

Papers

The division of tourism and public entertainment of the department of culture of the city of São Paulo

A divisão de turismo e divertimentos públicos do departamento de cultura da cidade de São Paulo

La division de turismo y de entretenimiento público del departamento de la cultura de la ciudad de São Paulo

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Keywords:

History of Tourism.
Department of Culture.
Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment.
São Paulo, SP.

Abstract

The economic importance of tourism is a key reason for developing it in many Brazilian municipalities, as was the case of São Paulo City Hall in the 1930s. For this purpose, a division to manage this activity was established within the Department of Culture (DC). This Department is the focus of the present article, which aims to understand the importance of tourism in the municipal cultural policy, describe the responsibilities, and analyze the activities developed by the Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment. Defined as a qualitative descriptive research, it uses content analysis to scrutinize sources of different nature, such as of newspapers, legislation, administrative processes, etc. The influence of the public management of the Federal District on the planning and, consequently, on the construction of the narrative of the city of São Paulo as a tourist destination in the 1930s is the main contribution of the study, in a period when there were no federal guidelines for the sector. Public investment in carnival festivities and the reluctance to approve the proposals issued by the Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment (DTDP) suggest that municipal investment guidelines for making the city a tourist destination were defined at a higher level than the DC and were not part of its cultural policy, yet the division gained external representativeness to deal with tourism issues in the city and was mobilized to support the organization of public events promoted by the municipality.

Palavras-chave:

História do Turismo.
Departamento de Cultura.
Divisão de Turismo e Divertimentos Públicos.
São Paulo/SP.

Resumo

A relevância econômica da atividade turística constitui importante fator na tomada de decisão de fomentá-la em muitos municípios brasileiros, inclusive da Prefeitura da cidade de São Paulo nos anos 1930. Para tanto, uma repartição destinada a gerir essa atividade foi estabelecida no âmbito do Departamento de Cultura (DC) e constitui o foco do artigo, que tem por objetivo compreender a importância do turismo na política cultural municipal, caracterizar as atribuições e analisar as atividades desenvolvidas pela Divisão de Turismo e Divertimentos Públicos. Definida como uma pesquisa qualitativa de caráter descritivo, adota a análise de conteúdo para perscrutar as fontes de natureza diversa, composta por jornais, legislação, processos administrativos etc. A influência da gestão pública do Distrito Federal no planejamento e, conseqüentemente, na construção da narrativa da cidade de São Paulo

como destino turístico nos anos 1930 constitui a principal contribuição do estudo, em um período de ausência de diretriz federal para o setor. Os investimentos públicos no carnaval e a relutância na aprovação das propostas emanadas da Divisão de Turismo e Divertimentos Públicos (DTDP) encaminham às conclusões de que as diretrizes dos investimentos municipais para a configuração da cidade em um destino turístico eram definidas em instância superior ao DC e não integrava sua política cultural, ainda assim, a repartição conquistou representatividade externa para tratar os assuntos relativos ao turismo na cidade e foi mobilizada para apoiar a organização dos eventos públicos promovidos pela municipalidade.

Palavras clave:

Historia del Turismo.
Departamento de Cultura.
División de Turismo y de Entretenimiento Público.
São Paulo/SP.

Peer-reviewed article.
Received in: 08/03/2019.
Accepted in: 18/09/2019.



Resumen

La relevancia económica de la actividad turística constituye un importante factor en la toma de decisión de fomentarla en muchos municipios brasileños, incluso del Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de São Paulo en los años 1930. Con este fin, se estableció una sección destinada a gestionar esa actividad en el ámbito del Departamento de Cultura (DC) y constituye el foco del artículo, que tiene por objetivo comprender la importancia del turismo en la política cultural municipal, caracterizar las atribuciones y analizar las actividades desarrolladas por la División de Turismo y de Entretenimiento Público. Definida como una investigación cualitativa de carácter descriptivo, adopta el análisis de contenido para examinar las fuentes de naturaleza diversa, compuesta por periódicos, legislación, procesos administrativos etc. La influencia de la gestión pública del Distrito Federal en la planificación y, consecuentemente, en la construcción de la narrativa de la ciudad de São Paulo como destino turístico en los años 1930 constituye la principal contribución del estudio, en un período de ausencia de directriz federal para el sector. Las inversiones públicas en el carnaval y la resistencia en aprobar las propuestas emanadas de la División de Turismo y de Entretenimiento Público (DTDP) se refieren a las conclusiones que las directrices de las inversiones municipales para la configuración de la ciudad en un destino se definieron en una instancia superior al DC y no integraron su política cultural. Sin embargo, la división obtuvo la representatividad externa para ocuparse de las cuestiones turísticas en la ciudad y se ha movilizada para apoyar la organización de eventos públicos promovidos por el municipio

How to cite: Bastos, S. R. (2020). The Division of tourism and public entertainment of the department of culture of the city of São Paulo. *Revista Brasileira de Pesquisa em Turismo, São Paulo*, 14 (1), p. 56 - 72, Jan./Apr. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7784/rbtur.v14i1.1659>

1 INTRODUCTION

The Department of Culture of São Paulo City Hall is the object of different approaches, either because of the innovative cultural policy in the public administration or because of the intellectuals involved in its project and operation, however, its Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment (DTDP) has not attracted the attention of these researchers (Sandroni, 1988; Rubino, 1989; Abdanur, 1992; Carlini, 1993, 2000; Faria, 1995; Costa, 1997; Raffaini, 2001; Barbato Júnior, 2004; Nogueira, 2005; Botelho, 2007; Claro, 2008; Gomes, 2008; Jeronimo, 2013).

The Department of Culture (DC) is responsible for developing tourism in the city of São Paulo and advertising strategies, both in Brazil and abroad, as well as the organization of annual exhibitions, promotion of varied activities, and the creation of a Brazilian cuisine restaurant. Funding for its activities came, in part, from the collection of taxes on entertainment and amusement, sports tournaments and championships, showing the organicity of its design (Ato n. 861, 30/05/1935; Ato n. 1.146, 04/07/1936).

