State in the 2000s emerges, especially in the second term of the Luís Inácio Lula da Silva government (2007–2010) with the launch of the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) in 2007. A set of measures fluctuating between liberal orthodoxy and heterodoxy was introduced in the economic policy plan adopted by the Workers' Party (PT) governments, without threatening the institutionality built to benefit the financial capital accumulation<sup>1</sup>.

Granemann argues that the PAC's development was narrowed down "(...) to the economic horizon, growth, and acceleration of capitalist accumulation, aligned with the understanding of the bourgeois economy about the functions that should be developed by the State"<sup>2</sup> (p. 9). In this context, the history that began with the launch of the PAC works affected workers' lives and represents the relationship between State, Capital, and Labor.

From the perspective of the history of the struggle of the heavy CC working-class, several strikes and demonstrations were promoted within PAC works. These initiatives were social movements from the workers' organization enabling different class actions to express their demands and face adversities in work and health<sup>3-5</sup>, with notoriety in the mainstream media and the political, legal, and social spheres. Examples are the events that took place in the works of the hydroelectric power plants of Jirau (2011), Santo Antônio (2011), Belo Monte (2011 and 2012), Suape Port Complex (2011), and Abreu e Lima (2012)<sup>3,4</sup>.

Data from DIEESE<sup>6</sup> confirmed the increase in strikes in the sector: in 2010, they corresponded to 3.1% of the total strikes registered in the country; in 2011, this proportion reached 9.4%. In absolute numbers, they went from 14 to 52 occurrences in the same period, an expansion of 270%.

In this setting, the history of CC workers of the Petrochemical Complex of Rio de Janeiro (COMPERJ) gained notoriety. Thus, like the other PAC projects<sup>3,4</sup>, located in the municipality of Itaboraí, COMPERJ mobilized tens of thousands of workers, primarily itinerant workers<sup>7</sup>, so-called because they travel through different CC works in search of work across the country. When illustrating the general law of capitalist accumulation, Marx characterizes this segment of workers as part of the "capital's light infantry"<sup>8</sup> (p. 602), deployed from one region to another as needed by the companies.

Another characteristic about the capital-labor ratio in the PAC works<sup>3,4</sup>, such as that of COMPERJ, is the use of outsourcing to hire workers to reduce workforce costs, increase profits, entrench union fragmentation and escalate capitalist exploitation<sup>9</sup>.

The COMPERJ CC worker struggle movement was established by open conflicts, several protests, rebellions, strikes, and permanent capital-labor antagonism<sup>5</sup> throughout construction. The longest strike by COMPERJ stood out between January and March 2014 in this clashing setting and expressed labor conflicts regarding working conditions, low wages, exhausting working hours, and the category's union actions<sup>5,10</sup>.

COMPERJ's work had workers from different professional categories and different union representations. As the majority category, CC workers were officially represented by the Union of Workers in the Construction, Assembly, and Industrial Maintenance Plan Industries of São Gonçalo, Itaboraí and Region (SINTICOM), affiliated to the Unified Workers' Central Office (CUT). The work also had some permanent workers from Petrobras (Work Contractor), represented by the Oil Workers Union of Rio de Janeiro (SINDIPETRO/RJ).

The COMPERJ workers' strike in 2014 exposed different perspectives for representing workers and union action initiatives in confronting conflicts between capital and labor. Specifically, the workers were actively involved in organizing and conducting the strike and established a Base Commission (BC) separately from the official union, a story that will be briefly described and analyzed here from the workers' perspective.

Hobsbawn<sup>11</sup> states that the perception and action of workers in the working-class base vis-à-vis their organizations cannot be neglected. The author emphasizes the importance of recording the history of labor movements from the perspective of those who experience them, within and in the outburst of history itself.

In this sense, this study analyzes the different perspectives from the union representation and the BC during the 2014 workers' strike at COMPERJ. Debating the views launched by union action and workers in this strike will contribute to reflecting on the movement of workers' struggle for better working and health conditions<sup>11</sup>.

