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THE CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC POLICIES FOR APP WORKERS IN THE FACE OF THE MANIFESTATIONS AND RESISTANCE OF THE CATEGORY IN BRAZIL IN THE SARS COVID2 PANDEMIC¹

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Abstract: In the field of public policy studies, there is not much research on the understanding of precarious work in digital platforms. The present communication aims to present some innovations in the field of development and implementation of public policies for app workers in Brazil. Starting from the observation of a demonstration of delivery drivers, motoboys and mototaxi drivers that took place in Niterói on March 23, 2021, we surveyed the demands and the institutional responses underway. We gathered reports on social networks, local newspaper reports, and interviews with three delivery drivers. Later, we made an attempt at comparison with the reports on the demonstrations of app drivers that took place elsewhere in Brazil on the same date. This work is part of a study on the set and characteristics of the precariousness that mark the everyday life of workers by delivery apps with emphasis on the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. We hypothesize that the new bets on regulation and intersections with a new labor law are not the only way out of the dilemmas of platform work. At this moment, different and limited public policies are being discussed and promoted by governmental institutions throughout the country; but it is also in the field of public security, in the context of violence, that we observe how in Latin America initiatives belonging to public policies proposed by the State or initiatives of collectives with the objective of managing conflicts in public spaces result in important experiences to be researched.

Keywords: Precarious work; work on applications; Flexibilization ; pandemic.

INTRODUCTION

After almost more than two years of the Covid-19 pandemic, the consequences of the different measures and measures taken by governments proved to be "quite extreme to reorganize and rescale the global or

international economy” in the face of the many inequalities revealed by the pandemic crisis². Since long before 2020, the already deficient public policies of a more universal nature - under discussion in studies and fields of knowledge of policies on rights, security(ies) and social protection in general - confirm their weaknesses in the face of the consequences of hegemonic thinking and policies financial, economic and cultural neoliberal. The reflections and attempts to build arguments and responses to the complexities, diversities, differences and similarities about work and life in cities at the local and global level, highlighted the obvious: in the distribution of power and knowledge, death from the virus proved inequality of structural conditions.

Thus, in the same way, we saw reaffirmed the seriousness of the problems or solutions of mobility, housing, sanitation, conflict resolution and (in)security(s) and rights in the face of the health, work and civilization crisis still in force on the planet. For Pires (2020), the advent of Covid-19 and the transformations in sociability and forms of coexistence and work, among many others, “enhanced academic reflection on a particular level”.

Since the start of the 2020³ pandemicIn the research group of which I am a part, we follow the work of couriers, motoboy,

²International organizations such as the IMF have heard warnings from the authorities that “they must do everything in their power to promote more inclusive growth” and that “ensuring a return to growth after the coronavirus is not enough: reforms are needed and investments to significantly improve the economic prospects of the most vulnerable”. The director general of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Kristalina Georgieva, insisted on the urgency of more investments in health, in the strengthening of social assistance networks and in greater access to quality education. [...] “In the medium term, there will be room to improve the efficiency of public spending. The risk of millions of new poor people is also a concern of the OECD and the cautious estimates of the Fed (Federal Reserve) about the growth and, especially, about the labor market. The forecasts of the US Central Bank are confirmed by the new increase in unemployment claims, which increased by more than 1.5 million. What for now is seen as responses is the dramatic difference in governments’ fiscal responses to the many inequalities revealed by the covid-19 pandemic. [...]Economic activity initially collapsed worldwide as an expected result of the quarantine measures to containing the coronavirus[...] has not meant that tax collections are plummeting at the very moment when governments desperately need to increase spending. In countries that can borrow directly from their central banks [i.e. issue money], this is not a problem. But in most developing countries,

³ Within the scope of the Laboratory of Studies on Conflict, Citizenship and Public Security - Laesp /UFF, during the beginning of the pandemic, the WG Economy and Work was created whose starting point was to analyze and reflect theoretically and empirically on the issues that were presented and complexified during the throughout that season without, however, “failing to be aware of the challenges and difficulties when proposing to analyze an object that is in constant and effervescent transformation”.

motorcycle taxi drivers and app and street vendor car drivers. This look is mainly due to the observation of the difficulties faced by these groups of workers since the pandemic, which are related to the poor structural and conjunctural conditions of work in Brazil. Because they feed back a vast universe of forms of survival in the modes of precarious work today called, among other nomenclatures due to their conditions, uberized work.

