30 - LEISURE AND LABOR: BARRA NOVA, SÃO MATEUS CRAB CATCHERS - WHAT DO THEY THINK?

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Introduction

The study of leisure has received, today, different approaches, as well as resulted in the variation of theoretical references and methodological practices. Being subject of studies in the areas of History, Sociology, Anthropology, ethnographic and linguistic studies, among others, leisure deserves attention due its effects on certain groups, societies and communities, which, as a result of it, favor certain singular traits.

As a result of its effect on society and how society views it, leisure has been the object of distinct analysis and, in many circumstances; it has been linked to politics and economic relations. Also, we cannot forget its relation with labor, since, as Parker (1978) points out, not all societies have made the same distinction between leisure and labor.

There is also the discussion that suggests a debate on the issue of parties and leisure that, even not taking place solely to meet economic purposes, intends to discuss those production and consumption spaces, as well as discussing behavior, life styles, trends and characteristics of the tourist groups.

We hope to understand how leisure takes place in a fishing community, which has the crabs catching as their main form of labor. We have the purpose of identifying two factors that interact in the core of the community, being the first one aimed at their production means and labor and the second main purpose of this study is focused as finding if **leisure** is unrelated to labor. We have brought this issue out, once, in a community having unique characteristics related to their way of work, what would be the role of leisure in their spare time? If crab "catching" presents transformation in the production, we ask: leisure also transforms society?

The community of Barra Nova do Nativo

The community of Barra Nova do Nativo is a village dwelled by people who have never lived in a city. According to Nardoto (2005), commander Reginaldo Gomes dos Santos, a cousin of Barão de Aymorés', who, in 1866, opened a channel in order to open the water flow from Rio Mariricu to the sea during high tide. The new opening was given the name "Barra Nova", and the swampy waters were dried and the farmers were able to expand their land into those areas.

The community is served with power, and the housing is not organized. One can see that spaces and fences setting the limits separating one property to another are not visible. The properties are limited by means of some wiring tied to small MOURÕES or to a mango, orange, or lemon tree planted in the boundaries. We arrived at the village on Saturday, when we could hear acoustic sound whose volume was high enough to be heard from afar.

There is no social infrastructure in the community. We have identified a small house serving as an office for the Instituto Capixaba de Pesquisa, Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural (INCAPER) a government agency, a small clinic, a community center and the Public Elementary School, which is diachronically distinct from the landscape due to its impressive construction.

The discourse of our informants: labor, leisure and their transformations

So as to better know the work involved in "catching" crabs in the Nativo de Barra Nova community and the use of their spare time, we have conducted open interviews. We have interviews eight subjects: three men (two fishermen and one peasant ages 49, 59 and 60), four women ages 24, 25, 49 and 78, and a 10-year-old boy. They were direct interviews realized on the terraces of the informants' homes. We visited the community in three different occasions. First, to get to know the place. We did the interviews during our second and third visits. For the first interview, the informants were chosen by a school teacher from the community. The other informants were chosen by contacting the towners directly.

At the beginning of the research, we tried to find out who was "crab catcher" and what other occupations there were available. The first informant was a 67 year-old-man, born in Barra Nova, who had been a fisherman all his life and "carrying the card" as any "catcher" would emphasize. To be a "catcher", one would need a fisherman identification card. This document tells you whether or not the catcher is a registered catcher. We have noticed that the "crab catcher" is the one with the appropriate identification card, assuring that the work complies with regulations. There is some "red tape", making the product accepted and ready for commerce, being one of the requirements for the existence of producers and consumers.

When we asked our informants the time in which the first settlers moved into the community, both answered "a long time ago", without determining date, time or year. We also asked when electrical power arrived, when the construction of the school began and when the public transportation service was first available to the community. For such questions, the informants gave precise answers, attributing time in the form of seasonal events having influence over the community.

The anthropologist Evans-Pritchard, when describing the way of life of the Nuers people, in Sudan, introduces a reflexive theory as per the chronological system of tribal groups. The nuers perceive chronology by its climactic actions, that is, by "domine par le rythime dês saisons" (PRITCHARD, 1968, p. IV). Thus, time is dated and narrated by the rhythms of floods, droughts, moisture in lands and production. We perceive that the physical aspects turn into social aspects.

When asked about the number of inhabitants in the community, Rutenes, replies: "[...] it is a place with many people...". Other two towners, our 24 and 25-year-old informants, say: "[...] we don't know how many people live in Barra Nova... but we know there are many people here... many families". Their knowledge is limited to their social places, the church, the bar, the soccer field structuring the groups of children, youths and adults.

