

## Analysis of the collective agreement of the aeronaut's union between 2019 and 2021 and the critical theory of law



<https://doi.org/10.56238/uniknowindevolp-121>

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### ABSTRACT

This article aims to comprehend how the syndicate of aeronauts acted during the period of the Covid-19 pandemic in order to guarantee the fundamental rights of workers under the aspect of Critical

Theory. For this, bibliographical research was used in scientific articles, books and websites, using the analytical method. In the end, it could be concluded that the Covid-19 pandemic had an impact on labor relations and civil aviation was one of the most affected sectors, nonetheless, under the critical eye of Critical Theory, the syndicate was active to guarantee the rights presented in the convention collective agreement of 2019/2020 in the collective agreement 2020/2021, but it was necessary to carry out collective agreements with salary reduction or unpaid leave aiming to guarantee employment.

**Keywords:** Syndicate, aeronauts, Covid-19, critical theory.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The union, as a result of the Labor Reform of 2017, lost its strengths, however, union action became of paramount importance with the Covid-19 pandemic, which caught everyone off guard, causing damage to most sectors. With this, it is necessary at first to analyze the union since its emergence.

As a result of the coronavirus pandemic in 2020 and the reduction of flights around the world, the aeronauts' union had to act effectively to seek to guarantee the rights of aeronauts. Thus, we seek to analyze the Collective Labor Agreement signed between the National Union of Aeronauts-SNA and the National Union of Aviation Companies-SNEA in order to verify whether the rights of the class were guaranteed, even as a result of adversity.

Critical Theory emerged in 1937 in the city of Frankfurt with reference to Marxism. The authors of Critical Theory sought in their research to understand the nature of the capitalist market from the point of view of Marx's work. The objective of this article is to understand how the aeronauts' union acted during the period of the Covid-19 pandemic to guarantee the fundamental rights of workers under the aspect of Critical Theory.



To achieve the objectives of this article, we used the analytical methodology of investigation and a bibliographic research technique embodied in the documentary research of books, scientific articles and websites, having as main authors Marcos Nobre and Alysson Leandro Mascaro.

## 2 UNION AND THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

In the early nineteenth century it was recognized that workers were incapable of defending their own individual and collective interests. Paulo Eduardo will say that the union is "the result of intense struggle of the workers and despite the opposition and resistance of the dominant liberalism of the most conservative layers, from the twentieth century the union began to have legal recognition not only in national legislation, but also as institutions present in the Universal Declarations of Law and in the ILO Conventions." (OLIVEIRA, 2020, p. 210)

The unions emerged with the aim of guaranteeing rights and achieving a better quality of work for the classes they represent. In Brazilian law Paulo Eduardo (OLIVEIRA, 2020, p. 209) will say:

In Brazilian law, it is up to the Collective Labor Law to provide for collective relations because it is the set of principles and norms that regulates the relations between collective labor entities: on the one hand, the workers, usually represented by the unions, and, on the other, the companies, acting either alone or through their representative unions.

With regard to the aeronauts' union, treated in the article with more emphasis when analyzing its performance through the collective agreement, it emerged in the 1940s with the creation of associations that later became the aeronauts' union. In 1942 the professional association of Aeronauts of the Federal District was constituted, which gave rise in 1947 to the National Union of Aeronauts. (FENTAC, 2021)

Free trade union association is provided for in the Constitution of the Republic of 1988 in its article 8 and in the Consolidation of Labor Laws in article 511 which also presents the idea of the possibility of union association. The form of action of the unions to guarantee the rights of the workers is through the collective agreement and/or collective agreement. Paulo Eduardo (OLIVEIRA, 2020, p. 214) will say that:

Collective bargaining is the process or procedure in which it aims to obtain a collective agreement on working conditions, but not always successful reaching an impasse, often followed by serious or lease in countries where this mode of self-defense of the employer is admitted.