In the absence of federal guidelines for tourism activity in the country, the analysis of the responsibilities and activities of the Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment of the DC reveals the influence of the public management of the Federal District in the municipal administration of São Paulo and in the planning of its narrative as a tourist destination, which are the contributions of this research to the history of tourism.

By including tourism among the Department's responsibilities, the activity became institutionalized as a cultural matter, which would mean that the emphasis would be placed on the experience provided by the visitation and on tourists' transformation, factors that would require the adaptation of the Carioca model to the scope of the DC. Such conjectures led to the formulation of the following research problem: what is the role of tourism in the cultural policy of the city of São Paulo in the late 1930s?

The period of analysis is 1935-1940, when the strategy of expanding citizenship resulting from access to cultural activities previously inaccessible¹ to the majority of the population of the city is observed, following the example of what was projected and developed in the Federal District in terms of education and health².

The article focuses on the Department of Culture of the city of São Paulo and aims to understand the importance of tourism in the municipal cultural policy, characterize the responsibilities, and analyze the activities developed by the Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment.

The document corpus brings together sources of different nature and uses content analysis to interpret the selected data, which characterizes qualitative and descriptive methods (Bauer & Gaskell, 2002; Bardin, 2009).

This article begins by presenting the theoretical framework, then goes on to describe the creation of the Department of Culture and its Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment, followed by an evaluation of the establishment of tourism in public administration in the 1930s. The presentation of the methodological procedures anticipates the discussion of the proposals and achievements of the Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment and, finally, some concluding remarks are made.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The historical perspective of the concept and construction of the tourism model is important for understanding its role in a given society, at a specific time (Towner, 1988; Castro, 1999; Walton, 2005). Tourism is an interdisciplinary enterprise that requires intercultural and interdisciplinary investigations, linked to politics, diplomacy, cultural and social aspects, among others (Walton, 2005, 2009).

By adopting the historical perspective, the research is based on studies that use this approach to analyze public tourism institutions and unveil the scope and dynamics of action at different governmental levels (Dai-ber, 2010, 2011, 2016; Guimaraes, 2011, 2012; Marcelo, 2011; Marroquim, 2015), while the contextualization of the administrative measures implemented in municipal management draws on the historiography of the Vargas era, on the historical studies on the administration of the Federal District, RJ (Mourelle, 2010), and of municipality with tourist vocation (Marrichi, 2015), as well as on the City Hall's change regarding the carnival as a means to increase international tourism in Rio de Janeiro (Almeida, 2013).

Studies on the same period about Argentina (Piglia, 2008, 2011) and Germany (Semmens, 2005) provide a relational approach on the regulation of the activity and the definition of tourism policies in other societies, as well as on the influence of private initiative in this field.

The analysis of the Department of Culture shows the pioneering character of its cultural policy and considers Fábio Prado as a key figure in the modernization of the municipal public administration of São Paulo (Sandroni, 1988; Rubino, 1995; Abdanur, 1992; Carlini, 1993, 2000; Faria, 1995; Costa, 1997; Raffaini, 2001; Barbato Júnior, 2004; Nogueira, 2005; Botelho, 2007; Claro, 2008; Gomes, 2008; Jeronimo, 2013). Mourelle (2010) points out the political trends and administrative achievements of Pedro Ernesto ahead of the Federal District (FD) City Hall during the period 1931-1936, that extended "beyond the borders of the capital of the Republic". This statement is corroborated by evidence of the influence of FD management in the scope, directives, and actions of the DC, which are highlighted throughout the text that follows and somehow questions São Paulo's vanguardism.

¹ The expansion of access to citizenship is supported by pedagogical projects aimed at the construction of audiences (music and theater, for example), training (aimed at children enrolled in kindergartens), dissemination (public attending municipal libraries), sports, etc. (Abdanur, 1992)

² Mourelle (2010) emphasizes that the Secretariat of Education and Culture was not restricted to school education and constituted "a mechanism for the development of national culture. [...] The development of education and health was seen as a basic principle for the development of citizenship".

3 DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE

Paulo Duarte and Paulo Barbosa are mandated to prepare the preliminary draft of the Department of Culture with the participation of several experts, such as Anhaia Mello, André Dreyfus, Mário de Andrade, Rubens Borba de Moraes, and Sérgio Milliet, whereas the school radio project, materialized as one of the sections of the Division of Cultural Expansion, is attributed to Fernando de Azevedo³ (Raffaini, 2001; Barbato Júnior, 2004).

Established under the name of Department of Culture and Recreation in 1935, under the direction of Mário de Andrade, its program took advantage of the existing services and institutions in the City Hall in the four divisions established: Libraries, Historical and Social Documentation, Education and Recreation, and Cultural Expansion (Ato n. 861, 30/05/1935). Its scope was the promotion and development of initiatives aimed at supporting the educational, artistic, and cultural movement. For that purpose, it should promote and organize art shows; make accessible a radio broadcasting service for cultural improvement and development; create and organize public libraries; organize, install, and operate kindergartens, athletic fields, swimming pools, and stadiums; identify, collect, restore, and publish old documents, historical and social data and materials; supervise recreational institutions and public entertainment. The conception, planning, and execution of several functions counted on the participation of committees of specialists or technical councils. The broadening of participation of society in the implementation of the proposals was carried out through open tenders, whereas the enjoyment of the results was obtained by dissemination programs, constitution of collections, among others (Acto n. 861, 30/05/1935).

