

THE STRIKES FROM 2011 TO 2013

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Abstract

Currently, a major strike cycle with traits making unique the defensive character of its claims, its frequency in certain professional categories and emphasis in the workplace, seems to be underway in Brazil. The objective of this paper is grounding this hypothesis using, from one side, data originated in the Strike Monitoring System (SAG-DIEESE), and on the other side, political elements related to the perception of actors participating in the strikes.

Initial considerations

The strikes that took place in Brazil from 2011 to 2013, besides its amazing numerical growth, were developed at a yearly rate of 270pct (the first year were 554, while in the last they reached 2,050) thus representing a large volume of hours on strike, accumulated at a more measured rate, but still quite remarkable of 76pct. In 2011 they were around 63,000 hours, and in 2013 around 111,000. (See charts 1 and 2).

At the same time, two main changes happened. From one side, strikes ceased being mainly composed by public workers movements (totaling 59pct of strikes counted in 2011) and became mostly composed by private workers movements (accounting for 54pct of strikes in 2013). On the other side, strikers' claims in 2011 were focused in propositions, while in 2013 they became more defensive (See chart 3).

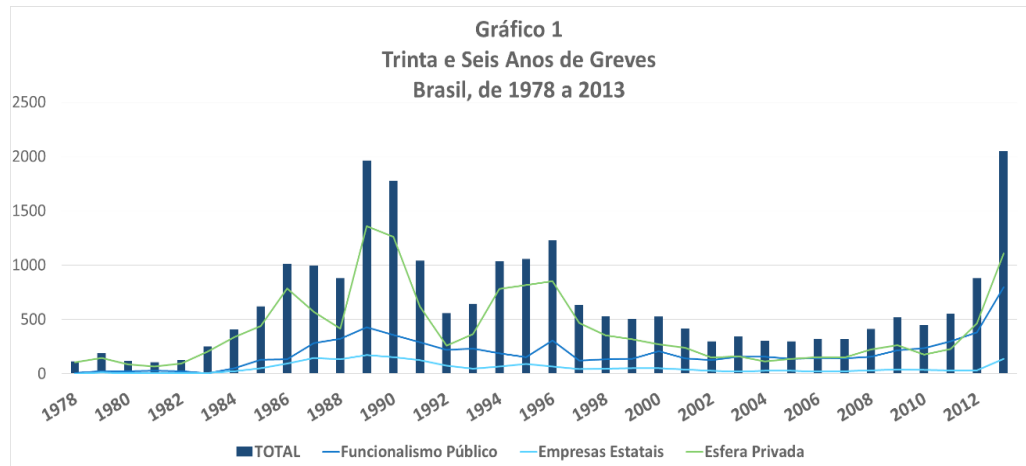
If we accept as an assumption the argument made by Noronha (2009) that Brazilian strikes, as in most of other countries, have a "medium to long-term objective cyclical behavior, non-random or with sharp swings according to political and economic conjunctures of one or a few years" (p. 121), then we will quite probably be talking about signals of start of a new strike cycle. This verification is further strengthened if we consider that amount of strikes in 2014 – and even in 2015 – will probably remain around the same level of 2,000 strikes². Moreover according to the author:

The first major strike cycle lasted around twenty years and can be divided in three stages: the first one, of expansion (1978-1984); the second one, when strikes dramatically increased (1985-1992) and third one, of resistance and decline (1993-1997). From then [from 1998 to 2007] and in spite of large fluctuations, strikes went into a relative stability with an average volume of conflicts as per

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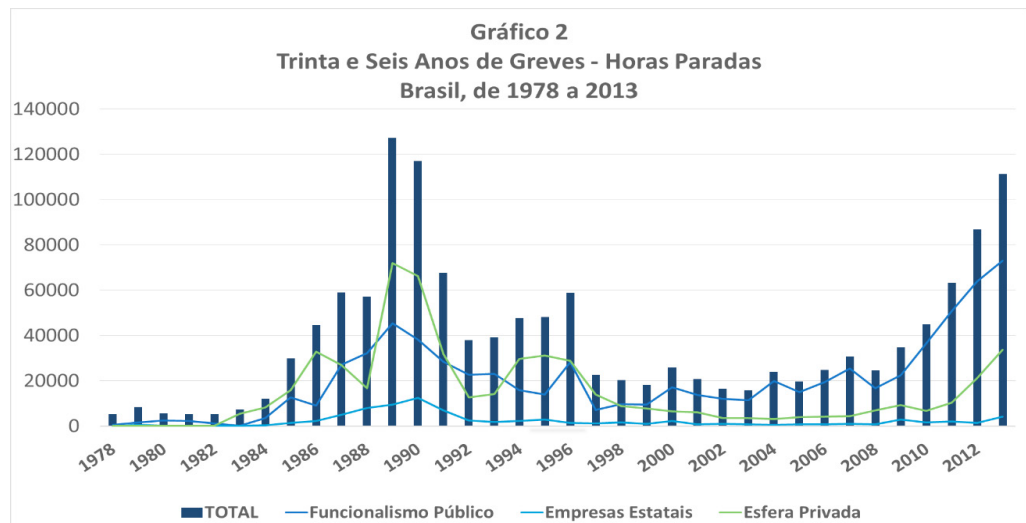
² Estimates for years 2014 and 2015 are mostly based in available data from the Strike Monitoring System by SAG-DIEESE, than in effectively systematized data.