Collective bargaining is a form of self-composition that is negotiated between workers and employers being represented by their unions. This form of negotiation is considered the best way to



resolve conflicts, being expressed in the Constitution of the Republic of 1988 in article 8, item III and VI.<sup>1</sup>

In 2017, with the Labor Reform, the Consolidation of Labor Laws was changed. Until 2017 every worker was obliged to pay the union contribution to the union of his category, after 2017, the union contribution became optional weakening the unions, which lost their main source of income.

The guidelines to be followed for the preparation of the convention or collective agreement is provided for in the Consolidation of Labor Laws in title VI. The guidelines have undergone changes in the topics in which changes are allowed through a convention or collective agreement with the Labor Reform of 2017.

In 2020 the union's performance, as a result of the pandemic, began to take a more active stance to defend the rights of its representatives. In Brazil, the measures taken by the government demonstrated a strategy of flexibilization of labor relations negotiations, excluding unions from the negotiations, which stems from the changes of the Labor Reform of 2017 (KREIN, 2021, p. 361). José Darin Krein (2021, p. 361) points out that:

However, despite this very adverse scenario for unionism, weakened by the labor reform and under attack by government measures, many unions have been able to negotiate that reduce the impact of the crisis. The agreements concluded during the pandemic provide for forms of compensation for working hours, maintenance of jobs and working conditions, allowing for a smaller fall in incomes.

José Darin Krein (2021, p. 360) goes on to say that "the perception that unions have intensified their action during the coronavirus pandemic (SARS-CoV-s) has been shared by several international analysts."

The coronavirus pandemic, Covid-19, was characterized by the World Health Organization (WHO) in March 2020 as a pandemic because of the rapid geographical spread of the virus, being caused by the new strain of the Coronavirus. In Brazil, Law No. 13,979/2020 was enacted to address the measures to be followed in the fight against this new disease, and later, Decree No. 06/2020 was promulgated that recognized the State of Public Calamity in the country. (UNA SUS, 2021)

At first, the way found by the authorities to try to contain the spread of the virus was social isolation, as Luciano Martinez and Cyntia Possídio (2020, p. 22) point out:

(...) no strategy has proven more effective in combating the Coronavirus than the social isolation of the entire population, contained within the confines of their homes, without them even being able to move between the homes of friends and family. (...) There is no doubt, therefore, that these effective measures to combat the spread of the Coronavirus greatly impact

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<sup>1</sup> Art. 8 Professional or trade union association is free, subject to the following:

[...]

III - the union is responsible for defending the collective or individual rights and interests of the category, including in judicial or administrative matters;

[...]

VI - the participation of trade unions in collective bargaining is mandatory; (BRASIL, 1988)



the life of the whole society, producing overwhelming effects not only on the emotional of each individual, who still tries to assimilate the impacts of these restrictive measures on a daily basis, but also, and in an equally devastating way, on the economy of countries (...).

Regarding the way Latin American countries act during the Coronavirus pandemic, Daniel Francisco Menezes (2021, p. 116) says that "in many Latin American countries, the emergency has provided an excellent excuse for executive leaders to obtain additional powers and also to govern beyond the limits established by the Constitution." He points out that Latin America is going through an economic crisis, continuing to be a more unequal region in the world, accentuated this situation with the pandemic.

In addition, the Covid-19 Pandemic brought uncertainties and impacted labor relations and one of the hardest hit sectors was civil aviation, since the world, seeking to contain the disease, had to restrict the freedom of movement of people by closing the borders, with this, the aviation sector had its activities temporarily suspended. According to an analysis by the ILO (International Labour Organization) the aviation sector had a 69% reduction in passengers in the period from January to August 2020 (INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION, 2021).