The uberization phenomenon used as a category throughout this text, explains the authors’ understanding similar to that of a group of authors; “Uberization names a new type of management and control of the workforce, also understood as a tendency that can be generalized in the scope of labor relations (Abílio, 2017, 2020, Fontes, Amorim; Moda 2020). It is a result of “contemporary forms of eliminating rights, transferring risks and costs to workers and new productive arrangements, it (uberization) to some extent synthesizes processes that have been going on for decades, at the same time that it presents itself as a trend towards the future of work” (Abílio, Amorim, Grohmann, 2021:27)

For the purposes of this presentation, at first, we analyzed the demonstration by couriers, motorcycle couriers and motorcycle taxi drivers that took place in Niterói, on March 23, 2021. We gathered reports on

social networks of motorcycle taxi drivers and councilors who were present at the act, newspaper reports location, in addition to interviews with three couriers who live in the city. Subsequently, we present an attempt to compare with the reports of other media about the manifestations of delivery people of delivery and application drivers that occur took place in other places in Brazil, on the same date.

We highlight and try to show what happens to these categories in some cities in Brazil, in those where it was possible to evaluate in a very sensorial and preliminary way through the Instagram of some groups, and texts from specific websites about work on digital platforms. The proposal is to present, the aspects about the demands of the category of workers (as) of couriers and delivery people and app drivers in Niterói-RJ, indicate their organization proposals and how they understand to seek to project barriers and responses to the spoliation, management of the work and the reproduction of life at work, managed and restructured by the companies that control the digital platforms.

Still very incipient in the city, the few models of work cooperatives on digital platforms, highlight the need for a greater number of studies for theoretical and methodological understanding of the elaboration of forms of organization, resistance and responses to technological innovations of control and exploitation of this labor, even if the current field of study and investigation is expanded, understanding the growth and advancement of

4 “Amazon warehouse workers in New York voted to establish the tech giant’s first US union, delivering a major victory for labor activists who have long sought to bring representation to the nation’s second-largest private employer.[...]. More than 57% of the facility’s approximately 8,300 eligible voters cast valid votes[...]. But the results must galvanize activists who have already driven votes at two other Amazon facilities and have stepped up their efforts in recent years as Amazon quickly added workers and became a benchmark in wages, benefits and hiring practices for companies in many regions.. Amazon employs about a million people in the US, second only to Walmart. <https://www.infomoney.com.br/minhas-financas/trabalhadores-da-amazon-em-ny-votam-para-formar-o-1o-sindicato-da-empresa-nos-eua/>

5 It is interesting to highlight the Instagram page of the #revogajá Movement in Brazil. “Based on the experiences that occur in other countries, such as Spain, where there is a process of reviewing the applied liberal labor reforms, the event proposed a discussion on what was the reform adopted in Brazil, from the year of 2017. The seminar analyzed Law 13,647 from different perspectives: legal, economic, political and union, with the aim of pointing out ways to reverse the situation of social degradation

some national and international associations of workers.⁴

I think it is important to point out that this text is one of the first reports based on one of the GT studies on the precariousness and characteristics of the work and daily life of delivery workers, motorcycle couriers and drivers using digital platform applications in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. The main objective of the text was to perceive and understand the current relationship dynamics in which the category is involved, as well as to perceive and understand which are the institutions with which they seek to maintain an interaction with regard to their protection, recognition, organization and capacity rights negotiation.

In this sense, the attempt to look by contrast at some events that took place in the Brazilian cities of Niterói, Brasília, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, started from a question: what is common and contrasting with the demands and requests of these workers? And, mainly, how they are, or what would be the most immediate responses obtained from the municipal power, in its policies, or in the filing of processes that receive workers and app delivery people; and car app workers in different cities? Contributing to the reflection on the meanings of movements in the process of hearing the demands of the groups and the responses of legislative and regulatory institutions is within the scope of the larger research. We have a hypothesis that the new bets on regulation,⁵ and judicial actions, depending on the country where the changes

take place, do not seem to be the way out.⁶

In June 2022, at “Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos” (Unisinos), in Porto Alegre, a meeting was held on Platform Cooperativism and Public Policies held by the Platform Cooperativism Observatory, an initiative of the DigiLabour laboratory, with support from the Rosa Luxemburgo Foundation. In the same month Vitor Filgueiras and Rafael Grohmann spoke to the Perseu Abramo Foundation about the problems that the uberization of the economy has promoted the growth of studies when they also made considerations about the alternative propositions that they thought to be relevant, in the field of national and international experiences, highlighting how from the year 2021 onwards, the theme of digital platform cooperativism had advanced. According to Rafael Grohmann they existed in 2021