## The theoretical-methodological framework

This paper assumes the thesis in which social movements and workers' resistance in concrete

situations lead to questioning the contradictions of the capitalist exploitation process and social and human emancipation to generate change and social transformation<sup>12</sup>. Furthermore, the collective intelligence of workers' struggles is admitted, as ensured by the historical materialism's tradition theories, given that mass action is educational and produces critical knowledge about social reality, enhancing class solidarity and political awareness of workers as subjects of historical changes<sup>13,14</sup>.

The strike movement is understood as workers' space of collective experience, in which the struggle for rights is developed in opposition to bosses and governments<sup>15</sup>. The strike can be considered one way of open resistance and workers' questioning in the struggle for better working and health conditions<sup>3,4</sup>.

This study is based on the theoretical-methodological framework of Occupational Health (OH), highlighting the contributions of Latin American social medicine<sup>12</sup> and Italian workers' studies<sup>16</sup>. Such perspectives recognize that workers' health is strongly related to resistance, mobilization, and collective organization of workers.

The field of study was carried out in the COMPERJ territory, and data was collected from May 2014 to September 2015. The methodological procedures used were participant observation, individual interviews with key informants, and a documentary survey. At first, entry into the field included participation in public hearings, category assemblies, and, later, visits to unions. This moment mainly aimed to enter reality, live together, strengthen ties within that social context<sup>17</sup>, and identify potential "key informants"<sup>18</sup>. The second stage of the research involved conducting interviews with key informants. Ten interviews were conducted altogether, five with COMPERJ CC workers, participants of the strike movement, one with SINTICOM, and four with SINDIPETRO/RJ directors.

The Collective Labor Conventions (2012-2016), materials from the COMPERJ strike movement, union bulletins, and minutes of public hearings held by the Labor Prosecution Office (MPT) were used as the basis for analyzing the study.

Regarding the construction of the body of data analysis, according to Brandão<sup>19</sup>, the most substantial and most powerfully descriptive passages of the interviews were used, called "striking statements" as they repeat themselves, insist on the same line of thought, and stand out due to their critical content. These choices are aligned

with the study's theme and objectives. While identifying different perceptions between workers and unionists, such excerpts emphasize their respective social and symbolic experiences, allowing the research data to become living texts from the perspective of critical analysis, dialogue with literature, and the OH precepts.

The Research Ethics Committee of the Sergio Arouca National School of Public Health approved this study.

## Results and discussion

### Workers' strike and trade union action: labor conflicts in workers' struggles at the construction site

On January 23, 2014, the workers started the longest strike at COMPERJ, which ended on March 27, lasting 64 days. The trigger was mainly poor health and working conditions, such as the lack of access to water and food hygiene, and it was unleashed during the 2014-2015 collective agreement negotiation.

*Working conditions were the main conditions [...] lack of access to water and bad food [...]. Of course, as they were on the base date [...] they took advantage of it and included the entire agenda.* (Interview 2)

It is noteworthy that other studies point to very similar problems as motivators of workers' strikes within significant CC works during the military dictatorship<sup>20</sup> and in recent years<sup>3,4</sup>. Chart 1 shows the main points of the 2014 union agenda, as established in previous collective agreements and the 2014-2015 agreement signed with the end of the COMPERJ workers' strike. The weight and continuity of labor conflicts are observed, especially around field days off, *in itinere* hours, classification of helpers who perform professional activities, and points related to salary increases, overtime, and PLR bonuses.

*In itinere* hours and field days off were included in the collective agreements of 2011 and 2012, respectively, after the strikes carried out in these years. Workers defend the right to field days off every sixty days of work, extend the days off, and companies' payment of travel expenses. However, the reports revealed that it was common to use artifices to cancel field days off to extend working time, in which the days are paid as overtime or not<sup>10</sup>.

The monetary compensation of part of the worker's commuting time (round trip) to the

construction site marks how *in itinere* hours were implemented in COMPERJ: companies pay thirty minutes per day worked instead of integrating this time into the working hours, which would entail its reduction. Since then, the union agenda has kept this understanding, expanding the time to be paid as *in itinere* hours, since the time effectively spent by workers in commuting is greater<sup>10</sup>.