international standards (Noronha, p. 121).



Source: DIEESE. Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Chart 1 – Thirty six years of strikes in Brazil, from 1978 to 2013. Total / Civil service / Public companies / Private sphere.

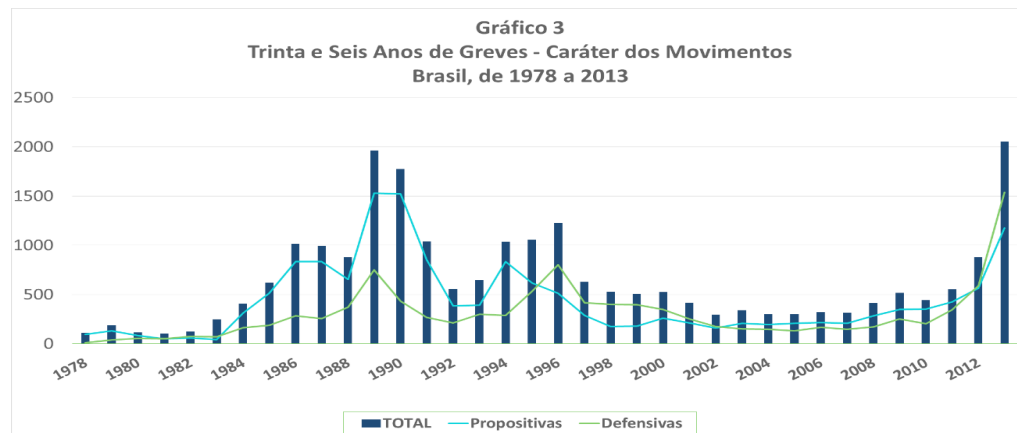
After a major strike cycle which lasted from 1978 to 1997 and was related to the on-going transition processes (political and economic in various aspects and different levels) following period was one of stability and routine, or using author’s words, a time of *normality*. “From then, strikes got the dimension they must have in any democratic country: they become a collective instrument of pressure and negotiation regarding the weakest link in the relationship between employees and employers” (Idem, p. 164).



Source: DIEESE. Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Chart 2 – Thirty six years of strikes – hours on strike - Brazil, from 1978 to 2013. Total / Civil service / Public companies / Private sphere

Once this normal time stopped, a second major strike cycle, with traits that would make it unique – the defensive aspect of claims, the frequency of “paredistas” (when leaders remain hidden) mobilizations in certain professional categories and emphasis in workplaces currently seems to be underway in Brazil. This is the hypothesis of this paper, which does not have the intention (nor could, due to recent emergence of these signals) to stick to the concern of

a sure periodicity of this new cycle. In any case, some fundamental questions regarding the sense and determination of this strikes' recovery movement, should drive the development of this hypothesis.



Source: DIEESE. Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Chart 3 – Thirty six years of strikes – Movements' orientation - Brazil, from 1978 to 2013. Total / Propositional / Defensive

Next, we will introduce in a first step the professional categories responsible for the outbreak of highest number of stoppages within the public and private sphere – together with the characterization of these movements. A wider discussion regarding strikes cycles will be resumed at the end of this paper.

1 – Strikes in the private sphere

During the year 2013, SAG-DIEESE registered 1,106 strikes in the private sphere (TABLE 1). This is a considerable growth of 387pct regarding 2011 – higher than the one verified in all the strikes of same period (as seen, it was 270pct) – thus making strikes in private sphere predominant regarding strikes in public sphere. From a sectorial point of view, (only considering the two main sectors – industry and services), this movement appears as divided in two stages.