[...] public policy alternatives, worker cooperatives operating from other perspectives, such as decent work and healthy eating[...] What we have seen is that the platforms do not respect the concepts of decent work. We started to promote decent work initiatives (adequate remuneration, health and safety working conditions, among others) with the creation of local platforms also thought about representative issues, class, race and gender.[...]it is not enough to create a platform. It is necessary to involve everyone in self-management, structures and create autonomous digital infrastructure, hence the importance of public policies” Agenda Brasil: digital platforms, (in)decent work and alternatives; Perseu Abramo

that was formed with the approval of the reform”. <https://www.ajd.org.br/71-videos/3035-seminario-revoga-ja-marca-o-lancamento-da-campanha-pela-revogacao-da-reforma-trabalhista>

6 In the first half of 2021, Spain became the first country in the European Union to legislate a specific framework to protect workers in the platform economy. The Government of Madrid reached an agreement with the social partners for a revision of the Labor Code that now includes the “presumption of salaried status” for home delivery workers such as those who work for platforms such as Uber or Deliveroo. [...] in most countries, workers in the platform economy have been denouncing situations of extreme precariousness and lack of rights for a long time, which have already led to numerous court cases. [...]in Portugal, on collaboration platforms introducing a 10% tax on income from that work. However, according to the unions, this law does not confer any status or protection on the person who delivers or social coverage through their employer.<https://expresso.pt/economia/2021-03-11-Espanha-alcanca-acordo-para-rever-Codigo-do-Trabalho-e-reforca-protecao-aos-trabalhadores-das-plataformas>

access 11092021 Express. Portugal.

Foundation; june 2021<https://fpabramo.org.br/2021/06/16/pauta-brasil-plataformas-digitais-trabalho-indecete-e>

In the same article, Victor Filgueiras says how he thinks it is important

“to create laboratories of alternatives that may become commonplace in society. In the current scenario, platforms open a window of opportunity, and public policies can help to promote dignified working conditions[...]What we are proposing is that the work relationship must not be uberized. We are talking about twenty million self-employed people, a quarter of the labor market potentially with unstable and precarious insertion, either from the point of view of income or their living conditions” Pauta Brasil: digital platforms, (in)decent work and alternatives; Perseu Abramo Foundation; june 2021<https://fpabramo.org.br/2021/06/16/pauta-brasil-plataformas-digitais-trabalho-indecete-e>

The design of public policies for digital platforms differs greatly depending on the perspective and interest of the user.

The daily life of app workers in Niterói.

On March 23, 2021, a demonstration by couriers, motoboys and motorcycle taxi drivers took place in the center of Niterói and other surroundings of the city. About 50 male and female workers protested through the streets driving their vehicles to Niterói City Hall when they were welcomed by councilors Walkiria and Beny.

Have you ever thought about what this difficult time of the pandemic would be

like without delivery people, motoboys and motorcycle taxi drivers? I bet so! And what about the working conditions of these professionals, have you also thought about that? Yeah, there's a lot to be reviewed and a lot of struggle for the labor rights of these professionals. That's why we received them today in our office, after a demonstration, to deal with matters that sometimes we consumers don't even imagine. Have you ever stopped to wonder where the delivery guy's bike is that goes up to his apartment? Or if your street has a suitable place for delivery while they wait for you? And what about motorcycle taxi drivers, who don't even have their work space regulated? These are just some of the questions about the work of the categories that stopped the country's capitals last year, with fair demands. We need to regulate and provide rights and better working conditions! Our mandate pledged to be attentive and do everything possible to make Niterói a benchmark for working conditions for motorcycle taxi drivers and couriers.

The councilor's text on her social network draws attention to issues that were brought up by the group of protesters from Niterói. One of them is the difficulty that couriers have in finding places where they can park their motorcycles, either when they are going to enter the buildings to deliver or even when they have to wait for the order to be ready at the restaurant. Another important point that was presented is related to the performance of Niterói Presente, a program funded by the city hall in order to "contribute to the increase of policing in the city"⁷. According to the couriers, the blitzes of the Military Police financed by this Program tend to stop, for the most part, those who are riding with a trunk or delivery bag on their motorcycle. When they are stopped, order deliveries are delayed and, as a result, delivery apps punish couriers for the delay in delivering to the customer.