According to the respondents, calling for overtime was a managerial requirement of the companies, which occurred during the week and, commonly, on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. All the more so for itinerant workers, generally employed because of their connection to a contracting network in which these requirements condition their continuity in future contracting in works throughout the country.

Payment of the PLR (2013-2014) arrears was met in the collective agreement signed at the end of the 2014 strike. The PLR conditioned to individual and collective goals was also renewed (Table 1), as established by the companies in COMPERJ. As different workers report, the goals determine the work's pace: "Much rush to do the work to reach the goal." These are work management methods marked by pressure, escalation, and disciplinary control: the application of penalties (warnings) entails a reduction in the PLR bonus, and the embarrassment for the worker not to leave work, even for health reasons, by controlling absenteeism and setting "zero work accidents with lost time" for the "safety, environment, and health"<sup>10</sup> goal.

While the statements question the pressure to increase the pace, this questioning is diffuse. There is a lack of a critical union perspective of the PLR as a structured management practice for disciplinary control and step-up of workers' labor. This finding is not exclusive to SINTICOM and is found in the unionism of factory workers and the automobile industry in Brazil<sup>21</sup> and the U.S.<sup>22</sup>.

The workers' questioning against the demands for extra work time resulted in achievements such as *in itinere* hours and field days off. The 2014 strike expressed the continuity of these conflicts and the ambiguous union agenda. In response, companies continually try to shift this questioning to negotiating the value of remuneration for overtime work, facilitated by keeping low wages at construction sites with the containment of raises or the use of paid professionals as helpers. This shift is also favored when the trade union agenda remains ambiguous or limited to monetary compensation for worker exhaustion

by prolonging and intensifying working hours, producing work overload and distinct harmful effects on health, as shown by some studies in the international literature on CC workers' health<sup>23,24</sup>.

The claim for professional classification occurs because companies resort to function diversion as a strategy of depreciating and disqualifying the workers' work, remunerating them with a helper salary. It is management practice to reduce labor costs as one of the objectives of outsourcing<sup>9</sup>, common to Petrobras outsourcing<sup>25</sup>. With outsourcing, multiple companies operate on COMPERJ's construction sites, providing contractual differences concerning salaries, health, and working conditions. Thus, "cascade outsourcing"<sup>8</sup>, which is configured as successive transfers of contracts and subcontracts between companies, is emphasized in this setting.

As in other PAC workers struggles<sup>3,4</sup>, union action did not move towards a direct questioning of outsourcing, although there were confrontations to its different effects, which are dispersed with the unstable work situations and workers' health conditions<sup>10</sup>.

According to the respondents, "small uprisings" were common at construction sites due to work and health conditions and late payments. Attention is drawn to the forms of struggles unleashed by the workers, in the words of one worker: "*We had constant small riots there*", often transformed into strikes.

*[...] things came from the inside out. Internal rebellions turned into strikes. They were outbursts. It was not something that the union would go there, call an assembly, discuss, and organize. [...] in general, the thing exploded. Workers at a construction site marched out, closed the other construction sites, or stopped the buses at the interchange, and everyone would get off.* (Respondent 3)

The frequency and form taken by the workers' resistance indicate that the companies did not achieve effective improvements to the demanded conditions. The actions occurred through spontaneous movements at the construction sites, such as "uprisings", "outbursts", or "rebellions", expressing the lack of representativeness of the official union in the workplace.

The form of these struggles subverted the organization and business management, confronting disciplinary norms and rules, such as restricting workers' movement between the construction sites. The uprisings and rebellions took place during the working day, separately from the official union, without following the legislation's standardization, for example, which calls for a 48-

**Chart 1.** Main points of the union agenda, previous collective agreements, and the agreement signed after the 2014 strike – COMPERJ.