### **3 ANALYSES OF THE COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT OF AERONAUTS BEFORE AND DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC**

The aeronauts' union from its inception has achieved several achievements, always putting the right of the class above all else. They have as their mission to fight for the category to efficiently guarantee the rights of the class. The website of the National Union of Aeronauts (2021) points out that they have already achieved for the category:

(...) uniform payment of daily rates, double payment of the hours flown on Sundays, holidays and holy days, individual accommodation for all aeronauts who spend the night outside their contractual basis of service, guarantee on the return of social security leave, guarantee of employment on the eve of retirement, guarantee to the pregnant aeronaut (...)

In 2020, due to the coronavirus pandemic and the reduction of flights worldwide, the union had to act effectively to seek to guarantee the rights of aeronauts. Thus, we seek to analyze the Collective Labor Agreement signed between the National Union of Aeronauts-SNA and the National Union of Aviation Companies-SNEA in order to verify whether the rights of the class were guaranteed, even as a result of adversity.

The collective agreement of the year 2019/2020 was effective from December 1, 2019 to November 30, 2020, while the collective agreement of 2020/2021 was effective from December 1, 2020 to November 30, 2021. Both collective agreements of the class of aeronauts are divided into economic item, social item, union organization and penalties. The first topic to be analyzed is in relation to economic items.



The salary of aeronauts in the collective agreement of 2019/2020 had an adjustment of 3.37% (SINDICATO NACIONAL DOS AERONAUTAS, 2020, p. 04), while in the collective agreement of 2020/2021, due to the crisis caused by the coronavirus, the adjustment came to depend on a parameter. The parameter defined in the collective agreement was that there will only be an adjustment if the airline calculates profit in the quarterly income statement, with the adjustment of 1.3% paid at the end of each quarterly calculation. (NATIONAL UNION OF AERONAUTS, 2021, p. 04-05)

The salary floor of aeronauts remained the same value in both collective agreements, being provided for in the collective agreement 2020/2021 that may be readjusted as defined in the salary adjustment clause. The daily food in the national territory may also be readjusted according to what was defined in the salary adjustment, being at first in the same amount of R \$ 80.01 for the main meals and 25% of this value for the breakfast meal. (NATIONAL UNION OF AERONAUTS, 2021, p. 06-07)

The daily rates of international food had no change in the value, which continued from 21.00 of the local currency of the country or dollar, being readjusted only if there is an increase in the cost of living of the destination country. The food voucher in both conventions the value is R \$ 417.46 for those whose remuneration is equal to or less than R \$ 5,229.32, but in the convention of 2020/2021 provides for an adjustment as defined in the rules of the salary adjustment. Life insurance also followed the same line, remaining the same amount of R \$ 17,230.78 with the possibility of readjustment. (NATIONAL UNION OF AERONAUTS, 2021, p. 07-08)

The second topic to be analyzed is social items. The collective agreement of 2020/2021 remained the guarantee of employment in the last 3 years (SINDICATO NACIONAL DOS AERONAUTAS, 2021, p. 08) on the eve of retirement by contribution time. The rules for if there is a need to reduce the workforce remained the same in both conventions, however, due to the pandemic the aeronaut's union had to make a collective agreement with each company aiming at the need of the aeronauts and the condition of the company.

The publication *Diário de Bordo do Sindicato Nacional dos Aeronautas*, edition 22 points out that, despite the union's action, it was necessary to carry out collective agreements with reduction of rights, but always seeking a counterpart to prohibit dismissals (SINDICATO NACIONAL DOS AERONAUTAS, 2020, p. 07):

Since the beginning of the crisis caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, the SNA has been acting to try to minimize the negative effects on the lives of Brazilian crew members. With the aviation industry hit hard by social distancing measures, aeronauts have been forced to approve temporary collective bargaining agreements that mandate cuts in their salaries and unpaid leave.