The following year, inspired by the administrative restructuring implemented in the Federal District (Mourelle, 2010), mayor Fábio Prado (1934-1938) reorganized the municipal services and promoted a rational administrative reform (Abdanur, 1992; Estado de S.Paulo, 01/03/1936, p. 5; Acto n. 1.146, 04/07/1936). Designed in the context of the implementation of its program, the revision of the articles related to the Department made possible adjustments and incorporation of measures to improve it. In this sense, Act 1,146 (04/07/1936) excluded Recreation from its designation, included a Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment (DTDP) in its organizational chart, specified the responsibilities of the Director of the Department and of all the planned positions, detailed the objectives of the Division of Cultural Expansion and of each Subdivision and Section of all divisions, incorporating and expanding the elements constituting the initial scope defined by Act 861 (30/05/1935).

Among the duties of the Director of the DC—who supervised all existing services, as well as proposals and general cultural campaigns established by the City Hall—were included the design, organization, and execution of a general plan for listing and preserving the historical and artistic heritage of the Municipality. This formalization of the heritage issue consolidated the objectives aimed at the preservation of the artistic and historical collection, creation of institutions for the conservation of this collection, valuation of research and cultural practices guidelines inspired by the tradition, ethnological, folkloric or popular interest, as well as in the “municipal cultural landscapes worthy of preservation”⁴. It also shows the importance and topicality of the subject, given that the preliminary design of a service for the preservation of artistic heritage at the federal level, with a broad concept of art, was conceived by Mário de Andrade⁵ that same year, at the request of the Ministry of Education and Health⁶, taking into account the principle of protection of heritage established by the 1934 Constitution. The Brazilian National Artistic Heritage Service (SPAN) preliminary draft will also support the project for the creation of a service for the protection of the historical and artistic heritage of São

³ Fernando de Azevedo subscribed to the *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* (New Education Pioneers Manifesto) and worked on the educational reforms of the state of Rio de Janeiro in the 1920s (Mourelle, 2010).

⁴ It is important to point out the distance from this directive to the interview given by Fábio Prado to the situationist newspaper *Estado de S. Paulo* (01/03/1936, p. 5) four months before the publication of Act 1,146 (04/07/1936). On that occasion, the mayor emphasized that his administration would “defrost” the urban areas where “old buildings” from colonial and imperial periods prevailed in favor of the progress and establishment of a modern city, strongly opposing the DC policy of preserving these testimonies and urban landscape (Abdanur, 1992).

⁵ For Rubino (1991), the preliminary project comprises the experience of Mário de Andrade in the cultural administration of the Department of Culture, his anthropological vision and linkage to the debate on the historical heritage and the neo-colonial movement in the country.

⁶ The Vargas government's cultural policy guidelines came from the Ministry of Education and Health (Rubino, 1991; 2002).

Paulo⁷ submitted by the state deputy Paulo Duarte to the Legislative Assembly of the State of São Paulo in 1937⁸ (RAM - Revista do Arquivo Municipal. São Paulo: Departamento de Cultura/Prefeitura do Município de São Paulo, v. 37, v. 37, p. 235- 240, 1937; Rubino, 1991).

4 DIVISION OF TOURISM AND PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT

In DC's initial scope, the Section of Public Entertainment was part of the Division of Education and Recreation (DER) and was responsible for organizing and promoting public entertainment inspired by the national tradition or of interest for the population, as well as study, plan, and implement promotional campaigns for festivals of ethnological or popular interest, to make open tenders (related to the public festivities, popular and traditional festivals), research, develop, and implement city decorations for the festivals, for that, it would be assisted by a commission of artists, writers, and journalists appointed by the director of the Department. This commission was not, however, responsible for supervising private, or public, amusement parks, a function of the Administrative Police Directorate and, despite the prohibition of receiving money, it was also responsible for issuing forms for taxes on amusements, spectacles, cinemas, championships and sports tournaments, connecting it to the Department of Finance, a municipal authority responsible for tax collection and accounting. Without significantly changing it, the restructuring of the Department included the Section under the newly created DTDP and linked the advertising to the Tourism Section, also belonging to this Division (Ato n. 861, 30/05/1935; Ato n. 1.146, 04/07/1936).

By moving the Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment (DTDP) to the Department of Culture, the cultural dimension of the tourist activity is enhanced, however, it is worth noting that the adequacy of the Tourism Section to the Department of Municipal Services and directly to the mayor—in the latter, the model is similar to that of the Federal District, which highlights its strategic importance for mayor Pedro Ernesto's administration, as Mourelle (2010) emphasizes.

Semmens (2005) problematizes the ideological character conferred to the institutionalization of the leisure travel in Nazi Germany, due to the establishment of the public management of tourism under the Ministry of Propaganda, that is, the institutional position has a direct influence on the scope of the tourism division, an aspect considered in the analysis of the DTDP.

The Tourism Section aimed to consolidate São Paulo as a tourist destination, which required the promotion of the Municipality, both internally and externally, and the establishment of exchanges and institutional relations. In this sense, the Section was responsible for “organizing and directing a set of systematic measures to develop tourism”, to attract to the municipality “domestic and foreign visitors”, promote São Paulo in several media, not only in print media but also using the cinema and others, including the radio, to promote it “in all the representations of Brazil abroad”, to which it proposes the understanding with the competent ministries, promotion of events in collaboration with other institutions, and the interchange with “all the centers that have relations with the Municipality”. In turn, the hiring of non-permanent interpreters and cicerones would complement the DTDP staff (Ato n. 1.146, 04/07/1936).

The Division was assigned the responsibility of creating the conditions for the installation of a Brazilian cuisine restaurant and the “promotion of national products and foodstuffs”. Supported and under direct management of the DTDP, the proposal highlights the dimension of the cultural program of the DC, by disseminating the cuisine and national products and foodstuffs.

⁷ The existence of a state body would complement the preservation policy, making possible the distinction of interest at different levels: national, state, and local (Rubino, 2002).