Item	Previous Collective Agreements	2014 union strike agenda	Collective Agreement (2014-2015)
Salary readjustment	–	11.5%	9.0%
Food Voucher	BRL 360.00	BRL 500.00	BRL 444.16
Additional overtime on the value of regular working hours	50% in the first two hours, Monday to Friday. 100% on Saturdays. 100% on Sundays and holidays	150% overtime on weekends and holidays	50% in the first two hours, Monday to Friday. 100% on Saturdays. 100% on Sundays and holidays
Hours in itinere (Time spent by the worker to and from home/work in a remote place)	Agenda achieved in the Collective Labor Agreement (ACT) 2011. Payment of 30 (thirty) minutes of the base salary of each worker per day worked	Payment of two (02) hours per day of the base salary of each worker per day worked	Payment of thirty (30) minutes of the base salary of each worker per day worked
Field days off (Visit of the migrant worker to family members after a particular work period)	Agenda achieved at ACT 2012. Payment of travel expenses to the residence after 90 (ninety) days worked. a) distance between the residence and the workplace above or equal to 1,000 Km (one thousand kilometers): three (03) working days off, with the provision of air transport; b) distance between home and the workplace of fewer than 1,000 Km (one thousand kilometers) and greater than or equal to 500 Km (five hundred kilometers): two (02) working days off, with the provision of collective land transport; and c) less than 500 km (five hundred kilometers) and more than 250 km (two hundred and fifty kilometers) between home and workplace: one (1) working day off, with ground transportation provided	Reduction of field days off to 60 days and outsourced companies' compliance with the clause in the ACT	Same as previous ACT
Profit-Sharing (PLR)	PLR conditioned on individual (“warning”, “absenteeism” and “safety, environment and health”) and collective (“production” and “productivity”) goals	Full payment of the 2013-2014 PLR	Payment of overdue installments of the 2013-2014 PLR. Maintaining the PLR conditional on the individual (“warning”, “absenteeism” and “safety, environment, and health”) and collective (“production” and “productivity”) goals
Professional classification	–	Half-yearly classification of helpers who exercise professional function	–
Payment for stoppage days while on strike	Deductions for stoppage days throughout the year	No deductions	The deductions of days related to the strike would be implemented throughout the year as follows: a) 1/3 of the days (8.3) will be paid by the companies; b) 1/3 of the days (8.3) will be compensated; c) 1/3 of the days (8.3), if there is no stoppage (strike) until 31/01/2015, will be paid. If there is a stoppage, the bosses will deduct everything; d) In cases of fair dismissal or resignation, the hypotheses provided for in letters "b" and "c" of this clause will be deducted upon the termination of the employment contract

Source: Authors elaboration.

hour prior notice to exercise the “right to strike”. These struggles elude union legalism’s attempt to prescribe the initiative and moderate workers’ action within predictable patterns for companies. Therefore, they differ from the so-called “passive adherence strikes”, called from outside to inside the company by the official union, generally without the active participation of base workers in their organization and implementation<sup>26</sup>.

The active participation of workers in organizing and conducting the 2014 strike is one of its characteristics. Besides its outbreak in the absence of SINTICOM, the strike’s initial episodes expanded the gap between base workers and the union, especially after the union leadership defended the proposal presented by the companies to sign a collective agreement with deductions for idle days in an assembly with the workers:

*[...] the company included a discount for idle days. Then, my brother, that was when the uprising broke out there. [...] because the union had already done this with us in the first strikes of 2012 and 2013. The strike of 2013, we paid until January or February 2014.* (Respondent 10)

The following day, February 6, at another meeting, called without the union’s consent, the workers decided to pursue the strike, included the non-deduction claim for idle days and elected a Base Commission (BC) composed of eleven workers to negotiate with the companies<sup>27</sup>. This movement was supported by union entities such as SINDIPETRO-RJ and the National Struggle Coordination (CSP-CONLUTAS). The workers organized themselves in the BC autonomously and separately from SINTICOM. However, its participation in the negotiations was refused by the companies and SINTICOM. In this context, the 2014 strike exposed the conflict for the representation of workers and different perspectives for union action in response to the workers’ struggle.