In their answers, we were able to identify that the community constitutes shat it is called by the Evans-Pritchard anthropology a theory of groups or a theory of structural groups, because the community is not viewed as one formed by individuals, but by groups, the same way Evans-Pritchard noticed in the Nuers, revealing a phenomenon of group affiliation. So, the analysis of the answers point towards a community structured by groups.

Since 2005, a disease threatens the crab population in the North of the State of Espírito Santo, causing the communities who live on crab catching to be on the alert. This form of fishing is responsible for the survival of 67 families in Barra Nova do Nativo, according to our informant Zé Coco. However, we have been informed that 107 families are registered in the Association. According to our informant, before the catchers went out to catch crabs three times a week and "[...] today, we go on catching trips once a week … around 400 dozens per trip".

The disease affecting the crab is not the only problem facing the Barra Nova community. Climatic factors oppose the natives way of live. One of the toughest problems, according to one of our informants is that "[...] the land is ungrateful... agriculture does not give good results... if it rains, it kills everything... everything is wet", referring to floods that occur in the region's rainy season, "and when

there is a drought, it dries everything". The time is seasonal, and the ecological connotation determined the pace of life and works in Barra Nova do Nativo: when it is dry, agriculture does not "employ"; when it is wet, "it kills everything... everything gets flooded"; and during the "andada" (crab's reproduction period)... we work in the plantations".

When asked about the way the crab is caught, our informant explains: "Before, we caught them by hand… Then, there were too many people and we started using an ax... today it is more difficult, we use a small net".

We were told there is some other way of catching crab. According to Julita, 49, and crab catcher crab-holder: "I use a hook, because I cannot use my hand anymore. I don't use a small net, IBAMA (Brazilian National Environmental Agency) does not allow… before, I used my arm… my hand". Asked about the use of small nets, Zé Coco explains: "The crabs have been making even their holes deeper and deeper and there is no other way to catch them."

The change in fishing can be explained by the endogenous action of a pathological phenomenon. It is not our purpose to discuss the death of crabs caused by the environment due to agents which are endogenous to their habitat. We intend to analyze the talking of our informant, which does not explain how crabs have started to *dig deeper*, making it impossible to fish then in the traditional way, with hands, as we were told.

According to Zé Coco, "catching" crabs"[...] is not difficult... the person has to like it... to bury yourself in mud is to enjoy nature... when you stick your hand in mud... you make yourself very dirty". Parker (1978) analyses the degree of identification one has with one's work and concludes that the relationship between someone and their job depends on the gratification it brings. Some people elevate their work into their life's priority, finding satisfaction in it others find only in leisure. This relationship between man and nature and its gratification may be found in different actions in the community, such as fishing in the open sea.

The work is different. The use of the "arm", solely as an extension of the body has given way to some tools: the ax, the net and the hook. We are not dealing here with technological tools and products of a modern technology, but as an accessible tool, made by the workers themselves in view of a need for their craft. The cause of the disease attacking the crab has not yet been detected by laboratories studying/analyzing the issue; however, it does not constitute a transformation phenomena. Crab "catching" has changed due to a factor motivated by the consumption, that requires a larger crab production.

If the change in the work is derived from an exogenous factor, what factors may influence leisure in the community of Barra Nova do Nativo? And more, what transformations may be present that maintain or are transforming leisure in the community?

Free time at neighborhood

When it comes to community leisure, our informers explain that going to relatives, friends and neighbors houses is what they do on Saturdays, Sundays and national and religious holidays. An informer states that, on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays, when they do not visit relatives' house, they "[...] repair the net, clean the boat, understand?" Asked if he saw this as leisure, a pastime or work, our informer answers: "As a pastime... but tomorrow everything must be ready... but this is not work... I don't get tired doing this."

Haag (1982), when theorizing about sport and free time, makes his analysis based on Habermas. The German philosopher/sociologist sees three distinctions as man's free time behavior, when related to work: regenerative, suspensive and compensative. However, Habermas does not believe that, in reality, free time can provide compensatory possibilities, because that phase is very close to work. Habermas makes us think that the increase of free hours, reduction work time or extended worker vacations are not enough to provide a true free time. As the informer says, it can be said that the work is related to and exercises some influence on his/her free time, in the sense that this can be seen as a continuation of the experiences and work activities. In that case, leisure can be considered as an extension of the work, when there are similarities among activities of the work developed during leisure.