Other rights of the social item, such as the right to salary substitution in a period equal to or greater than 10 days in the month, stability of 1 year when there is transfer by decision of the employer,



right to complementation of the social security benefit when the aeronaut is licensed by the INSS up to 180 days of 50% of the difference between the salary and the amount paid by the INSS and 100% in case of work accident and the right to be Exempted from fulfilling the contract of experience when he is readmitted up to 12 months continued in the collective agreement of 2020/2021. (NATIONAL UNION OF AERONAUTS, 2021, p. 09-10)

The item of remuneration remained in the collective agreement of 2020/2021 the right to double payment when the hours flown are on Sunday or holidays. The variable remuneration payment per flight hour when it exceeds the 54th remained in the same amount, however, in the collective agreement 2020/2021 provides that it may be readjusted according to salary adjustment. The guarantee to the nursery to the aeronaut for 24 months after delivery, and the company can opt for the reimbursement system, the remuneration of the ground time in flight of the same day and also the payment of the simulator remained the same in the collective agreement of 2020/2021. (NATIONAL UNION OF AERONAUTS, 2021, p. 12-14)

Also, on the topic of social items, the rights to work regime, time off, rest and rest, displacement, vacations, health of the aeronaut, revalidation and documentation, supply of materials and uniforms remained the same in the collective agreement of 2020/2021. The topic of union organizing and penalties also remained the same in the 2020/2021 collective bargaining agreement.

According to the profit table presented by the national union of aviation companies the first and second half of 2021 did not have profits (SINDICATO NACIONAL DAS EMPRESAS AEROVIÁRIAS, 2021). With this, it was not possible to readjust the values indicated in the collective agreement of 2020/2021 until the calculation of the second quarter of 2021, so the values remained the same as in the collective agreement of 2019/2020.

#### 4 CRITICAL THEORIES

Critical theory as it is known today first emerged as a concept from Marx Horkheimer's "Traditional Theory and Critical Theory" text written in 1937 and published in the Journal of Social Research of the Institute for Social Research in the German city of Frankfurt. The period of publication of this text was marked by Nazism, Stalinism and World War II. (NOBLE, 2004, p.12)

The Institute arose from the initiative of the social scientist and economist Felix Weil, being supported by the economist Friedrich Pollock and Marx Horkheimer, who had as its main objective the scientific investigation from the work of Karl Marx. Marcos Nobre points out that "it is already seen that Critical Theory, from the beginning, has as its reference Marxism and its method – the model of the 'critique of political economy' (this is precisely the subtitle of Marx's work, Capital)." (NOBLE, 2004, p. 13)



In 1930 Marx Horkheimer took over the Institute as director and became a professor at the University of Frankfurt, with this began a new phase in the Institute that properly concerns Critical Theory. Thus, he began a collective interdisciplinary work, being considered a great advance for the time, working with researchers from various specialties and having Marxism as a reference.

Marcos Nobre (2004, p. 13) points out as names involved in this project that it is common to refer to them as the Frankfurt School:

(...) in economics beyond Friedrich Pollock, Henryk Grossmann (1881-1950) and Arkadij Gurland (1904-1979); in political science and law, Franz Neumann (1900-1954) and Otto Kirchheimer (1905-1965); in the critique of culture, Theodor W. Adorno (1903-1969) – who would later become Horkheimer's great partner in production in philosophy –, Leo Löwenthal (1900-1993) and, a few years later, Walter Benjamin (1892-1940); in philosophy, besides Horkheimer, also Herbert Marcuse (1898-1978); and in psychology and psychoanalysis, Erich Fromm (1900-1980).

These authors pointed out by Marcos Nobre, for Alysson Leandro will be the authors belonging to what he identifies as being the first generation of the Frankfurt School. He points out as having three generations, being (MASCARO, 2018, p. 507-508):

(...) there is a second generation of the Frankfurt School, represented, fundamentally, by Jürgen Habermas. Already in this second generation the radicality of the original thought is dimmed, and therefore the very link with the first group is debatable. (...) a third generation of Frankfurters, represented by Axel Honneth.