TABLE 1. Total of strikes in the private sphere, by sectors. Brazil, from 2011 to 2013

Setor	2011		2012		2013		Taxa de crescim.	Variação particip.
	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%	%	(p.p.)
Indústria	131	57,7	334	72	553	50	322,1	-7,7
Serviços	91	40,1	122	26,3	527	47,6	479,1	7,6
Comércio	3	1,3	5	1,1	16	1,4	433,3	0,1
Rural	1	0	3	0,6	7	1	600	1
Multisetorial	1	0,4	0	0	3	0,3	200	-0,2
TOTAL	227	100	464	100	1106	100	387	-

Source: DIEESE. Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Sector / 2011 / 2012 / 2013 /Rate of growth / variation in market share. Industry / Services / Trade / Rural / Multi-sectorial.

In the first stage, during 2012, there was a large increase of strikes held among industrial workers, making this sector participation go from 58pct to

72pct – a growth which influenced in strike's distribution between public and private spheres, leading private ones to become preeminent.

In a second stage during 2013, a wave of strikes was conducted by service sector workers, with a participation of 48pct in strikes of the private sphere – reducing preponderance of industrial strikes.

When analyzing information, we may see that from 2011 to 2012 *metallurgical* workers participation in industrial strikes was significant: they went from 60 to 244.

In the following period, from 2012 to 2013, while number of *metallurgical* workers strikes continued to widen, but in a slower pace, going from previously 244 to 308, sharp fluctuations were verified in strikes in other categories: among *civil construction* they jumped from 66 to 128; in *chemical industry*, went from 6 to 41; and in the *food industry* from 2 to 33.

Meanwhile, in the service sector, apart from increase in strikes of the *private education* area (from 6 to 19) and in *telecom companies* (from none in 2011, to 5 in 2012), there wasn't any major discontinuities between 2011 and 2012.

Though something happened in this sector from 2012 to 2013: number of strikes organized by *transportation* workers jumped from 53 to 195; among the *tourism industry* it went from 19 to 92³; among *health* workers, from 7 to 65, among *safety* workers from 12 to 44; in the *education area*, from 19 to 29; among *bank employees* from 5 to 47; among *telecom* workers, from 4 to 22 and to conclude, among *athletes and football club employees*, 20 strikes in 2013 (no records for previous year).

Regarding claims of these movements (TABLES 2 and 3) in industry, at the same time than strikes increased among metallurgical workers, from 2011 to 2012, defensive items increased its participation in strikes from 42pct to 61pct⁴.

TABLE 2. Type of strikes among private industries' workers. Brazil, from 2011 to 2013

Caráter	2011		2012		2013		Taxa de crescim.	Varição particip.
	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%	%	(p.p.)
Exclusivamente propositivas	75	57,3	128	38,3	214	38,7	185,3	-18,6
Propositivas e defensivas	34	26	97	29	142	25,7	317,6	-0,3
Exclusivamente defensivas	21	16	107	32	197	35,6	838,1	19,6
Total de greves propositivas	109	83,2	225	67,4	356	64,4	226,6	-18,8
Total de greves defensivas	55	42	204	61	339	61,3	516,4	19,3

Source: DIEESE. Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Type of strikes / 2011 / 2012 / 2013 / Rate of growth / variation in market share. Exclusively propositional / Propositional and defensive / Exclusively defensive. Total of propositional strikes / Total of defensive strikes /

Among services, from 2012 to 2013, to the extent that strikes were spread in different professional categories, the indicators which went up till that moment (from 2011 to 2012) seemed to focus a more propositional character (or

3 Of these 92 strikes, 67 were from cleaning workers.

4 Propositional strikes are those proposing new achievements or expanding those already granted; defensive strikes oppose to degradation of currently working conditions or non-compliance of rights established by agreements or legislation.

better saying, less defensive), began showing the opposite: participation in strikes with defensive items went from 62pct to 84pct

TABLE 3. Type of strikes among private services workers. Brazil, from 2011 to 2013

Caráter	2011		2012		2013		Taxa de crescim.	Variação particip.
	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%	%	(p.p.)
Exclusivamente propositivas	23	25,3	44	36,1	65	12,3	182,6	-12,9
Propositivas e defensivas	22	24,2	18	14,8	109	20,7	395,5	-3,5
Exclusivamente defensivas	45	49,5	57	46,7	338	64,1	651,1	14,7
Total de greves propositivas	45	49,5	62	50,8	174	33	286,7	-16,4
Total de greves defensivas	67	73,6	75	61,5	447	84,8	567,2	11,2

Source: DIEESE. Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Type of strikes / 2011 / 2012 / 2013 / Rate of growth / variation in market share. Exclusively propositional / Propositional and defensive / exclusively defensive. Total of propositional strikes / Total of defensive strikes /

Therefore, in both private industry and services, the increase in number of strikes was associated to the intensification of its defensive character. This same movement, as we can see, is repeated in strikes of the public sphere – among public companies and also in the civil service.