7 In the program Niterói Present Military Police accredited for this function worked in the city's neighborhoods, currently the governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro extinguished the program replacing it with another program. <http://www.niteroi.rj.gov.br/index>.

According to the couriers interviewed, one of the most common punishments on platforms is the well-known tool to block deliveries indefinitely. To reverse this situation, it is up to the delivery person to contact his superiors through the platform, trying to explain and prove the unforeseen event that made him delay in delivery.

In the case of the protest that took place in Niterói, the needs and requests of motorcycle taxi drivers added to the causes of couriers and motorcycle couriers. This group, in turn, asked fixing points in the city and creating a single price list. We emphasize that since 2015 there has been a law approved by the Niterói City Council regulating the motorcycle taxi service (Law No. 3163/15). As Rocha (2020) emphasizes in his thesis, although many motorcycle taxi drivers are in favor of implementing this law, there is resistance to aspects of the law; and its demands were already widely discussed by the category since before the pandemic. A part of the mototaxi drivers of Niterói believed that this legislation would help to deconstruct the stereotypes associated with their work and, with that, would help in the recognition of work as a central moral value in the identity of these agents. As the author can analyze, motorcycle taxi drivers believed that because their service was not regularized, it was common for their work to be associated with accusation categories, such as, "illegality", "marginality" and "criminality". Therefore, their criticisms related to some of the requirements imposed by the legislation, even though they make explicit in their statements that they would like to have their work formally regulated in order to deconstruct the exogenous image attributed to them.

However, in addition to the issues that are related to the specificities of the municipality

of Niterói, the requests of the protesters, as shown in the report of the newspaper *A Tribuna*, on March 24, 2021, emphasizes that their demands are added to problems and difficulties that app delivery workers suffer from the precariousness imposed on them by work, aggravated by the COVID-19 pandemic

Once again Niterói delivery men are asking for help from the companies they provide services to and also from the municipal administration⁸. The ‘motoboy’ ask for changes in delivery fees, assistance in case of accidents and even the inclusion of the category in assistance programs to receive emergency assistance from the city. To draw attention to these and other causes, around 50 couriers are demonstrating this morning (23) through the streets of the city and are moving towards the Niterói City Hall. They ask for a change in the delivery fee, mainly due to the increase in the price of fuel, which is on the rise; assistance in cases of accidents and damage to work material; expansion of emergency aid for the category, in addition to fixed points for parking in the city and the end of repression by the municipal guard during blitz. ((MORAIS, 2021, Emphasis added))

In all the interviews we carried out, the points highlighted in the report were present. For the couriers we talked to, the value of the delivery fees was considered low in view of the expense that each worker has to

8 Recently, the Rio de Janeiro City Hall launched the ‘Valeu’ delivery app. delivery (if the order costs up to BRL 100) or with rates below Marketplace. In addition, the idea is also to better remunerate couriers; they will receive R\$ 7 for each delivery of up to R\$ 100 and, when the purchase exceeds that price, 2% of the total value” The municipal secretary of Finance and Planning, Pedro Paulo Carvalho Teixeira, said in an interview to the newspaper *O Globo* that the app will also not charge restaurant managers fees — within the limit of BRL 100. This is because the idea is to stimulate the service sector and, according to market sources, this fee can correspond to up to 28% of the order value With this, Rio City Hall seeks to compete with the main delivery apps that dominate the market today, such as *iFood* and *Rappi* — since *Uber Eats* no longer offers service in Brazil for meal deliveries. Comparatively, after a protest by the couriers, <https://www.tecmundo.com.br/mercado/236150-prefeitura-rio-lanca-app-entregas-valeu-desafia-ifood.htm>