⁸ The presentation of this proposal is part of a campaign launched by Paulo Duarte in the São Paulo press and published in the *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (RAM, 1937, v. 37, p. 235 a 240) entitled “*Contra o vandalismo e extermínio*” (Against vandalism and extermination) which systematizes his concerns with the preservation of the historical and artistic heritage of the attractions visited in the expeditions carried out jointly with Mário de Andrade, representative of the Brazilian National Historical and Artistic Heritage Service (SPHAN) in the state of São Paulo. This project did not go forward, as it was still under discussion on the occasion of the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly of the state of São Paulo in 1937, with the establishment of the Estado Novo (Rubino, 1991).

5 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TOURISM IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The administrative measures were consistent with the public policy implemented by the intervener—and then elected mayor of the Federal District, Pedro Ernesto Batista (1931-1934 and 1935-1936)—in the administration of mayor Fábio Prado in São Paulo (1934-1938). In the cultural sphere, it materializes in the constitution of a specific division for this purpose, the Department of Culture, whose national program was equivalent to that of Rio de Janeiro, implemented in the Secretariat of Education and Culture.

In addition to the section called Municipal Library, the Secretariat included the Department of Education—and its secular educational policy—and the University of the Federal District—responsible for the promotion of cultural activities, management of the School Radio project, and the future Conservatory of Music. However, the present analysis focuses on the tourism strategy to “transform the capital of the Republic into one of the main world centers of tourism”.

The creation of the General Department of Tourism (Decreto n. 4883, 16/06/1934) demonstrates the importance Pedro Ernesto gave the activity who, to develop it, invested mainly in the organization of Rio Carnival, liberation of gambling, and domestic and international promotion of the city (Arquivo, 2014; Mourelle, 2010)

The trajectory of this Department in the organization chart of the City Hall of the Federal District exemplifies the change in its relevance—it was linked to the General Secretariat of the Interior and Security as Directorate General for Tourism⁹ (Decreto n. 5.623, 09/09/1935 apud Arquivo, 2014), it became the General Secretariat of Tourism and Propaganda in 1938 (Decreto n. 836, 07/11/1938), and finally became under the Secretariat of the Mayor in 1940 (Decreto n. 6.620, 11/01/1940), as General Department of Tourism and Events (Arquivo, 2014).

At the state level, the project for the creation of State Entities for Tourism Expansion dates to 1938, aimed at the public organization of the sector, similar to those existing in Europe, more specifically in Italy and France¹⁰. At the federal level, the public tourism agenda begins in the scope of the Federal Foreign Trade Council (CFCE - Decreto n. 24.429, 20/06/1934 apud Arquivo, 2014) in 1935, which discloses as part of its objectives the consolidation of tourism between neighboring countries, as well as the creation of a National Tourism Council. It should be noted, however, that there is no administrative structure for its implementation, which would only occur with the creation of the Division of Tourism, of the Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP) in 1939, although the Council was not part of its structure. Situation contrary to the previous trend of integration of representatives of tourist sector entities by means of the composition of councils to the municipal administration, either of the Federal District (1933) or the state capital São Paulo (1936) and shows its authoritarian character (Daibert, 2016; Arquivo, 2014).

Unlike São Paulo, whose Division of Tourism emphasized the cultural dimension, the DIP focused on the economic aspect, its multiplier effect, highlighting the regulatory role and control of the market and entrepreneurs. Activity that was also viable through other sectors:

[...] supported by the strategy of different sectors of public administration, as the international relations policy, foreign trade, preservation of cultural heritage and especially by urban policies in the period. (Daibert, 2016, p. 76)

In general, discourses are systematized in this period with a view to assign tourism a positive connotation, to value its civilizing aspect, to position it as a “driver of economic growth” and to promote the country abroad,

⁹ Employee of the Federal District, Lourival Fontes makes a statement on behalf of the Department of Tourism in 1933, prior to its officialisation as Division. Almeida (2013) points out the change in its name to *Diretoria de Turismo e Propaganda* (Tourism and Propaganda Board) in 1935. These factors indicate that legalization occurred after the occurrence.

¹⁰ Daibert (2016, p. 68) contrasts the preliminary draft with the Italian law and concludes that of the four projects presented, two are translations of the Italian law, while one of them is a mixture of Italian and French laws.

both with the aim of increasing the tourist flow and stimulating immigration “useful and necessary” (Guimarães, 2012, p. 122-129).

6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study is based on documentary sources, such as periodicals, memoirs, administrative processes, legislation, and leaflets, using content analysis to examine them (Bauer & Gaskell, 2002; Bardin, 2009).

To identify the dissemination of the initiatives of the Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment, a survey of digitized newspapers from the 1930s was carried out on the Brazilian National Library (BN) website, yielding three publications: *Jornal do Brasil*, *Jornal de Notícias* and *Correio Paulistano*. After the selection of the newspapers, the expression “*Divisão de Turismo*” [Tourism Division] was used to search for news items. The low incidence of materials resulting from the approach regarding the institution of São Paulo stems from the perspective adopted and divulged by the mayor in his interview already mentioned. He revealed the policy of not paying publicity in the press, using the *Diário Oficial do Município de São Paulo* (Estado de S. Paulo, 01/03/1936, p. 5) to disseminate the initiatives carried out. Published by the Department of Culture, the *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* [Municipal Archives Magazine] (RAM) was another privileged vehicle for the dissemination of municipal actions in the cultural field, which justifies its inclusion in the analysis.

In turn, the press survey identified also the Department of Tourism and Propaganda of Rio de Janeiro and the Portuguese homonymous, enabling the understanding regarding the change of denomination, scope, and activities of the Carioca institution and to follow the achievements of the Portuguese institution.

The survey carried out on the *Arquivo Histórico Municipal Washington Luís* (City Historical Archives) regarding the 1930s focused on the documentary collection of the Department of Culture, municipal legislation, and RAM, while in the municipal library Mário de Andrade the survey focused on the works of Paulo Duarte (1976, 1985) and DC achievements.

