130 - "MAN DOES NOT LIVE ON BREAD ALONE": THE CREATION AND FUNCTIONING OF FACTORY WORKERS' RECREATIONAL SERVICES (1943 1945)

ANGELA BRÊTAS
Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro
Escola de Educação Física e Desportos
Programa de Pós-Graduação
Rio de Janeiro / Rio de Janeiro / Brasil
labretass@hotmail.com , labretas@eefd.ufrj.br

This study deals with first impressions on the creation and functioning of the Factory Workers Recreational Service (SRO), an organ of the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce, founded in 1943 and destined to offer leisure activities to union workers. Although we recognize the importance of the dimensions of the oppression, control and manipulation present in this period, we will not focus our analysis on them, for, besides not considering them to be determinants of the phenomenon studied, in our understanding, the relationship of domination never is symmetrical. We believe this governmental organ was not created within a cultural void and, based on Bakhtin, Chartier and Foucalt, we seek to understand it from a perspective which does not consider factory workers to be totally determined by the forces of the political regime that controlled the New State. Beginning with the presumption that its foundation is related to a group of forces in action in that period, in this writing, we analyze aspects which regard the political conjuncture, the actors involved and the objectives of the regime and of the Service and we present another possibility of investigating it in order to become more familiar with it.

One of the areas of research that has developed significantly in the last years is that which relates to studies of leisure and recreation. A lot has been written and the theoretical perspectives that base the discussions are diverse.

As a result, the possibilities of understanding activities in moments of leisure are varied. Intervention projects can take different forms and one of our greater preoccupations links itself to the relationship that is being established, in these initiatives, between poverty, "marginality" and free time occupation. Beginning with a perspective that reunites prejudice, the attempt to control and to prevent and a functionalist and utilitarian understanding of the uses of available time and of physical activities, projects that aim at getting "kids and youths off the streets" are created, preventing a supposed or possible relationship with criminality. Reinforcing exclusionist, public policies, the projects present themselves as an alternative solution for diminishing inequality and as promoters of quality living; they are destined to offer physical education activities sports and recreation requiring weighty financial resources, expanding the work market for professionals in the field and attending to a layer of society viewed as excluded from the benefits of a model society. Few are those who perform an analysis that leads to a greater understanding of a society that produces individuals considered to be included and others that are relegated to the margins.

The critiques we make of projects with such assistential-compensatory characteristics make us run the risk of also seeming prejudiced and intransigent, however, we do not discard *in totum* these undertakings. Many are interesting and important from the viewpoint of making viable the access of this segment of the population to a body of knowledge that, perhaps, they would otherwise not have a chance to experience. We are not adepts of "the worse, the better" politics, nor do we defend the necessity of attaining a greater level of barbarism in social relations in order for something to be done; nonetheless, it is worth highlighting at least four discomforting presumptions common to such initiatives:

1) The individualist and salvationist perspective that, related to the idea that talents will be discovered, fuels dreams, with little chance of being accomplished;

2) The moralistic perspective, which refers to the fact that physical and sporting activities do not constitute in themselves an end, but serve as a kind of "vaccine against evil". This makes certain dimensions secondary important dimensions of pleasure, solidarity, cooperation, common good, citizenship as participation in community life and a greater self-knowledge beginning with relationships developed with others and perceived as part of a whole;

3) The social assistance perspective which proposes to aid these youths for a brief period;

4) The weakening of a critical posture toward the conditions that produce the social inequality of which the young participants of the projects are victims.

We believe that everyone has the right of access to knowledge that was historically constructed, including knowledge that refers to that which we call the movement culture. For this reason, we do not intend to assume a rigid, critical stance in relation to such projects; our objective is to discuss their limits and contradictions in such a way as to collaborate with a greater comprehension of this phenomenon. In this sense, we do not believe that the children/youths, to whom these projects are destined, can be considered as passive elements in this process, for we still have the chance to believe that these "excluded" youths create and belong to other spaces, i.e., they are "included" in their own spaces whose characteristics and cultural universe music, way of talking and dressing etc., are, to a great extent, appropriate to those who live in middle/high-class environments.

Our understanding is that there is an expressive interaction between ways of life considered to be morally, socially and culturally acceptable, based on the values of the dominant classes, and the lifestyles of the young dwellers of the ghettos and margins of big cities, downtrodden in a day-to-day life that is considered to be inadequate for various reasons.