9 with regard to informal work in Brazil, ‘many had been working in insecure jobs such as couriers, cleaners and drivers for a long time before the advent of digital work platforms. However, recent years have witnessed the further erosion of public provision of social security, education, health, and labor rights, paving the way for the algorithmically managed platform economy model of increasingly widespread unsafe work. Howson, K. et al. (<https://fair.work>) ‘Just because you don’t see your boss, doesn’t mean you don’t have a boss’: Covid19 and Gig Worker Strikes across Latin America in Focus IMPACTS OF COVID-19 ON WORK AND THE CHALLENGE FOR UNION Jan.2021 <https://ictur.org/pdf/IUR273.pdf> Accessed on July 28, 2021 - free translation by the authors. <https://g1.globo.com/economia/noticia/2020/07/01/entregadores-de-aplicativos-fazem-manifestacoes-pelo-pais.ghml> Accessed on July 16, 2021

disburse for the maintenance of their means of work (whether it be a motorcycle, bicycle, or automobile). Problems such as the lack of support places for the couriers, where it is possible to rest, go to the bathroom and have meals, were highlighted by one of the couriers. To get around this difficulty, she said that they resort to public restrooms in malls and the “goodwill” of some restaurant owners who allow these workers and workers use their establishments.

The situation of platform workers in applications that we observed in Niterói exposes, at first, the inherent risks that workers in the informal sector⁹, that is, they are not recognized by the Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT), but that’s not all. Extensively studied, the definition of the category “informality” is not something that is determined only by law, it is related to groups of workers not integrated into productive processes. Machado da Silva (2002) is an author who in his studies pointed out that “informality” was a cognitive category that emerged in the 1960s and that, until the 1980s, had an important catalytic role within the academic environment that represented it as a means of criticizing the neoliberal model of economics and its consequences for society. the Brazilian reality (MACHADO DA SILVA, p.82). However, due to its

generalization and common use in the public environment, the category lost this analytical substance and began to be replaced by the pair “employability/ entrepreneurship”. To thenew categories ariseemptiedof the critical sense that the notion of “informality” had for a long time. On the contrary, the notion of “informality” becomeset a tonefrom domestication to building a work culture adapted to unemployment, risk and insecurity. the work ofLjudgeAAntonioMfinding ofsilva herecitedfor us is onereference fundamentalto study and understand informality in Brazil.

CATEGORY MANIFESTATIONS IN OTHER PLACES IN BRAZIL

We highlight other reports of protests by app workers in other cities in the country in order to continue the argument. In July 2020, when there was little moreand four months after the first cases of COVID-19 in Brazil, the first manifestations of couriers took place in several Brazilian cities. According to a report by the newspaper G1, published on the first of July of that year, on that same date there had been protests in the Federal District, Aracaju (SE), Belo Horizonte (MG), Campinas (SP), São Paulo (SP), Recife (PE), Rio de Janeiro (RJ), Salvador (BA), Teresina (PI), Maceió (AL), Goiânia (GO), Rio Branco (AC), Belém (PA)¹⁰. Also according to the article, the guidelines of claims addressed the following items:

“increase in the value received per kilometer traveled; increase in the minimum value of each delivery, which is independent of the distance traveled and the time spent by the delivery person (this value is set by each company); an end to what couriers

consider undue blocks, when they are blocked from applications without knowing why; and pandemic aid (personal protective equipment - PPE - and license).”

Almost two years after the first demonstrations, the protests are still taking place and the claims are still similar. The first achievements of the workers took place within the scope of municipal laws, when the first laws were passed forcing app companies to provide PPE to delivery workers while the COVID-19 pandemic was taking place. In Niterói, law nº 3517/20 was approved on July 3, 2020, two days after the first national protest of the category also occurred in the city.

Demonstrations in different parts of Brazil lacked the visibility of delivery apps. The company IFOOD, for example, on its virtual page, has a link dedicated to expressing the measures it has taken. According to the company itself:

“IFOOD developed a solution that allows the distribution of personal protection kits, consisting of 500 ml of alcohol gel, 4 reusable masks and informational materials, for couriers who use its platform without the need for people to gather¹¹.

For app delivery people and motoboy, little seems to have changed after the first demonstrations in July 2020. The newspaper Correio Brasiliense carried out a report on March 17, 2021 in which it allows us to observe a little more of the reality that seems to be common in Other locations in the country:

Last Wednesday (3/17) around 2,000 app drivers protested the payment of readjustments in the amount paid for each category. However, drivers, far from having achieved a positive return, report what they

10 App delivery people demonstrate across the country. G1, 01 Jul 2020. Available at:<https://g1.globo.com/economia/noticia/2020/07/01/entregadores-de-aplicativos-fazem-manifestacoes-pelo-pais.ghtml> Accessed on July 16, 2021