It is noticed that there is a time dedicated to the subjects of the own work. Our informer's speech allows to identify he so-called "suspensive leisure". In urban areas, the compensatory leisure is found in a dissembling way, since the corporal practices present (known as physical activities) a covered speech showing a lifestyle, a healthy state, which is necessary for the modern man. Finally, for those limited groups, occupations are physical wear and tear, while a lot of jobs do not require any physical effort. By comparing the urban and rural area leisure, we see that the speeches do not point out the same speakers, allowing use to classify such leisure as *compensatory*, while in rural areas we can call it *suspensive* leisure, since due to the action of the subjects, they are ready for work, which implies in a functional state of the time allotted to as leisure.

In both cases *dissimulation* is found. In urban environment, it is a status of leisure prejudice of neighboring and functionality. A status that promotes the subject, speaking as needed to be part of any habit, in search of life quality, to promote certain practices and lifestyles. However, leisure implies in more than a need, more than a material accomplishment. It denotes a standardization attitude, which will create an image of a social class/group. This is orchestrated by the underlying labouness, by the health disciplines that, all times, sell, offer and create social asepsis.

In that sense, those who are obese, hypertensive, diabetic, or else, the *urban body* is called/invited to be sanitized for such leisure. Such speech opposes to rural area, as identified by the informer's speech, when asked if he stopped working in weekends and holidays, what would he do in his free time? He answered "It is boring when you don't have anything to do, laziness takes over and we can't complain." Interviewed women walk in the same path. Ms. Joselita explains: "We work even on Saturdays or Sundays, or holidays. We go harvesting, to the mangrove, leaving housework for Saturdays and Sundays. Can you think about staying home on Saturday and Sunday without working?"

As society reaches a technological development stage, consequently, work place and leisure place has different situations. Our house, a home that is our rest place, our shelter, for technological society, is an appendix of the work place. Technologies as fax, computer, calculator, Internet, Webcams approximate work places and leisure place more and more. Therefore, in the words of Ms. Joselita, who is devoted to home work, since she could not finish domestic tasks during the week, urban man resembles each other, when he/she uses his/her time for the same configuration: the work lapses through time and invades other spaces, which were not dedicated to that.

The four women used as our *informers* argued that they do not have "[...] anything better to do on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays." However, they have some suggestions of what they could do in their leisure time "Ms. Joselita says that "[...] they could give some leisure time to women... painting courses... cookery... we already have experience... making cheese." Tânia, 24 years old, also has a suggestion: "[...] we need something to do, as painting, knitting..." As the informers say, a productive leisure is revealed. Painting, embroidery, knitting and cooking courses imply in a leisure on focused on generating incomes. Once again, leisure becomes a production time. Leisure is revealed to excluded people only as possibilities and longing in lieu of being a conquest, which is noticed in the same proportion of work.

Leisure time is similar to urban area´s. While urban men search for leisure to improve work performance, using their time on entertainment industries, rural man's relationship, it is settled at the preparation and disposition of their gearing for the next day of work, be it at home, be it at the work place.

Non-working time cannot become a time of discomfort, since it takes to "anything to do" and a subsequent lack of income, takes from the individual what he believes to be decisive to his/her human condition. *Not working refrain people from exercising their citizenship, placing them at the margin of the social context.*

Analyzing speeches and a possible conclusion

In the approach of what community chooses as a leisure reference due to work carried out by community of New Barra

natives, the last 20 years have seen several transformations on crab catching. With a larger crab extraction in relation to the quantity offered by nature cycles, new fishing instruments are adopted, where the *hook* and the little net are used as fishing instruments due to reorganization of the nature itself as directed to man's progress over environment/mangrove.

The relation and the available time for leisure, as informers say, free time is filled out with activities that demand lower physical wear and tear, which is termed as *suspensive leisure*, because there is certain relation with the work, however requiring less physical strength, which is different from *compensatory leisure,* as seen in the urban environment.

The suggestions coming from informers concerning community's leisure, are strongly related to social and economic factors. The informers reveal leisure focused on the production of craft goods from the production from which they can benefit of the resulting income of these products. It is noted that leisure is narrowly connected with the increase of family/personal income, what takes us to think that both situations are strictly connected: firstly, *suspensive leisure* is directly linked to work, as imagined by the informers that free time should be filled out by profitable activities, and secondly, free time can result in an extra source of income, which can be seen as a continuation of the experiences and work behavior.

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LEISURE AND LABOR: BARRA NOVA, SÃO MATEUS CRAB CATCHERS - WHAT DO THEY THINK?