Bakhtin (2000), while discussing the elements of the medieval popular comedy culture, which are present in the works of Rabelais, Shakespeare and Cervantes, expounds upon the impossibility of demarcating strict limits for cultural manifestations that are considered, in isolation, to be erudite and popular. This interaction marks a cultural circularity that breaks away from the vision that one can isolate the manifestations and/or lifestyles of a given social group. Ideas circulate, interact and become fruitful, generating new ideas, in which it is possible to observe the original aspects and the innumerous paths that point to new mixtures and new changes.

Based on this debate, and beginning with the specific interest of comprehending the limits and contradictions of interventional leisure projects destined to low-income youths/children in the city of Rio de Janeiro, we decided to investigate an institutional experiment conducted in the 1940's in that city, at the time the federal capital. Destined to organize the leisure of workers and their families, it had the objective of *"coordinating the means of recreation of the working class, assisting and collaborating with the unions"*. This organ, denominated Factory Workers Recreational Service (SRO), was created in 1943, by the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce (MTIC), during the administration of Alexandre Marcondes Filho.

1- *Portaria* (Administrative Document) no. 68, from December 6, 1943. Published in the Bulletin of the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce (BMTIC - *Boletim do Ministério do Trabalho, Indústria e Comércio*) *(BMTIC)*, no. 113, January, 1944.
2- Was extinguished in 1964 by Arnaldo Lopes Süssekind, then Minister of Labor and Social Security (Werneck, 2003).
3- Decree no. 19.667, February 4, 1931.
4- Decree no. 19.770, March 19, 1931.
5- Decrees no. 21.186, March 22, 1932, and no. 21.364, May 4, 1932, respectively.
6- Decree no. 21.175, de 21 de março de 1932, regulated by decree no. 21580, June 29, 1932, and, later, by decree no. 22.035, October 29, 1932.
7- Decree no. 21.417/A, May 17, 1932.
8- *Portaria* (Administrative Document) no. 68, December 6, 1943. Published in the *Diário Oficial* on December 8, 1943.
9- *Portaria* (Administrative Document) of December 20, 1943. Published in the *Diário Oficial* on December 23, 1943.

Despite the presence of the perspective of control and manipulation, of the strong mark of the ideology that instated itself during the post-30's period and consolidated itself after the *coup d'etat* of 1937, and of the consequences of these aspects in their daily actions, it is possible to emphasize that the activities developed by the SRO presented possibilities of expanding the cultural universe of its users. Its analysis shows that the activities could be interesting, from the viewpoint of making viable the access of a given layer of society to a group of socially more valued experiences or cultural languages. Besides this, their ideologists considered them to be educational from the viewpoint of forming a new man, necessary to the nation's progress. In this sense, it is important to emphasize that the aforementioned projects with assistential-compensatory characteristics are not pioneer initiatives in Rio de Janeiro in terms of time use and leisure, and, even less, represent advances in relation to the SRO, in terms of the multiplicity of the offered and lived experiences.

Offering union workers and their families access to different, cultural activities such as music, literature, theater, cinema, dance, excursions and sports, the Factory Workers Recreational Service makes possible their access to knowledge which, in a certain way, can give them new chances to better understand the world. This apparent contradiction stimulates us to investigate the SRO's peculiarities, objectives and methods of action.

Our decision to investigate the Service also owes to our concern to collaborate with the spreading of knowledge relative to physical education and leisure in Brazil. This organ already was one of the targets of a study developed by Werneck (2003) that aimed at understanding the *"trajectories made by recreation and leisure in Brazil, focusing on the meanings incorporated by both in the first half of the 20th century"* (Werneck, op.cit., p. xi). In our study, with other goals, we more strongly emphasized the political, economic, cultural and social conditions of the period, understanding them to be fundamental to the founding of the Service, i.e., there was a collision of forces, which, in this specific case, gave birth to the SRO.

With Vargas taking power as head of the provisional government of 1930, a process of change begins in the relationship the State maintains with capital and with labor, that will profoundly mark Brazilian society. According to our understanding, the creation of the SRO towards the end of the New State responds to certain demands that had already begun to be established for some time and inserts itself into a list of measures necessary to maintain the social pact (Gomes, 1994). It is important to perceive that this organ has well-defined intentions and acted toward attaining them and that, even though it had its most intense activity in a short period, it still had a long life.