2 – Strikes in the public sphere

2.1 – Public companies

In 2013, SAG-DIEESE registered 137 strikes in public companies (TABLE 4). Nevertheless from 2011 to 2012 a sectorial detour had already been registered (as strikes in services became more frequent than strikes in industry), alterations became more intense from 2012 to 2013, while in public services strikes jumped from 15 to 93.

Strikes in public services' offices grew in all administrative levels from 2012 to 2013 – but with particular vigor in municipal levels, where they jumped from just 1 in 2012 to 21 in the following year, and in federal offices, where jumped from 8 to 58.

When analyzing information regarding this sector, we see that from 2012 to 2013, strikes organized by *transport* workers jumped from 6 to 21 (being 6 from *operation and road planning* workers, 5 from *railway or subway* workers, another 5 by *port* workers, 4 by *urban public passenger transport* workers and 1 by *airport operators*).

TABLE 4. Total of strikes in public companies, by administrative sectors and levels. Brazil, from 2011 to 2013

Setor / Nível Administrativo	2011		2012		2013		Taxa de crescim. %	Variação particip. (p.p.)
	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%		
Indústria	15	51,7	12	41,4	40	29,2	166,7	-22,5
Federal	6	20,7	2	6,9	16	11,7	166,7	-9
Estadual	6	20,7	7	24,1	20	14,6	233,3	-6,1
Municipal	3	10,3	3	10,3	4	2,9	33,3	-7,4
Serviços	14	48,3	15	51,7	93	67,9	564,3	19,6
Federal	9	31	8	27,6	58	42,3	544,4	11,3
Estadual	3	10,3	6	20,7	15	10,9	400	0,6
Municipal	2	6,9	1	3,4	21	15,3	950	8,4
TOTAL	29	100	29	100	137	100	372,4	0

Source: DIEESE Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Remark: Strikes from public trade companies have not been separate. Sector / Administrative level / 2011 / 2012 / 2013 - Rate of growth / variation in market share. Industry: federal / state / municipal. Services: federal / state / municipal. Total.

Among *telecom* workers, strikes jumped from 1 to 29 (all of them were originated by – except one of Brazil Communication Company employees - Post office workers).

Among *public bank* workers, strikes went from 6 to 22. Among research and consulting workers, from 2 to 8.

There are no records of strikes among *tourism and hospitality* workers in 2012. However, in 2013 they declared 8 strikes, being six of them by *urban cleaning* workers.

Regarding demands of these movements (TABLES 5 and 6) the increase in strikes declared by public companies meant, in industry and services, an escalation of its defensive approach. In industry, during 2013, defensive claims accounted for 78pct of strikes; in services, ratio was even higher: 85pct

TABLE 5. Type of strikes among public industrial companies' workers. Brazil, from 2011 to 2013

Caráter	2011		2012		2013		Taxa de crescim. %	Variação particip. (p.p.)
	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%		
Exclusivamente propositivas	6	40	8	66,7	9	22,5	-43,8	-18
Propositivas e defensivas	6	40	4	33,3	14	35	-12,5	-5
Exclusivamente defensivas	3	20	0	0	17	42,5	112,5	23
Total de greves propositivas	12	80	12	100	23	57,5	91,7	-23
Total de greves defensivas	9	60	4	33,3	31	77,5	244,4	17,5

Source: DIEESE. Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Type of strikes / 2011 / 2012 / 2013 / Rate of growth / variation in market share. Exclusively propositional / Propositional and defensive / exclusively defensive. Total of propositional strikes / Total of defensive strikes.

TABLE 6. Type of strikes among public services companies workers. Brazil, from 2011 to 2013

Caráter	2011		2012		2013		Taxa de crescim. %	Variação particip. (p.p.)
	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%		
Exclusivamente propositivas	5	35,7	3	20	14	14,9	-58,3	-21
Propositivas e defensivas	5	35,7	10	66,7	40	42,6	19,1	7
Exclusivamente defensivas	4	28,6	2	13,3	40	42,6	48,9	14
Total de greves propositivas	10	71,4	13	86,7	54	57,4	440	-14
Total de greves defensivas	9	64,3	12	80	80	85,1	788,9	20,8

Source: DIEESE. Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Type of strikes / 2011 / 2012 / 2013 / Rate of growth / variation in market share. Exclusively propositional / Propositional and defensive / exclusively defensive. Total of propositional strikes / Total of defensive strikes /

In 2013 796 strikes were held in the civil service (TABLE 1). This is a growth of 169pct regarding 2011 – inferior to the one seen in total of strikes for the same period, 270pct and also smaller than seen among private sphere strikes: 387pct.