The term used "school" to refer to the group gives the impression that the authors shared a common doctrine, but despite having Marx's work as a reference, it does not mean that they shared the same opinions and diagnoses. Critical Theory shows, in fact, that there were divergences in the thinking of the authors belonging to the institute because Marx's work presented divergent interpretations and because of the different ways of using Marx to understand the present time.

Marcos Nobre (2004, p. 18-19) will say that the label of the Frankfurt School was after a period of exile due to the historical issues faced by the members of the school:

The label 'Frankfurt School' appeared only in the 1950s, after the return of the Institute to Germany. It is, therefore, a retrospective domination, that is, one that had not been used until then and with which the previous experience was reconstructed in a certain sense. This feature of the 'Frankfurt School' has many implications. Firstly, it means that the meaning of the expression 'Frankfurt School' will be largely shaped by some of the thinkers linked to the experience of Critical Theory, in particular those who returned to Germany after the end of the Second World War (...). Secondly, the label 'Frankfurt School' played an important role in strengthening and amplifying the interventions (mainly of Adorno and Horkheimer) in the German public debate of the 1950s and 1960s.

The authors of the Frankfurt School, for the most part, have an exhausted formation of Marxism building a dialogue with some of the most important currents of the twentieth century, Freud's psychoanalysis. The union of thought focused on social issues and another thought focused on



questions of the personality of the individual represented one of the apex moments of contemporary philosophy. (MASCARO, 2018, p. 510)

According to Alysso Leandro Mascaro (2018, 510):

In standing up against rationality in its sense of domination, the Frankfurt School points to a reason that is not merely reified, technical, limited. Critical reason becomes the larger horizon of the philosophy of the Frankfurters. And because of this, the group is also known as the School of Critical Theory.

The Frankfurt School characterizes a mode of political-intellectual intervention in German public discussions in the postwar period, both in the academic realm and also in the realm of the public sphere that is understood more broadly. Marcos Nobre (2004, p. 21) says that "the Frankfurt School concerns a certain moment and a certain constellation of Critical Theory."

Critical Theory, then, is a philosophy that came to oppose the traditional theory, however, according to Amaro Fleck (2017, p. 102) "Despite these 'family airs' it is necessary to recognize that Horkheimer's programmatic text does not establish a definition for what critical theory would be, and even the opposition with traditional theory leaves a whole series of nebulous points." With this, the author points out that to define what Critical Theory would be has some difficulties, since the proponent of the expression did not present an answer.

Marx Horkheimer proposes a program between the 1930s and 1960s that served as a reference for the theoretical work of the Institute based on the interweaving of three axes, as pointed out by Amaro Fleck (2017, p. 113-115):

The first axis is a conscious and deliberate refusal by the division of scientific labor then in progress. (...) This process, which on the one hand was positive in that it allowed for further refinement in investigations, was on the other hand negative in that it separated both empirical research from conceptual speculation and explanation from criticism. Critical theory rose up against this precisely by proposing a type of interdisciplinary, or even non-disciplinary, research that would allow the investigation of social processes in their most different aspects and, above all, in their intersections. (...) The second axis is composed of the strongly materialistic character of the social criticism elaborated by the Frankfurters. Materialism means, then, that although subject and object codetermine, that they constitute themselves through their mutual confrontation, the object has a certain priority. Such a priority is an indication that all theoretical elucubration is, to a certain extent, secondary, posterior and even coming from a material situation. (...) The third and final axis of the original project of critical theory that served, in its general outlines, as an orientation for the critical theory developed between the 1930s and 1960s concerns the goal of the theory itself and the means by which it could achieve it. (...) Its objective, therefore, is not itself theoretical, but practical: it is a theory that sees itself as an instrument for the emancipation of men from those situations that exploit, oppress and dominate them. To this end, critical theory should not be linked to a supposedly oppressed social group, serving as a spokesperson for its demands. On the contrary, it is only by maintaining its own independence that it may not give in to its critical tenor.