After losing the election of March 1, 1930, Vargas, at the front of an armed movement, and with the support of civil and military figures, takes power as head of the provisional government on October 3, 1930. Upon coming to power, he deposes all the state governors, except for the one from Minas Gerais, naming substitutes in their place. He closes the National Congress and the legislative assemblies of the states and municipalities and annuls the 1891 Constitution that is still in effect, giving clear demonstrations of his intentions. Seeking to keep his presidential campaign promises, he founds, still in 1930, the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce and the Ministry of Education and Health, which demonstrates his preoccupation with the so-called social question, marks the presence of the State in the relations between labor and capital and, in the case of the former, makes it possible for labor legislation to be applied and superintended.

According to D'Araujo (2004), the influence of the military and the need for union control, administrative centralization and political authoritarianism were all felt in the model implanted. There was an intention to decrease the conflicts between employers and employees, which was sought to be accomplished through measures, among them, the Law of Unionization (*Lei de Sindicalização)*, promulgated in 1931, which, even with all the resistance, provoked the weakening of the workers' movement. Soon afterward, a group of provisions would respond to the historical demands of the workers. Already in 1932, the following accomplishments were made: the creation of the work card, mandatory for all urban workers, the definition of a daily work shift of eight hours for commerce and industry workers and the regulamentation of work for women.

D'Araujo (2000) informs us that the New State in Brazil (1937 1945), supported by the principles of corporate structuring, figured as a possible governmental alternative to the principles of liberalism and communism. The development of industry, the implantation of social justice, the valuing of patriotic ideals and the intervention of the State in all aspects of the nation's life were fundamental points. The corporate doctrine preached the maintenance of social hierarchies, the diminishing of inequality and the extinction of class wars and conflicts. The sovereign-president figure, who does not divide his authority, and the strong State, supported by all, would be capable of making the nation progress and generate peace and social harmony. Parties and other political organizations were considered dispensable, for they would be sources of problems and corruption, besides being a hindrance to the nation's advancement.

From this point of view, an articulate discourse on the disqualification of democratic practices went on to play a part of daily life and models of political action were substituted by task forces made up of persons from professional or economic fields and by committees of specialists, which gave them scientific and technical airs, thus neutral in relation to the decisions made. National interests would be put above individual interests and progress would be made by way of effort, comprehension and solidarity among all (D'Araujo, 2000). These words of order would be present in the most diverse moments, discourses and spaces until 1945.

Although we recognize the dimensions of repression and of manipulation of the New State, it will not be on them that we center our analysis of the relationship established between the workers and Vargas, more specifically, between the labor unionists and the intentions and actions of the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce upon creating the SRO. We consider such dimensions to be fundamental elements of the investigation, but they are not determinating factors of the phenomenon studied. If we detain ourselves in these explanatory models, we will run the risk of loosing sight of the strategies of appropriating the workers to the initiatives of the organ, given that we do not see them as objects totally determined by the forces of the political regime that controls the so-called "New State".

To begin with, we work with the hypothesis that the SRO was not created, nor did its functioning occur, in a cultural void. Its structuring in cultural, sporting and scouting sectors furnishes some clues as to the choice itself of this model of administrative organization. We believe that, despite its objectives, linked to the control and tutelage of the workers, the Service, using an intelligent strategy, began with that which was experienced, admired and enjoyed by the working masses in order to attract the attention of factory workers and lure them to its orbit.

Therefore, going back to our hypothesis, the SRO, upon flag-waving the possibility of workers frequenting theaters and movie houses, or of having a chance to participate in theater spectacles, including as actors, could be ratifying the strategy of seduction employed to lure them. Nonetheless, since other interests were involved, one must mind the fact that theater and cinema, more specifically, should be used with the intent to go beyond simple amusement; at last they could be used as a means of education/formation of a new man, necessary to the nation's development. It follows that the content of that which would be propagated should be strongly marked by the ideology that was intended to be diffused, which is actually what occurred. In play was the conformation of the subjects to a new order not only a moral order, but also, and mainly, a ludic one for it should be capable of making the workers abandon old habits relating to amusement.

This is not to say that the attainment of these objectives was guaranteed by their own formulation. As Chartier (1995) informs us, there is a tension between discursive and institutional devices that, in a determined society, aim at the disciplining of practices and/or the modeling of conduct, and the way in which they are received by those to whom they are destined. Consequently, one must doubt the efficiency of many of these strategies used by the Vargas regime with the goal of making changes in the lifestyles of factory workers, for, according to the author, the relationship of domination is never mutual.

In this study, the creation of the SRO will be discussed from two viewpoints that will be presented hereforth. The first

is the one explained by the MTIC and the second is related to the researcher's understanding of the data obtained from the analysis of different sources, which are: *Political Culture* magazine, the *Bulletin of the Labor Ministry* and the discourses of Minister Marcondes Filho and President Getúlio Vargas.