TABLE 7. Total of civil service's strikes, by administrative levels. Brazil, from 2011 to 2013

Nível Administrativo	2011		2012		2013		Taxa de crescim.	Varição particip.
	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%	%	(p.p.)
Federal	33	11,1	37	9,7	38	4,8	15,2	-6,4
Estadual	145	49	115	30,2	268	33,7	84,8	-15,3
Municipal	109	36,8	227	59,6	480	60,3	340,4	23,5
Multiníveis ⁽¹⁾	9	3	2	0,5	10	1,3	11,1	-1,8
TOTAL	296	100	381	100	796	100	168,9	-

Source: DIEESE. Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Administrative level / 2011 / 2012 / 2013 / Rate of growth / variation in market share. Federal / state / municipal / multi-level.

However, period between 2011 and 2012 shows an important increase – in both absolute and proportional values – in the amount of strikes of public municipal workers. Regarding *education* workers, strikes went from 32 to 118, and among *municipal top officers*⁵, from 29 to 67.

During the following period from 2012 to 2013, *education* workers continued to highlight – their strikes went from 118 to 198. But expansion was even higher among municipal *top officers* strikes (which increased from 67 to 138) and even more among *health* workers, going from 36 to 110) and among *public safety* workers, jumping from 2 to 27.

In the state public service, during the period 2012 / 2013, we can mention strikes of the *Education* area, which went from 45 to 78, the ones of *public safety* workers, which increased from 18 to 51) and those of *state top officers*, which jumped from 13 to 58).

In spite of the fact that in 2013, in all public administration levels, defensive strikes over-achieved percentages compared to propositional ones – and that in these 3 cases, variations occurred from 2011 to 2013 – some special features are noticeable.

Among municipal workers, proportion of defensive guidelines became more important than propositional guidelines during 2011 and 2012, a change in line with major increase of labor unrest and strikes, mainly among education workers.

Nevertheless, among federal civil servants the defensive approach of strikes became more frequent in 2013; this was not related to an acceleration of strikes. On the contrary, what proportionally happened was a decline in participation of strikes declared by federal civil servants, because huge mobilizations of this category were in 2012.

⁵ According to the categories' classification by SAG-DIEESE, these are strikes gathering civil service workers from more than one secretary of the whole direct municipal administration.

TABLE 8. Type of strikes among municipal public servants. Brazil, from 2011 to 2013.

Caráter	2011		2012		2013		Taxa de crescim.	Varição particip.
	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%	%	(p.p.)
Exclusivamente propositivas	45	41,3	38	16,7	111	23,1	146,7	-18
Propositivas e defensivas	46	42,2	81	35,7	220	45,8	378,3	4
Exclusivamente defensivas	18	16,5	107	47,1	147	30,6	716,7	14
Total de greves propositivas	91	83,5	119	52,4	331	69,0	263,7	-15
Total de greves defensivas	64	58,7	188	82,8	367	76,5	473,4	17,7

Source: DIEESE. Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Type of strikes / 2011 /2012 / 2013 /Rate of growth / variation in market share. Exclusively propositional / Propositional and defensive /exclusively defensive. Total of propositional strikes / Total of defensive strikes.

TABLE 9. Type of strikes among federal public servants. Brazil, from 2011 to 2013

Caráter	2011		2012		2013		Taxa de crescim.	Varição particip.
	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%	%	(p.p.)
Exclusivamente propositivas	9	27,3	20	54,1	4	10,5	-55,6	-16,7
Propositivas e defensivas	22	66,7	10	27	13	34,2	-40,9	-32,5
Exclusivamente defensivas	2	6,1	5	13,5	19	50	850	43,9
Total de greves propositivas	31	93,9	30	81,1	17	44,7	-45,2	-49,2
Total de greves defensivas	24	72,7	15	40,5	32	84,2	33,3	11,5

Source: DIEESE. Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Type of strikes / 2011 /2012 / 2013 /Rate of growth / variation in market share. Exclusively propositional / Propositional and defensive /exclusively defensive. Total of propositional strikes / Total of defensive strikes.