The three axes pointed out by Amaro Fleck, each with its elements, intersect in the work of each of the authors of the critical theory of what he calls the "first generation" (the authors pointed out by him as being of the first generation coincide with those pointed out by Marcos Nobre and Alysso





Leandro), appearing in some with greater clarity, but they are in a certain way present in all the works, in all the trajectories of the authors linked to the Institute. (FLECK, 2017, p. 116)

The matrix of Critical Theory, according to Marcos Nobre (2004, p. 25), is to analyze the capitalism of Karl Marx:

Therefore, the primary task of Critical Theory since its first formulation in Marx's work is to understand the nature of the capitalist market. Understanding how the market is structured and how the whole of society is organized from this structure means, simultaneously, understanding how political power and wealth are distributed, what form the State takes, what roles the family and religion play, and many other things.

Capitalist society in Marx's studies is structurally divided into two classes according to the position that each occupies in the productive process, the first being the capitalist, which are those who own the means of production and who put into operation with the purchased labor power, the second class is that of the proletariat who sell their labor forces to the capitalist in exchange for wages. Based on Marx's analysis of capitalism, Marcos Nobre (2004, p. 31) states that it is possible to distinguish Critical Theory from other currents:

Thus, Critical Theory is only confirmed in the transformative practice of current social relations. This does not mean, however, that there is an abandonment of theory in favor of practice. It is certain that Critical Theory, in its original formation in Marx, is directed towards and by transformative practice.

Critical Theory presents two fundamental principles, that of orientation towards emancipation, which authorizes us to understand society as a whole, allowing for the first time the constitution of a theory in an emphatic sense. Emancipation orientation requires that theory be the expression of critical behavior, which is the second fundamental principle. (NOBLE, 2004, p. 32-33)

Moreover, Critical Theory is a broad expression that names all theories that are guided by anti-positivism, by the denial of the established order, by the search for a humane and more just society. These authors researched on various subjects, such as social, economic, cultural and philosophical problems generated by the capitalism of their time and influenced Western thought from the 40s to 70s. (UNIMEP, 2021)

## 5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The union emerged in a scenario of struggle of the workers in search of the defense of their rights and in the search to conquer a better quality of work. The Constitution of the Republic of 1988 and the Consolidation of Labor Laws cover the right to free union association, and the form of action of the unions is the collective agreement or convention.

The aeronauts' union emerged in 1947 and since then has achieved several achievements for the category of aeronauts. In 2020 the Covid-19 pandemic impacted labor relations, bringing



uncertainties and the civil aviation sector was one of the hardest hits according to an analysis by the ILO (International Labor Organization). With this, the action of the union became necessary to guarantee the rights of workers.

The aeronauts' union managed in the 2020/2021 collective agreement to maintain the rights hitherto won in the 2019/2020 collective agreement, prior to the pandemic. However, the values remained the same, without readjustment, since the readjustment will only happen if a certain parameter is met, which so far has not been reached, thus remaining the values without readjustment.

Although the aeronauts' union was able to maintain the collective agreement with the same rights, it was necessary to carry out a collective agreement with each company in order to guarantee the employment of the aeronauts, however, this generated the need for them to agree to the salary reduction or unpaid leave.

Critical Theory emerged in 1937 in the city of Frankfurt with reference to Marxism. It became known as the Frankfurt School, where it brought together several authors who shared the same doctrine, the work of Marx, but each under a bias of interpretation. The authors of Critical Theory researched on various subjects, such as social, economic, cultural and philosophical problems generated by the capitalism of their time and influenced Western thought from the 40s to 70s.

Moreover, the authors of Critical Theory sought in their research to understand the nature of the capitalist market from the point of view of Marx's work. Under a critical eye of Critical Theory, it is possible to analyze that the aeronaut's union during the period of the Covid-19 pandemic has been active in the search to guarantee the labor and fundamental rights to the class of aeronauts.



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