The Factory Workers Recreational Service (SRO) was created in December of 1943 by the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce during the administration of Alexandre Marcondes Filho. Initially linked to the Technical Committee of Union Orientation, it had the intention of spreading physical and cultural activities among union workers, collaborating with the unions, offering technical assistance and facilitating recreational means. It was superintended by the Central Council formed by Arnaldo Lopes Süssekind and Evaristo de Moraes Filho, technical assistants of Marcondes Filho's cabinet, and by Gelmirez Belo da Conceição, representative of labor union entities. The developed activities were divided into sporting, cultural and scouting sectors. The intention was for the SRO to exercise activities in all of the national territory, however, in its initial phase, the organ concentrated its actions on the city of Rio de Janeiro, at the time the federal capital.

In another possible analysis, we believe that the SRO was created within a determined political conjuncture that is fundamental to its comprehension. The dictatorship of the New State was already showing signs of exhaustion; the opposition was increasing and the war brought forth large and grave preoccupations. The Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT) had been announced by Vargas during the May 1st commemorations of 1943 and, at the end of that same year, Administrative Document no. 68 of December 6th, which created the Factory Workers Recreational Service, was published in the *Diário Oficial* (government annals) of December 8th. The fact that this organ had been created in the very same year that the CLT was promulgated cannot, in our opinion, be taken as mere coincidence.

The creation of the Factory Workers Recreational Service, in our opinion, is related to diverse factors that form a group forged from moral, ethical and pedagogical molds that permit many objectives. If, on one side, there are material interests linked to production, on the other, there are interests which we call immaterial, linked to the fruition of different leisure activities. The Service beyond the concrete benefits that it would make possible, i.e., the increase of the worker's physical endurance, the increase in production and the reduction of the number of work-related accidents intended to approach the immaterial aspects of the policies protecting workers undertaken by Vargas.

With labor legislation that was considered to be one of the most advanced of its kind, with the whole state apparatus to superintend its application, with all of the resources being used to make the Consolidation of Labor Laws known in the entire nation, we believe that the material aid to workers was assured, at least in theory. If this was truly the case, the extra quota of aid to the war effort needed to be recompensed and this is precisely where the creation of the SRO came into play. This appears to us to be just one more element in the relationship of symbolic exchanges between the State and the workers (Gomes, 1994). The time had come to take care of the immaterial aspects of the workers' lives. It then became viable, at that moment, to produce public policies aimed at experiencing spiritual pleasures.

We realize that the Service could be just one more tool for manipulation and control (and, perhaps, that was its grand objective), but, if we remain within this perspective only, it will cheapen our analysis, in the first place, because no one is absolutely and totally controlled, and, in the second, because, in order to have a minimum amount of control, it is necessary to have benefits and consent relating to the other element present in the relationship. If it were simply a question of controlling leisure time, other more coercive measures could have been taken. Therefore, it seems to us that, in creating the Service, not only strategies of manipulation and control, but mainly a stratagem of seduction came in to play, for as Foucault (1993) points out, power must not only be viewed from its oppressive side. It also has its productive side.

At any rate, we believe the Factory Workers Recreational Service has six objectives: to stimulate unionizing; to integrate the group of accomplishments that make possible the concretization of the political discourse of the epoch regarding the concern of the State with aspects of the worker's life which are beyond the protection of labor laws and welfare aid; to control and discipline the worker's free time; to formalize the worker's informal educational experience; to physically and spiritually strengthen the worker so as to make him participate in the war effort and raise his cultural level.

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Address: Rua Barão de Mesquita, 620 casa 10. Andaraí. Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro. Brasil. Cep: 20540-003.
Tel: (21) 2208-2520 / (21) 3238-1650 / (21) 9806-3603
e-mail: labretass@hotmail.com , labretas@eefd.ufrj.br
Author: Professora Angela Brêtas
Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação Física
Escola de Educação Física e Desportos
Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

***"MAN DOES NOT LIVE ON BREAD ALONE":* THE CREATION AND FUNCTIONING OF FACTORY WORKERS' RECREATIONAL SERVICES (1943 1945)**