To conclude, in 2013 strikes of state public servants ratio of defensive items slightly overrun (less than one percent) the ratio of propositional items – in a situation which is a more fair way to consider a draw, than predominance. In any case, this defensive increase is also associated to the increase of strikes declared in 2012 and 2013 by state public servants.

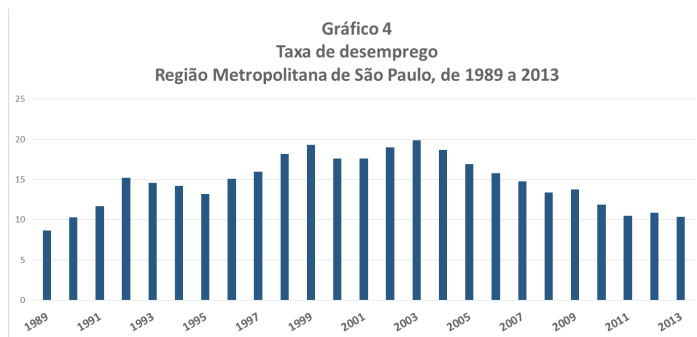
TABLE 10. Type of strikes among state public civil servants. Brazil, from 2011 to 2013

Caráter	2011		2012		2013		Taxa de crescim.	Varição particip.
	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%	%	(p.p.)
Exclusivamente propositivas	45	31	36	31,3	68	25,4	51,1	-6
Propositivas e defensivas	71	49	58	50,4	126	47	77,5	-2
Exclusivamente defensivas	29	20	21	18,3	70	26,1	141,4	6
Total de greves propositivas	116	80	94	81,7	194	72,4	67,2	-8
Total de greves defensivas	100	69	79	68,7	196	73,1	96,0	4,2

Source: DIEESE. Strike monitoring system (SAG-DIEESE). Type of strikes / 2011 /2012 / 2013 /Rate of growth / variation in market share. Exclusively propositional / Propositional and defensive /exclusively defensive. Total of propositional strikes / Total of defensive strikes.

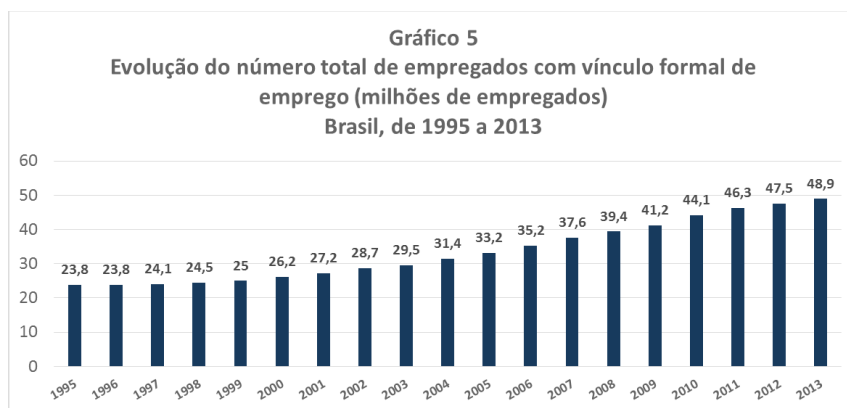
Final Considerations

During the period 2011 to 2013, data from DIEESE's Employment and unemployment research regarding the metropolitan region of São Paulo, showed an annual rate of unemployment of around 10.5pct, while from 1999 to 2003, this rate was around 18.5pct (Chart 4).



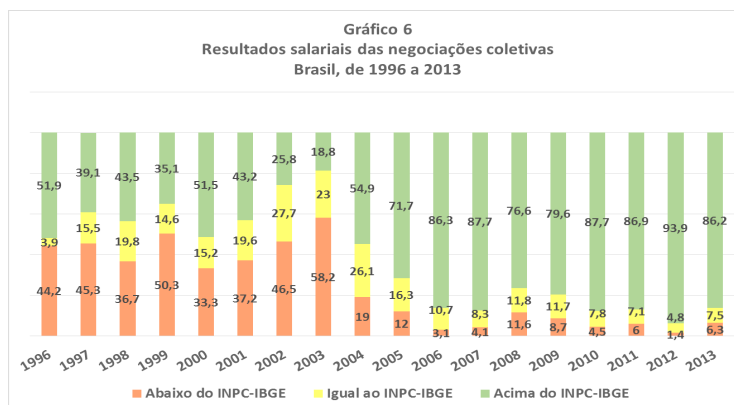
Source: DIEESE's employment and unemployment research. Chart 4: Rate of unemployment for the metropolitan region of São Paulo, from 1989 to 2013.