Thematic categorical analysis was adopted to understand the messages of the selected documents, focusing on its core meaning, through a systematic and objective analysis procedure that requires deconstruction, identification of analysis units, construction of categories, interpretation, and synthesis. In addition, a thorough critique of the document in the light of the historical context in which it is inscribed was conducted, aimed at uncovering the conditions of text production, as well as general data about the transmission medium and the authorship of the narrative (Bauer & Gaskell, 2002; Bardin, 2009; Luca, 2005; Constantino, 2002).

In this sense, the categories constructed for the analysis of the sources were: competencies, organizational chart and staff, promotion of the Municipality, events and tourism infrastructure, being the last three divided into the subcategories described as follows: the promotion of the Municipality comprises leaflet, tourist guide, advertising, and magazine; events include Carnival, *Congresso da Língua Nacional Cantada* (Congress of the National Language as Sung), public celebrations and others; while tourism infrastructure includes hotels, historic heritage, dam, restaurants, and tourism. This procedure was followed by the systematization and cross-checking of the partial results, to reconstruct the context in which they are embedded.

7 PROPOSALS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE DIVISION OF TOURISM AND PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT

The creation of the DTDP followed the filling of positions, with the maintenance of Amador Florence¹¹ as head of the Public Entertainment Section and appointment of Nino Gallo¹² as head of the Tourism Section. In addition to the lack of infrastructure for its operation¹³, Mário de Andrade's dissatisfaction with the scope of

¹¹ Former journalist of the American Agency, Paulo Duarte had previously worked with Amador Florence Sobrinho in the newspaper *Diário Nacional* in the late 1920s (Abreu, 2015), who also appeared as Amador Bueno Florence or just Amador Florence. In spite of the extinction of the division in 1938, he continued working in the DC (Duarte, 1976; 1985).

¹² He belonged to the group of friends of Paulo Duarte, having lived with him in the city of São Paulo between 1926 and 1931 (Raffaini, 2001).

¹³ The resources allocated in the 1938 budget were related to the installation of the head of the DTDP and its sections, acquisition of office machinery, and furniture (Lei n. 3664, 10/11/1937).

this Division was evident, since the cultural policy established for the institution under his direction was not consistent with certain duties, closer to the departments of the Treasury or Municipal Services (Brasil, 1937; Duarte, 1976, p. 210).

Initiatives to implement the program of the Tourism Section began shortly after the inauguration of Nino Gallo, by applying for a leave without pay and going to the Federal District to learn the dynamics of advertising and tourism activity and, consequently, to persuade Mário de Andrade of their relevance in the DC (Duarte, 1985). It seems that this strategy was associated to the visit to the General Directorate of Tourism.

To get closer to tourism entrepreneurs by including them in the Tourism Council, promote Rio de Janeiro abroad and in Brazil, make available interpreters for international tourists, use the carnival as a tourism driver by promoting broad social initiatives—such as the insertion of the carnival in the official calendar of the city and in the Brazilian tourist brochures, support for samba school parades, subsidy for the clubs, and carnival celebrations, tax exemption on confetti dances, promotion of street carnival and balls, Municipal Theater official carnival balls poster competition, and the carnival parade competition—are examples adopted in the Federal District prior to the visit of the São Paulo representative to the aforementioned office. In terms of tourism there is still a successful example of time-limited exemption from taxes and fees for the first buildings of large hotels, stimulating the renovation of the sector in 1907, while in the educational area there was the exciting experience of a school radio of the Secretariat of Public Instruction (Jornal do Brasil, 06/11/1932, p. 18, 17/11/1932, p. 25; Mourelle, n.d., 2010; Almeida, 2006; Marcelo, 2011)

The document corpus reveals the influence of the Carioca program in the scope and performance of the Tourism Section, especially those related to the tourism infrastructure and city promotion, at the same time as it was a reference for organization, promotion, guest accommodation, etc. of ongoing achievements in the São Paulo institution. This example is part of the modernization of public administration defined and managed by the federal government, and highlights the setting up of a model to be followed.

Historiography problematizes the influence of totalitarian regimes—mainly German and Italian—in the Estado Novo (New State), a dictatorial government that extended from 1937 to 1945 (Fausto, 2006). It anticipates the implementation of this regime of exception, guidelines on tourism activity at the municipal level clearly influenced by European models of tourism organization, especially Italian and German (Daibert, 2010, 2016). There are also press advertising campaigns, valuation of international tourist destinations, and pronouncements on the sector by representatives of the Touring Club, which legitimized the speech and created an expectation of regulation of the activity in the country.

The legislation gives indications of the activities defined and carried out by the municipal authority. The budget is a privileged document for this approach. In this sense, one observes the succinct character¹⁴ of the 1936 budget by demarcating the actions planned for the Department, while the 1937 edition contemplates individualized propositions for the DTDP (Ofício n.106, 15/10/1935 apud Calil & Penteadó, 2015, p. 264; Brasil, 1936).

In his request for funds to the mayor, Mário de Andrade highlights the difficulties for the elaboration of estimates and budget for the exercise of 1936, drawing attention to the novelty of actions. He argues the importance of culture for the formation of the Brazilian man and reinforces the responsibility of the Department in establishing the cultural norms of the Municipality (Ofício n.106, 15/10/1935 apud Calil & Penteadó, 2015, p. 264).

The mistake in the allocation of funds is confirmed in the early days of 1936, when he presents the budget for carnival celebrations and requesting that such initiative was not funded by the DC. He lists other important celebrations that would also benefit from the mentioned funds for its accomplishment, such as the celebration of the centenary of Carlos Gomes and the opera season. In the explanatory memorandum, Mário de Andrade highlights the profit for São Paulo's trade, due to the increase of tourists in the city in the previous year and points out that the planning would lead to the expansion of this economic and tourist benefit.