The present study has the purpose of identifying the relationship between work and leisure related to the activities of the "crab catchers" of Nativo, Barra Nova, São Mateus, State of Espírito Santo, Brazil. The research has used the *open-interview* method with eight individuals, who live in the community, with the purpose of identifying the production process of crab catching and leisure options existing in the community. *Analysis of discourse* was used, as per Fiorin (1999). The individual discourse was summarized and interpreted and the concepts and categories were analyzed. A suspensive leisure was identified, because the individuals execute their work without the necessary determination and amount of energy required for professional labor.

Key-words: 1. Crab, 2. Barra Nova, 3. Labor, 4. Leisure

TRAVAIL ET LOISIRS: CE QUE PENSENT LES RAMASSEURS DE CRABES DE BARRA NOVA-SÃO MATEUS

Résumé

L'étude a pour objectif d'identifier le rapport travail et loisirs des "catadores de caranguejo" (ramasseurs de crabes) de la communauté de Nativo de Barra Nova, à São Mateus-ES. On a utilisé l'*entrevue ouverte* avec huit informants, habitants de la communauté dans le but d'identifier dans les discours le moyen de production de la pêche au crabe et les loisirs existant dans la communauté. On a utilisé les inférences verbales en recherche sociologique selon Fiorin (1999). On a analysé que pour pêcher le crabe, pendant les quinze dernières années, les pêcheurs se sont servis de quatre outils : les mains, la bêche, la pioche et le crochet. Le cinquième outil employé dans la pêche au crabe configure un modèle prédatoire dû à l'usage de la "redinha" (filet). Conclusion : on a identifié un loisir *suspensif*, car les informants exécutent un travail sans la détermination nécessaire et la proportion d'énergie exigée dans le travail professionnel. Mots clé : 1. Crabe, 2. Barra Nova, 3. Travail, 4. Loisirs

TRABAJO Y DIVERSIÓN: QUÉ PIENSAN LOS RECOLECTORES DE CANGREJO DE BARRA NOVA-SÃO MATEUS-ES

Resumen

El estudio tiene como objetivo identificar la relación trabajo y diversión de los "recolectores de cangrejos" de la comunidad de Nativo de Barra Nova, en São Mateus-ES. Se utilizó *entrevista abierta* con ocho informantes, pobladores de la comunidad objetivando identificar en los discursos el modo de producción de la caza del cangrejo y la diversión existente en la comunidad. Se utilizaron inferencias verbales en pesquisa sociológica conforme Fiorin (1999). Se analizó que el modo de caza de cangrejo, en los últimos quince años, los pescadores utilizaron cuatro instrumentos, a saber: las manos, azada, pala angosta y gancho. El quinto instrumento utilizado en la caza del cangrejo configura un modelo predatorio debido al uso de la "red pequeña". Conclusión: se identificó una diversión *suspensiva*, pues los informantes ejecutan un trabajo sin la determinación necesaria y la proporción de energía exigida en el trabajo profesional. Palabras llave: 1. Cangrejo, 2. Barra Nova, 3. Trabajo, 4. Diversión.

TRABALHO E LAZER: O QUE PENSAM OS COLETORES DE CARANGUEJO DE BARRA NOVA-SÃO MATEUS-ES

Resumo

O estudo tem como objetivo identificar a relação trabalho e lazer dos "catadores de caranguejo" da comunidade de Nativo de Barra Nova, em São Mateus-ES. Utilizou-se de *entrevista aberta* com oito sujeitos/informantes, moradores da comunidade objetivando identificar nos discursos o modo de produção da caça do caranguejo e o lazer existente na comunidade. Utilizou-se da *análise do discurso*, conforme Fiorin (1999). Os discursos foram reduzidos e interpretados os conceitos e categorias que apareceram na fala dos informantes. Analisou-se que o modo de caça do caranguejo, nos últimos quinze anos, utilizou-se os pescadores de quatro modelos de operosidade de pesca, que na fala dos pescadores/informantes, em nenhuma constitui um modelo de pesca predatória, sendo: caça do caranguejo com as mãos, enxadas, enxadão e gancho. O quinto modelo de pesca/extração do caranguejo, segundo os informantes configura um modelo predatório devido o uso da "redinha". Identificou-se um lazer *suspensivo*, analisando a intencionalidade do sujeito pois durante o tempo livre executa um trabalho sem a determinação necessária e a proporção de energia exigida no trabalho profissional.

Palavras chave: 1. Caranguejo, 2. Barra Nova, 3. Trabalho, 4. Lazer