Still talking about jobs, according to data from the Annual social information report – RAIS - there has been a remarkable growth in the group of workers with formal job attachment in Brazil: from 1995 to 2013 they doubled, going from 24 to 49 million of workers with formal jobs (Chart 5).



Source: Ministry of Labor and Employment / Annual social information report – RAIS – Chart 5: Evolution of total number of employees with formal employment (in millions of employees). Brazil, from 1995 to 2013.

Regarding job income, the series of the Monitoring system of salaries (SAS-DIEESE) show that after 2004, a good part of negotiations being part of this panel (involving private sphere and public companies) began readjusting salaries above inflation rate, or in other words, showing real gains. In 2011, around 87pct of negotiations verified by the system showed salary adjustments above the inflation (according to INPC-IBGE index); in 2012 this participation was even higher, around 95pct, and in 2013, in spite of a small reduction (86pct of negotiations showed results above the inflation), ratio was still quite far away from levels performed up to 2003, when around one third or half of negotiations had rates below the inflation – which is with real losses (Chart 6).



Source: Ministry of Labor and Employment / Annual social information report – RAIS – Chart 6: Outcomes of collective bargaining negotiations – Brazil, from 1996 to 2013.

Quoting the comparison made by Amorim (2012, p.22) between these two periods of Brazilian labor market:

(...) the situation observed at the end of the 1990's and beginning of 2000's showed an endless drop of main indicators driven to a precarization of job hiring conditions. The unemployment rate in the period, depending on chosen indicator was double than currently verified and there was a sizeable participation of non-registered jobs. In terms of salary, workers income represented a real loss, whose reversal looked as very hard to be completed. However, from 2004 the situation changed positively with a strong drop of the unemployment rate, an increase of formal jobs and also increases of real workers gains.

Mentioning these two variables – jobs and salaries – is obviously not enough to analyze main labor market dynamics. However it may be helpful to develop a simplified context to understand recent growth of strikes. Going back to Amorim words:

This data does not exclude the analysis of recent Brazilian labor market expansion. Therefore, from them we may elaborate a simple narrative giving basis to the return of strikes to Brazilian labor scenario. This recount brings a sequence of processes: economic growth, reduction of unemployment, income increase, manpower shortage, and last, increase in worker's and union's bargaining power (Ibid., p. 27)

The outcome of the strikes are multiple and complex. We could hardly reduce explanation of them by only mentioning just one variable or even a measurable set of fixed variables – jobs, salaries and inflation, just to mention some of the most frequently mentioned elements in literature about this issue. This does not mean that context developed by these variables – and even more, than mentioning broader economic and macroeconomic contexts – be irrelevant. It means these elements are necessary, but not fully sufficient. The macroeconomic does not stand up alone; it must be related with the political

processes – and particularly with *government's agenda* and the *perception* it arouses among different social segments (Noronha, 2009).

The possibility of “quicken one's pace and undo a huge range of inequalities” (Singer, 2015, p. 40) had initially been perceived when overcoming first stage of world financial crisis in 2008 – when, instead of profiting from recessive outflows, the federal government economic team tried to use means to preserve local rate of growth.

During second half of 2011, when facing a new worsening of the economic crisis, an opportunity arose to implement a deeper anti-cyclical economic agenda. In following months, a set of governmental measures was prepared based in following parameters: (1) decrease in interest rates, (2) strong use of public financing through the BNDES, (3) option for strengthening of industry, (4) tax reduction in strategic sectors with labor-intensive, (5) investments in infrastructure, (6) drop in power supply prices, (7) fall of the currency, (8) control of foreign capital inflows and (9) protection of domestic production (Idem, 2015).

Currently, an important part of the debate concerning economic policies is centered on the dispute between positions reaffirming or denying the relevance of these measures. However, what we want to assess is not the fortune or misfortune of the New Economic Matrix, but the validity of a certain perception it brought: the diffuse impression that the acceleration of social transformations drove to *reduce inequalities*, a Brazilian Workers Party historic directive had begun (or that at least, conditions to produce this acceleration were much more closer). This generated expectations of different profits and damages in various social segments.

As previously mentioned, increase of strikes between 2011 and 2013 cannot be explained by verifying jobs and salaries indicators – be it individually or in the general context of labor market, where they play an important role. If this would be the case, instead of an explosive growth in the number of strikes in 2013, we would see a gradual movement in the progressive improvement of labor market indicators.