¹⁴ The budget summary allocates resources for permanent equipment, consumable goods, initiatives, grants, and competitions determined by Act 861, personnel, and miscellaneous expenses. (Ofício n. 106, 15/10/1935 apud Calil & Penteadó, 2015, p. 269)

He questions the cultural character of most of the cultural manifestations gathered in the carnival celebrations, thus suggesting detachment from traditional values. However, its importance for a destination is undeniable, Guimarães (2012) points out the tourist interest that the carioca carnival aroused, increasing the visitation of the country's capital on the occasion of this festivity since the 1920s, a demand that resulted in the provision of new facilities, amenities, and services. The author considers the 1930s as the moment of intensification of the dissemination of the carnival abroad, through publication of brochures, tourist guides, postcards, and press and cinema advertising¹⁵. In the case of São Paulo, the intention was to organize carnival festivities that could compete in terms of attractiveness with those of Rio de Janeiro through incentive, planning, and promotion, as well as a series of measures in the city infrastructure to serve the expected increase in tourism demand.

Contrary to expected, public resources invested in the organization of the Carnival of São Paulo surpassed the 550 contos of reis [formerly used monetary unit]. Recalling the occurrence, Duarte (1976) claims that the City Hall cashed 1,200 contos of reis and the mayor himself appealed to the Advisory Council to approve the expenses incurred. Despite the massive investment, the carnival had a regular edition, however, Amador Florence considered it positive and profitable to the City Hall. Regardless, the two subsequent annual budgets maintained the funding for the carnival, as was the case in the capital of Rio de Janeiro.

The budget for the year 1937 passes most of the objectives foreseen for the DTDP and contemplates other activities necessary for its execution, such as the installation of the head of the Division and two sections listed under permanent equipment. Provision of resources for the restaurant, hiring of cicerones and interpreters, assistance to the Public Forces band, carnival poster and song competition, band composition competition, organization of public celebrations, festivities, decoration of the city, propaganda, guiding of tourists, preparation of guides, posters, and brochures for international distribution, receptions, and trips (Acto n. 1146, 04/07/1936; Brasil, 1936).

The allocation of resources for the establishment and decoration of the restaurant is presented under permanent equipment of the 1937 budget. This item also includes the purchase of furniture, machines, appliances etc., which could either be intended for this enterprise or for the Division's infrastructure.

Blunt criticisms of the establishment of the restaurant was anticipated by Duarte (1976, p. 236) and reported in his memoirs: "There is a text here that is going to provoke a lot of criticism and even a small scandal, but I'm crazy to see this consequence", which was not long in coming. He associates food and culture to justify the restaurant designed to function as a restaurant school under the direction of Eugène Wessinger¹⁶. Enchanted with the traditional Brazilian cuisine, the Switzerland-trained chef developed and documented in records and notes styling techniques of some national delicacies, resignifying the dishes and dazzling Paulo Duarte and Mário de Andrade with the experience.

Possibly, it would be up to Eugène Wessinger to disseminate these techniques to other professionals of the area and those interested, what justifies the idea of a restaurant school, whose concept resonates in the cultural policy of the DC, although this educational perspective has not been found in the official documents.

The establishment of the restaurant "already perfectly studied in its minutiae" (Duarte, 1985, p. 10) was preceded by public notice for an art competition of ornamental motifs for its permanent equipment, which would be released on November 12, 1937 and closed on May 5, 1938. Restricted to Brazilian artists resident or not in the state of São Paulo, the notice establishes the rules of participation and classification, the composition of the jury, and the value of the awards. With respect to the object of the contest, it specified original Brazilian motifs. It is believed that the notice was not published, because the process does not include the mayor's authorization or its referral to the due section, and was filed on July 27, 1938. Also, there was no allocation of funds for the award of the said competition in the budgets of 1937 and 1938 (São Paulo, 1937e; Brasil, 1936; Brasil, 1937).

¹⁵ Aspects that had the support of the intervenor and later mayor of Rio de Janeiro, Pedro Ernesto Baptista (Mourelle, n.d.)

¹⁶ Eugene Wessinger belongs to the group of friends of Paulo Duarte and established in the city, along with Germain Auroux, the Hotel Terminus, located on Brigadeiro Tobias Street, on the corner of Washington Luís Street, and of which he was superintendent director for the design of the restaurant project. The Terminus restaurant was renowned for the quality of the wine cellar, food, and service. Eugene Wessinger moved to the Gloria Hotel in Rio de Janeiro, where he died in 1944, single, at the age of 60. (Processo n. 34691/1937; Duarte, 1985)

In the 1938 budget, the organicity and some sophistication prevails in the listed expenses related to the promotion of the Municipality. It allocates resources for the representation and promotion of the municipality, propaganda films, payment of advertising experts, support to the Public Force and Military bands for the realization of outdoor concerts in major holidays, carnival posters and songs competition, organization of public festivities, decoration of the city, preparation of guides and brochures, photographic service, festivals, receptions, and trips (Brasil, 1937).

It is important to note the relevance of propaganda in establishing the attribution of the Tourism Section, which was put into practice in the *Congresso da Língua Nacional Cantada* held in 1937, subject of a news piece published in the *Jornal do Brasil* (30/06/1937), in which the restaurant and other actions developed by the Department of Culture are also promoted.

The text indicates the interest of the mayor Fábio Prado in the development of tourism in São Paulo, for which the creation of two tourist restaurants would contribute. Their location would benefit from the proximity to busy areas, concentration of economic activities and leisure, in the vicinity of the main postcard of the central area—the Viaduto do Chá, in the Anhangabaú Park, near beautiful skyscrapers (Interlagos, Sete Praias, Riviera, Praia Azul, Biarritz, Eldorado and Copacabana), yachting clubs, hotels, bars, restaurants and recreation areas, where residents enjoy nature, boating, sunbathing, and swimming, where a “first class” hotel would also be built (Jornal do Brasil, 30/06/1937; Folheto, s.d.).