#### **Response to the workers’ struggle and different perspectives for union action: workers’ health issues**

Companies adopted surveillance, repression, and dismissal practices to contain or dismantle the strike movement. One of them was the use of images through cameras installed at construction sites and entrances or through cell phones of forepersons or supervisors to identify strike leaders and activists:

*“Cans” ran loose [...] firing people from all companies. Whoever was at the head of the strike*

*and was being filmed [...] they put a camera to film and then identified who was there in front and fired them.* (Respondent 10)

In the language of CC workers, “cans” meant mass layoffs. The term refers to powdered milk cans that are discarded when they are no longer useful. The report lists some common actions taken by companies after the strike, such as dismissals of workers, persecution of leaders, or workers most active in the strike. Another reported practice is including the names of these fired workers on a “black list”:

*He said that there is a [...] black list [...] in the companies not to accept them [the leaders]. There was a case right in the Alusa company’s lawsuit, where fifteen workers underwent a medical examination [...] when they presented their work papers, they cut all fifteen.* (Respondent 6)

According to the interviews, the list is passed on to other outsourced companies to mark these workers. An action that extends in time and space, as contractors activate their networks of contracted companies in different country regions to prevent the admission of these workers. Corporate repression actions such as monitoring, dismissing, and marking strike leaders are found in the history of workers’ struggle<sup>28</sup>, CC works during the military dictatorship<sup>20</sup>, previous COMPERJ strikes<sup>5</sup>, other PAC works<sup>3,4</sup>, and among outsourced workers in Petrobras refineries<sup>25</sup>.

The state’s response to the strike included repressive apparatus through the military police and the Labor Justice. The police engaged in ostensible action in strike activities, in assemblies, and acts at construction sites and the highway (“*Trevo da reta*”) at the entrance of COMPERJ, or even in the participation of workers in public hearings promoted by the MPT and the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio de Janeiro. On February 27, 2014, the Regional Labor Court considered the strike abusive through an injunction, determining the immediate return to work under penalty of a daily fine of ten thousand reais for SINTICOM<sup>29</sup>.

The strike continued despite these measures, also adopted in other strike movements, in the works of COMPERJ<sup>5</sup> and PAC<sup>3,4</sup>. This decision was taken in workers’ assemblies, separately from the official union. The BC engaged through acts and mobilizations at the construction site to sustain the workers’ strike. One of the BC’s and supporting union entities’ options was to forward the workers’ demands to the MPT to obtain the Commission’s recognition for the representation of workers in negotiations with the companies.

State action to reconcile the labor conflict of COMPERJ was undertaken by MPT<sup>27</sup> resorting to public hearings, which was unsuccessful, as companies refused to participate in such hearings. BC's involvement in the negotiations, already rejected by the companies, was publicly refused by SINTICOM. The directors did not recognize the legitimacy of the BC of COMPERJ workers. Instead, they upheld the legal prerogative given to SINTICOM and another workers' commission, namely, the Union Representativeness Commission (CRS) included in the so-called National Commitment to Improve Working Conditions in the Civil Construction Industry (CNIC)<sup>30</sup>, created in 2012. The Commitment was a federal initiative through the General Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic in promoting the Tripartite Dialogue and Negotiation Table between representatives of the federal government, large contractors, and trade union offices recognized by Law 11.648/08<sup>31</sup>, in response to the workers' strikes that occurred in 2011 in the PAC<sup>30</sup> works.

The Commitment gained the status of "public policy" for the heavy CC sector to ensure the companies' productivity and contain the conflicts (strikes) that paralyzed significant works. According to the then CUT president, the Commitment "[...] establishes national rules and standards for wages and working conditions, health and safety of construction workers. [...] the number of strikes tends to decrease as the Commitment is applied on a day-to-day basis [...]"<sup>32</sup>.

The continuity of conflicts and strikes of CC workers<sup>3,4</sup>, like that of COMPERJ analyzed in this study, questioned the CNIC as a public policy capable of promoting improvements in workers' working and health conditions. Noteworthy is a policy that disregarded the knowledge produced by the OH<sup>33</sup>. Institutional union action is highlighted with a clear commitment to political moderation and guarantee of the pact for economic growth with the State and employers, a specific action of unionism in partnership with capital<sup>34</sup> also found in part of unionism in the U.S.<sup>22</sup> in recent decades.