However, it is not about the indicators themselves, but from perception of actors involved in state issues and future job and salary prospects – by verifying than social safety result of low unemployment rates should last for a long time, and that from income point of view, a quick reversal of still recent losses was possible.

Evaluations among workers, which were feeling more safe in their jobs, – and whose bargaining power was crystallizing in great outcomes in salary campaigns (particularly in 2012) – also began to consider as result of initial countercyclical economic policies, the prospect of a continuous economic growth – which would culminate, in some certain and imminent measure, in enhanced private productive investments and a strengthening of State's fiscal situation. And this would drive to a horizon where mending unfavorable historically situations seemed to be quite near.

Besides, a new absolutely unexpected factor, the 2014 FIFA World Cup, meant for professional categories huge augmentation in its bargaining power with entrepreneurs and the government. By emphasizing the existing feeling than the eyes of the entire world were all set in Brazil, and that therefore necessarily things would run fine, much more than just satisfactorily – the World Cup ended by transforming strikes and strike threatens, particularly among workers directly involved in the preparation and organization of the sports event, to be marked by an extreme severity much higher than what was customary admitted.

Therefore, year 2013 showed up as the exact moment in which workers, stimulated by the prospect of improving income, turned plausible by the new government frame, decided to bet in a bid including a reasonable volume of resources (material and emotional) and risk: step us strike mobilizations. In that bet they considered their recent experience of safety and stability, and at the same time, achievements and advances. They could also count with some exceptional factors which had direct influence in negotiations (the near world sports event and the sprouting of huge street protest movements).

Regarding total of strikes developed from 2011 to 2013, we can mention three main features:

(a) Their major increase – which was not homogeneous (some professional categories protested more than others) or gradual (it happened through bounds or breakdowns). In the private sector, service workers' strikes were more important. In the public sector, among direct administration and public companies' workers, highlight was increasing incorporation of municipal civil servants.

There was also an expansion of strikes in different categories of those traditionally struggling, while categories already used to stop their activities kept same trend. It would be as well possible to consider this movement as a sort of *overflowing*, an expansion going from the center to the periphery, a movement in two stages where the enhancement of agitation of the nucleus (or increase of metallurgical and construction workers, bank employees and education and health servants, categories usually ready for mobilizations), after a short break, goes to other more peripheral areas (food industry and urban cleaning workers, safety workers and municipal public safety servants, all categories where mobilizations had been, up to that moment, not so usual or more rare to be launched).

(b) Defensive items became to be part of most of movement claims. This transformation is precisely related with increase of strikes among more fragile professional categories – from two points of view: salaries (these workers are the basis of wages' pyramid of distributions) and their working, health and safety conditions, and even from the point of view of their union organization.

On the other side, it is possible considering the hypothesis that in a period of higher workers and their unions bargaining power – which at the same time is a period of wage expansion – claims related to long-standing issues,

particularly those related to working conditions, simply stop being tolerated and begin to become demands.

(c) The importance of the workplace (suggested in 2010, by Boito and Marcelino). Even if category strikes, long and extensive, did not cease – and in absolute terms had an increase – year 2013 was characterized by increase of participation in shorter strikes⁶ (with huge growth of warning strikes⁷) related only to a company or in the case of civil servants, to a unit⁸.

Nevertheless many of these strikes “are wild, meaning strikes without organization or control by the category union. In several cases, these strikes are decided and held in opposition or even outside the rules of union boards⁹ (Amorim, 2014)”

The debate arising from this issue – and of course of own evolution of strikes in an economic and political conjuncture apparently shows that coming years will be quite different from what we have recently seen. It will certainly bring more safety regarding the possibility of thinking the awake of most recent strikes as the beginning of a new cycle.

But for the time being, it is granted the fact that the strike phenomenon became an important indicator of analysis of the Brazilian society.

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6 Compare chart of hours on strike to chart of quantity of strikes held, in the Annexes.

7 Warning strikes, mobilizations whose strategy is previously announcing how long they will last, when they start and when will be interrupted.

8 Among civil servants, strikes per unit are the ones isolated affecting autarchies, foundations, institutes, hospitals, schools and universities. These strikes are opposed, in concept, to strikes declared per category.

9 It must be mentioned the difficulties to classify strikes, the precise identification of the catalyst initiating the movements. Sources used by SAG-DIEESE – press reports from major newspapers and trade union's press – are frequently insufficiently clear to that respect, thus making difficult to have an accurate survey of the “wild strikes”.