This study deals with first impressions on the creation and functioning of the Factory Workers Recreational Service (SRO), an organ of the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce, founded in 1943 and destined to offer leisure activities to union workers. Although we recognize the importance of the dimensions of the oppression, control and manipulation present in this period, we will not focus our analysis on them, for, besides not considering them to be determinants of the phenomenon studied, in our understanding, the relationship of domination never is symmetrical. We believe this governmental organ was not created within a cultural void and, based on Bakhtin, Chartier and Foucalt, we seek to understand it from a perspective which does not consider factory workers to be totally determined by the forces of the political regime that controlled the New State. Beginning with the presumption that its foundation is related to a group of forces in action in that period, in this writing, we analyze aspects which regard the political conjuncture, the actors involved and the objectives of the regime and of the Service and we present another possibility of investigating it in order to become more familiar with it.
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***« L'HOMME NE VIT QUE DU PAIN » :* LA CRÉATION ET LE FONCTIONNEMENT DU SERVICE DE RECRÉATION OUVRIER (1943-1945)**

Cela concerne les premières impressions sur la création et le fonctionnement du Service de Recréation Ouvrier (SRO), un organisme lié au Ministère de l'Emploi, de l'Industrie et du Commerce qui a été créé en 1943 dont le but est d'offrir des activités de loisir aux employés syndicalisés. Malgré notre reconnaissance de l'importance des dimensions de répression, de contrôle et de manipulation qui ont eu lieu dans cette période, notre analyse ne sera pas fondée sur elle, lorsque nous ne considérons pas que cela soit un aspect essentiel du phénomène étudié. Qui plus est, la relation de domination n'est jamais symétrique. Nous estimons que cet Organisme n'a pas été créé au sein d'un espace culturel vide. Selon Bakhtin, Chartier et Foucault, nous cherchons à le comprendre à partir d'une perspective qui ne juge pas les ouvriers comme étant des objets complètement déterminés par les forces de l'ordre politique qui contrôlaient le Nouveau Etat auparavant. A partir de la présomption que sa fondation est liée à un groupe de forces qui agissait à cette époque, nous analysons dans ce texte les sujets liés à la conjoncture politique, aux acteurs engagés et aux objectifs du Régime de Service. Nous présentons également une autre possibilité de le rechercher a fin de meilleur le connaître.

Mots-clés : Service de Recréation Ouvrier, Nouveau Etat, Histoire du Laisir

***"NO SOLAMENTE DE PAN VIVE EL HOMBRE":* LA CREACIÓN Y EL FUNCIONAMIENTO DEL SERVICIO DEL RECREACIÓN OPERÁRIA (1943 1945)**

Este estudio objetiva discutir la creación y el funcionamiento del Servicio de Recreación Operária (SRO), agencia del Ministerio del Trabajo, Industria y Comercio, en 1943. El Servicio ofrecia actividades de ocio a miembros y familiares de las uniones de trabajadores. Aunque reconozamos la importancia de las dimensiones de la represión, de control y de la manipulación en este período, no será en ellas que pautaremos nuestra análisis, incluso por no las considerarmos determinativas del fenómeno estudiado y porque piensamos que la relación de la dominación nunca es simétrica. Considerando que su fundación está relacionada con las fuerzas del período, analizamos los aspectos que dicen respecto a la coyuntura política, a los agentes implicados y a los objetivos del régimen y presentamos otra posibilidad para investigar el Servicio.

Palavras-claves: Historia del Ócio, Estado Nuevo, Servicio de Recreación Operária

***"NEM SÓ DE PÃO VIVE O HOMEM":* CRIAÇÃO E FUNCIONAMENTO DO SERVIÇO DE RECREAÇÃO OPERÁRIA (1943 1945)**

Trata-se das primeiras impressões sobre a criação e o funcionamento do Serviço de Recreação Operária (SRO), órgão ligado ao Ministério do Trabalho, Indústria e Comércio, criado em 1943, e destinado a oferecer atividades de lazer aos trabalhadores sindicalizados. Apesar de reconhecermos a importância das dimensões de repressão, de controle e de manipulação presentes neste período, não será sobre elas que pautaremos nossa análise, pois além de não as considerarmos determinantes do fenômeno estudado, em nosso entendimento, a relação de dominação nunca é simétrica. Cremos que este Órgão não foi criado em um vazio cultural e, com base em Bakhtin, Chartier e Foucault, buscamos compreendê-lo a partir de uma perspectiva que não considera os operários como objetos totalmente determinados pelas forças da ordem política que controlava o Estado Novo. Partindo do pressuposto que sua fundação está relacionada a um conjunto de forças atuantes no período, neste texto, analisamos aspectos que dizem respeito à conjuntura política, aos atores envolvidos e aos objetivos do Regime e do Serviço e apresentamos uma outra possibilidade de investigá-lo para melhor conhecê-lo.