This context sees the emergence of the CRS, in collaboration with companies on construction sites, oriented to build a healthy work environment conducive to increased productivity<sup>30</sup>. COMPERJ workers' reports illustrate the role of CRS control and the disorganized workers' struggles, endorsed by the companies and SINTICOM:

*The commission [CRS] became like an inspector inside the construction site [...] and pointed out [...] the people who question things. [...] this strike was very angry with the commission. (Respondent 6)*

This CRS union perspective is inspired by the current factory commissions of the ABC-SP metallurgists, oriented by the search to enable the companies' productivity gains with benefits in the employment contracts or make productivity and health compatible. The defense of this union policy hides the acceptance of the capital's escalated exploitation of the labor force, an expression of deep-seated liberal (bourgeois) ideology in the union movement<sup>35</sup>. The bourgeois ideology underlies the CRS union perspective as an organization invested and recognized by the State to represent and participate in negotiations on behalf of workers. The State grants and guarantees the SINTICOM and CRS monopoly of representation, and not the very workers<sup>36</sup>.

The State also determines union representation by professional category, another foundation of union ties to the State<sup>36</sup> that fragments workers, an expanded fragmentation with outsourcing, even more so with Law 13.429/2017 and the labor reform (13.467/2017). We identified a critical perspective on the division of the union organization by professional category among BC's backers.

*We believe that someone willing to work in the oil industry should be an oil worker. [...] this division exists to manipulate workers and disorganize people [...] imposed by the State. It is not an option for workers; it is a legal imposition. So, we will back the fight, participate, and help organize. (Respondent 3)*

The strike of the COMPERJ workers attempted to question the characteristics of the Brazilian union structure, something which, however, remains unfinished. The BC emerged in the direct struggle and by decision of the workers themselves, with the active participation of workers in its organization, contrasting with the passive official union's action. However, the movement's strength was insufficient to impose BC's direct negotiation on companies, not even with BC's own effort to seek recognition from the MPT as the workers' representative. The companies' refusal to negotiate with BC represents the policy of denying the workers' organization in the workplace and the support for the State union structure expressed by recognizing the official union.

## Final considerations

This study briefly reconstructed the COMPERJ workers' social struggles from the workers' perspective and highlighted the BC's important role in reviving the workers' leadership. Such collective assumption can be interpreted as disobedience and workers questioning the old red tape union model structures and the companies' apparatus. The reaction of the base workers can be seen as one of the effects of the policy of reconciling classes and partnership with capital, undertaken by the PT government and assumed by the directors of the CUT unions and the main Union Offices in the country<sup>34</sup>.

While some demands were met in the labor legislation, the workers' struggle ensured important achievements such as field days off. The Labor Reform approved in 2017 extinguished and reduced workers' rights<sup>38</sup>, bringing them more significant adversity, but does not preclude their achievement.

At COMPERJ, in response to the workers' strike, the companies produced a series of actions to weaken, dismantle and dissolve the movement with the dismissal of BC leaders and the production of "black lists" to identify workers' leaders in future hiring. As Rodrigues<sup>39</sup> points out, many commissions emerged and were set up to organize and negotiate the strike in the historical experience of workers' organization in the work-

place in Brazil, only to disappear either due to the dismissal of workers or lack of support from the official union.

Despite the mobilizations, the strength of the strike movement was not enough to impose direct negotiation by BC on companies. The BC and its supporters directed efforts towards the MPT to obtain its recognition as workers' representatives in the negotiations, an action still within the framework of the State apparatus and not for the achievement of the workers themselves.

This paper emphasizes the importance of OH studies on the implications of the State's union structure in the organization and mobilization of workers as a class in the struggle for health. Noteworthy were the Labor Reform measures, which changed the union organization system, causing more significant challenges for this class<sup>38</sup>. In this setting, unions and worker-based parties must be rebuilt, structuring themselves from a working-class perspective<sup>22</sup>, unifying the employed and unemployed.

Finally, one must always learn with the intelligence of workers' movements, as all mass action is educational and motivates more people to fight<sup>13</sup>. However, another page is written in workers' history in which workers synchronously fight and defend health, seeking to improve working conditions, possibilities for social transformation, opposing the domination and control of the capital in a setting of union hegemony contention.

## Collaborations

HP Almeida was responsible for the project design, literature review, and data collection, analysis, and interpretation. KR Souza and JA Pina were responsible for the project design, literature review, analysis and interpretation, manuscript development, and final approval of the published version.

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