11 However, despite messages like this, in January 2021, PROCON in the State of São Paulo notified delivery service companies (among them, IFOOD, Loggi, Rappi and UBER EATS) to explain which hygiene and preventive measures against COVID-19 are being taken. Companies must explain how much PPE materials were provided to couriers, what guidance and training they will receive and the number of couriers they have registered.<https://institucional.ifood.com.br/nossa-entrega/distribuicao-alcool> Access on 07/10/21

call “retaliation” by one of the companies, Uber. According to reports, it reduced, this Thursday (3/18), the minimum travel fee from R\$4.45 to R\$4.10. The leader of the movement in the DF, Manoel Scooby, assesses that the action intends to break up the category. “They are affronting the leadership people so that drivers do not have the unity to take to the streets or fight for their rights. They want drivers to be afraid to speak up,” he said. Whoever noticed the difference in the amount paid was Iedo Souza, 29 years old, resident of Águas Lindas. “When I finished the trip I was scared. I kept asking myself what the hell was this about us holding a demonstration and they lowering prices even more. We are practically being slaves”, Iedo says that he shared the print of the value in the group of drivers and, throughout the day, more reports of minimum rates below the price paid until last Wednesday (3/17) emerged. “At least so far, the other fees have not dropped, only the minimum price per trip. But it’s hard to believe, I even thought it was a computer error, but really the company did it,” he lamented. In a note, Uber explained that there was a technical failure that reduced the “minimum transfer of trips in Brasilia for partner drivers from R\$ 4.45 to R\$ 4.10 during about 36 hours. The problem has already been corrected, and the Uber has already sent compensation due to partner drivers.”

In the voice of Iedo, a driver who at the time had been working for a year and five months as an app driver, app drivers such as UBER, 99 and similar all suffer forms of exploitation

If the application followed the increase in gasoline prices, there would be no problem, the issue is that gasoline increases and the price paid for us drops, there is no way to survive that way. Furthermore, we are ignored, if the government wanted to help us it would succeed, but it doesn’t care.” (ERES, 2021, emphasis added)

In addition to problems related to the increase in the price of gasoline, another common complaint made by workers is

called “white block”. In these situations, the delivery person is punished by the application and, therefore, is no longer called to deliver. Who went through this, for example, was Paulo Lima, popularly known as Galo, one of the founders of the “anti-fascist couriers” movement. An article in the newspaper “El País”, for example, published in June 2020, describes in detail important moments in the delivery person’s trajectory:

(...) The last straw for Galo was March 21, his birthday, when the motorcycle tire went flat, and he was unable to complete a delivery. It was blocked by the application for which it provided service. “That’s when I thought ‘enough, bro, I’m going to denounce these guys over there’. They don’t explain why they block you, they tell you to read the contract and say they don’t have to explain anything, no”, he says. He started making deliveries on his own for customers who have his cell phone, not least because most applications blocked it.

Based on what happened to him, Galo created a petition, still in March 2020, demanding that the apps provide workers with a hygiene kit and breakfast, lunch and dinner. The report in the newspaper El País also brought an important speech by the current leadership of the courier movement, which allows us to understand the perceptions of the category about their moment and their work, which is important for our reflections:

The industrial revolution suppressed jobs and uberization suppresses rights. The purpose of these apps is the realization of the fascist proposal that Bolsonaro used to get elected: more jobs, less rights. There are a battalion of couriers on the streets, all without rights

Galo uses the expression “uberization” relating the difficulty of access to rights that he and his fellow delivery workers have. Authors such as Ludmila Abílio(2018, 2020,2021), Jose Dari Krein(2018,2020),Tom Slee(2017),

Ricardo Antunes(2020), norestricts the category to the UBER company or digital platforms. For Krein and Abílio in an online seminar at Unicamp Economics Week in August 2020.

Informality was thought of as an exception, something residual or on the margins, however, from the 1990s onwards, as already noted, this perspective is nuanced, informal work is not residual, on the contrary it is connected. (...) after the labor reforms we can say that intermittent work is an informalization of formal work.[...] in the informality of the time of uberization, work is devoid of rights and does not even have the remuneration guarantees. This means a degraded work relationship with very unclear forms of work management that do not allow the worker to control anything.” (KREIN, ABILIO, SE-20 Unicamp, 2020)

In recent years, the theme of transformations at work has regained a place in the sciences that study human work, contributing to the notion of “uberization” and its expansion in the greater understanding of the various types of work on digital platforms.