Conceived by Mário de Andrade, the *Congresso da Língua Nacional Cantada* focused on language and music, both classical and popular, that is, it was the first Brazilian music congress to discuss the adoption of a common standard for language as sung.

The first congress on this subject held in South America proposed the “‘Brazilianization’ of music and the adaptation of classical pieces to our language” (Jeronimo, 2013, p. 8), with the support of intellectuals participating in the Week of Modern Art and Brazilian experts. Scheduled to take place from July 7 to 14, 1937, at the Municipal Theater, the DTDP contributed to the feasibility of the project, upon request of several measures by the Director of the DC, such as: organization of activities that functioned as a tourist attraction for the congressmen and other participants during the period of the conference, sending of passages, reception and lodging of the participants coming from outside the city. In his answer, the head of the Section suggested radio broadcasts, the organization of “a free popular spectacle, with regional voices and Brazilian songs”, as well as tours to Butantã, Santo Amaro, and other points of attraction (São Paulo, 1937b).

The presence of Amador Florence—head of the São Paulo Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment—in Rio de Janeiro for the promotion of the Congress gave rise to the publication of news feature referring both the economic potential of tourism and difficulties in its promotion, highlighting the lack of competent professionals, drawing attention to destinations abroad that, despite lacking the cultural and natural wealth of Brazil were successful in tourism (Jornal do Brasil, 30/06/1937).

The news feature points out the obstacles to the development of tourism and bets on the establishment of an agreement between the two largest Brazilian cities—São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro—and articulation between the Ministries of Justice and Foreign Affairs with the respective police superintendencies to overcome these obstacles. Despite the optimism expressed about overcoming difficulties related to tourism, in the following years, due to the Second World War, control over the circulation in the territory and the entry of foreigners will be monitored more closely by the police (Bastos, Salles, & Bueno, 2014; Guimarães, 2012).

Still in 1936, the DTDP mobilized to organize the promotion of the city through the collection of the necessary documents to prepare promotional materials, which contradicts later statements that it had not yet started its work. Simultaneously with the survey, a hundred and fifty contos of reis is requested for expenses in “making brochures, maps, and posters, acquiring photographs and other similar tourism promotional materials, and advertising expenditure on the press, stations, and radio etc.” (Processo n. 76.219/1936). In answering the mayor’s request for further details on this plan, Nino Gallo reported placement of advertising in the *Daily Telegraph*, press, radio, hiring of advertising professionals, realization of photographic and cinematographic material, dissemination abroad and in other Brazilian states, printing of leaflets and guides of private tourism enterprises and various publications. The amateurism of the initiative is evident since specifications did not include information about circulation figures, reach, frequency, etc., in addition to the fact

that the responsible himself had reported that costs were estimates only. The plan was not forwarded by the mayor and its filing in 1938 suggests that it was not successful in the Processo n. 78.107/ 1936 (São Paulo, 1936).

Castro (1999) discusses the process of cultural construction that underlies the recognition of a locality as a tourist destination. According to this author, an integrated system of meanings is created and contributes to its definition, maintenance, and negotiation as tourist destination. In the case of São Paulo, the process precedes the creation of the DC and the initiative of tourist promotion, prompted by institutions of organized tourism, like the Touring Club of Brazil and the Automóvel Club of São Paulo, and railway and airline companies. As will be seen in the Consorcio Paulista proposal, narratives of the city's tourist attractions were already circulating in international promotional material, highlighting the landscape and buildings of the central area, the Independence Museum, and the Butantã Institute, anticipating and raising expectations for the visit. It is an articulated construction of cultural creation and re-signification of resources that can be converted into tourism products.

This initiative of tourism promotion of the Municipality, from the Department of Tourism and Propaganda from the Consorcio Paulista S/A of Rio de Janeiro, is processed in the DC in July 1937. They have experience in publishing about the city and propose publication in *The Traveller's Guide to Rio*, with three editions a year, with 20 pages, at a cost of 10,000\$000 each edition. With an estimated circulation of 50 thousand copies, the guide was distributed by authorized domestic and foreign agencies, as well as by the Itamaraty, the National Coffee Department of Brazil, the Ministry of Labor, and the General Directorate of Tourism of the Federal District. It was, according to the organizers, "a great element of information and guidance for those who wish to know our country through the life, civilization, and facts of the two largest Brazilian cities". Despite the interest, the lack of resources to carry out this work leads Amador Florence to suggest negotiating with the mayor for the following year. This process provides evidence of the strengthening of the relationships with Rio de Janeiro, aimed at promoting the city of São Paulo, and confirms the role of the DTDP in matters related to tourism within the municipal government (São Paulo, 1937d).

That same year, Amador Florence (30/03/1937, São Paulo, 1937a) sends a request to hire four cicerones and interpreters, with knowledge of French, English, and a third language, to assist tourists. This measure was justified by tourists' complaints about exploitation at transport stations by cicerones, porters, taxi drivers, a situation that was detrimental to tourism development. He suggests the organization of a tourist assistance service in conjunction with the Police Tourist Office and the Traffic Department. Despite the importance of the matter, the Mayor requested the filing of the request, stating that the service would be hired in the next fiscal year.

The allegation of lack of funds for tourism advertising and the hiring of cicerones and interpreters in 1937, finds justification in the commitment of the DC budget in the organization and realization of the *Congresso da Língua Nacional Cantada*. This recurrent postponement of decision-making also explains the lack of definition of the political exercise, due to the political instability that existed, culminating with the 1937 coup¹⁷ and the exoneration of the intervenor in the government of the state of São Paulo and of the Mayor of the city of São Paulo.

The recognition of the DTDP as a reference for tourism issues gains visibility in the representation of the *União dos Proprietários de Hotéis, Restaurantes, Confeitarias, Bares, Cafés e Casas Congêneres* (Union of Owners of Restaurants, Bakeries, Bars, Cafés and akin), which associates the success of tourism in the city of São Paulo with excellence in service provision. The petition sent aimed the entry of foreign technicians into these enterprises justified by the characteristics of Brazilian workers, absence of vocational training schools, and increase in tourist flow (São Paulo, 1937c).