Platform work is a new form of employment that has emerged in the last decade. This way of working, the digital infrastructure facilitates the matching between demand and supply of specific services and organizes their performance through guidelines, customer reviews, algorithmic governance and other mechanisms. The scale, pace and volume of this emerging phenomenon has added new momentum to discussions in many areas of law, including public, antitrust, tax and IT law. In the face of concomitant trends that are reshaping the job market (globalization, outsourcing and flexibility, to name just a few), the multiple challenges posed by the digital transformation have also reignited heated disputes over crucial issues such as (i) the adequacy of traditional methods to define the legal status of workers; (ii) the supposedly narrow scope of application of labor standards; and (iii) whether existing labor and social security paradigms can

adapt to changes in the labor market. (Free translation by the authors) Aloisi, 2020.

Analyzes of the economic, legal, political and social consequences related to the form of neoliberal exploitation, which seeks to individualize the new forms of production and control of life, production and the market, point since decades back disputes regarding the understanding of the role of social security and the rights of workers and workers.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

We understand that academically, the word “uberization” applies to understand some uses and meanings that the notion of informality once had, as pointed out by Machado da Silva (2002). As noted, the context in which motoboys, motorcycle taxi drivers and app delivery people live in Niterói is close to the reality of other workers in this category in Brazil and which gained greater prominence, with the agendas and protests organized by platform delivery people. This reality is not solely and exclusively due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In our perceptions, the similarities regarding limitations regarding the use of public space and the difficulty in accessing rights is related to the definitions and reflections that Pires (2017) has been carrying out regarding the notion of precariousness. In his studies, observing the occupation of street vendors and street vendors, this precariousness is associated with the material and symbolic values represented through the legal inequalities to which they are exposed in their daily existence (PIRES, 2019).

The resumption of a more critical reflection on the notion of informality (Machado da Silva, 2002), mainly in the face of hegemony of neoliberal models of economics, politics and social thought in their consequences for the Brazilian reality has reinvigorated the interest of studies and empirical research on the combination of previous and recent forms

of overexploitation of work and resistance and worker mobilization you are workers. We understand, therefore, that the issues raised at the protest in Niterói and in the reports we highlight about other locations in Brazil emphasize not only the appalling working conditions, but highlight the nature of inequalities of rights and interests that characterize Brazilian society. Once again, the precariousness experienced by Brazilian workers is clearly guided by the legal sensitivity of our society, whose rules are applied particularly to different subjects by different authorities. In such a way that the State agents responsible for controlling the urban space do not necessarily see couriers, motorcycle couriers and motorcycle taxi drivers as individuals who have rights (Kant de Lima, 2019). Overcoming the challenge of building a public space produced and negotiated by all is part of the struggle of these workers and society in the construction of public policies for work and inclusion, or whatever that means today in Brazil.

We seek, through the narrative of these events, to bring to light the (non) political solutions, agendas, and urban projects related to the issue of regulation and organization of the work of app delivery drivers and drivers in Niterói-RJ in the pandemic context. By becoming aware of studies like this one and the narratives with repertoires of projects (national and international) we seek to perceive significant changes that identify new proposals of resistance to a common daily life of conflicts, demands and difficulties. In the intentions of participatory construction of interaction between groups and society, the new categories of precarious workers are pointing out that the search for ways of visibility, promote reflection and discussion on forms of belonging and sharing of public space, not only in the world of work and labor rights, in conviviality and fundamental rights.

Informality and its representations as structuring conditions for the organization of society and the labor market in Brazil after the consecutive victories of ultraliberal social and labor reforms, in the face of the growth of the platform economy in our country, reiterate practices and strategies of a new precariousness of work.

The new proposals for digital platform cooperatives have a new meaning when they suggest waves of resistance from different categories of workers whose lives have become almost impossible as a result of the pandemic situation. The working conditions and life reproduction of app delivery people on motorcycles, cars or bicycles show movements initiated by collective experiences, and in this sense, many were accompanied in their discussions by the municipal government; there is even a proposal from the government as a provider of the service sharing platform.

For the researcher-authors, the current mobilizations indicate a transcendence of the fight for the regulation of laws and protection of work. Normative and legislative issues (survey of laws and ordinances) still fall short in all senses of the clarity that the new categories have about themselves, their ways of organizing work and their own craft.

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