The document both suggests that promotion abroad had resulted in an increasing number of foreign tourists in the city and shows how this situation is used as the basis of the petitioners' arguments, also it reveals the ethnocentric attitude regarding Brazilian workers.

¹⁷ Characterized as a dictatorship and centralized government, the Estado Novo begins on 10/11/1937 and lasted until 1945.

They claim that the lack of suitable workers hindered the development of the sector, causing “the delay in which we find ourselves in terms of lodging and food and beverages services”. Also, they add the argument about the Brazilian's averse nature for this type of activity: “As we do not have enough Brazilian professionals, who by nature are averse to this sort of work, there is a pressing need for foreign technicians to perform these tasks, which will benefit Brazil”. Politically articulated, they announce the sending of a similar claim to classist federal deputy Gastão Vidigal (São Paulo, 1937c).

Easily interpreted as ethnocentric, this attitude of the entrepreneurs regarding Brazilian workers finds support in the history of slavery and the formation of a mentality that associates manual labor with slave labor, which even after the abolition of slavery prevailed for a long time.

Amador Florence reiterates the arguments about the negative impacts of the absence of qualified professionals on tourism and warns that the nature of the request was beyond the competence of the DC: “it is related to labor law, a matter that is exclusive to the legislative branch of the Republic” (São Paulo, 1937c). Despite the argument presented, Amador Florence states that they could provide suggestions or appeal on this matter “to the good offices of the deputies of São Paulo in the Federal Chamber” (São Paulo, 1937c). This idea was followed by the Director of the Department who mobilized the Tourism Section to systematize suggestions to be sent to the petitioners.

The reply to the *União dos Proprietários* reproduces the guidance from the State Department of Labor on the need to send a petition to its Director. As soon as the shortage of these workers in São Paulo is confirmed, there should be recourse to the Superintendency of Political and Social Order—informing the number and specialties of the necessary professionals—that would require their hiring abroad. The obstacle of the federal legislation of the two thirds in force for this expedient is noted: “our action, although with all good will, soon ran into a serious obstacle, almost insurmountable at the moment, because everything depends on a special federal law, still remaining the obligation arising from the so-called ‘two-thirds law’”. This demand points to the questioning that it may be an artifice to allow the entry of refugees into the country, due to the intensification of their persecution in Europe and the growing enactment of legislation to restrain this flow in Brazil (Bastos, Salles, & Bueno, 2014).

When considering the requirements for the entry of these professionals, the reply emphasizes that they were justified by the world's circumstances and adds the distance between these people and the existing political regime in the country (São Paulo, 1937c).

The direction of the Tourism Section regarding the reception of members of diplomatic missions is evident in the organization of activities for the Dutch Mission visiting the city in 1937. Among the actions listed there are visits to kindergartens, the Subdivision of Social Documentation, and the Subdivision of Historical Documentation—belonging to the DC—and the projection of a movie in theater about “São Paulo activities” (São Paulo, 1937f).

On the other hand, the process of requesting official support from the City Hall for the Second Congress¹⁸ of the *União dos Proprietários de Hotéis, Restaurantes, Confeitarias, Bares, Cafés e Casas Congêneres* in the city of São Paulo, scheduled for January 1939, reveals the recognition of the role of the Tourism Section regarding the tourism infrastructure. It is clear the association made by the petitioners between hotel developments and tourism—besides the argument regarding the increase in the number of tourists visiting the city during the event. The manifestation of the head of the Tourism Section, points out the importance of the event and the official support of the City Hall to its realization, arguing that it would contribute to the promotion of the Municipality and discusses the importance of understandings with the Association for the coordination of the Congress. Despite the request for further clarification regarding the Congress and the form of support demanded, the absence of a reply to the request resulted in its filing (São Paulo, 1938a).

The extinction of the activities of the Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment in 1938 was preceded by the publication of articles on the increase of tourist activity in the city, disseminated by the São Paulo branch of the newspaper *A Gazeta*, focused on a proposal to make São Paulo tourist offer complementary to the

¹⁸ The first edition of the Congress of Hoteliers took place in Rio de Janeiro.

tourist season in Rio de Janeiro, at the beginning of September, on the occasion of the independence celebrations of the country, with social, sports, industrial, and agricultural schedule, aimed at domestic and foreign tourists. Interpreters are also available for foreign tourists at railway stations, especially at Norte and Luz stations (São Paulo, 1938b).

Criticisms of the Department of Culture in the press fall within the context of opposition to the Fábio Prado administration, mainly on the budget allocation for the printing house¹⁹, orchestra, choir, carnival celebrations, and tourism, which involved the payment of employees and the creation of the restaurant. They questioned the allocation of public resources, prioritizing road works, and the straightening and channeling of the Tietê River over investment in the cultural area (Correio Paulistano, 03/04/1935, p. 5; 03/05/1935, p. 5).

The changes brought about by the new regime were materialized in the retreat of the City Hall in the formalization of the Carnival of São Paulo, exoneration of Mário de Andrade from the Board of Directors of the DC, untying of the Section of Public Entertainment of the DTDP and linkage to the Civil Guard as a Division of Public Entertainment, suppression of various positions of the municipal staff and the position of head of the DTDP (Ato n. 1.407, 16/05/1938; Ato n. 1.460, 19/08/1938; Correio Paulistano, 19/08/1938, p. 5; Processo n. 29.279/1938; Duarte, 1985).

8 CONCLUSION

The article contributes to the historiography of tourism by examining the pioneering Division of Tourism and Public Entertainment of the city of São Paulo. Based on federal government determinations, Fábio Prato tailored his management to foster culture, having in the DC the “project of greatest repercussion of the city hall” (Abdanur, 1992, p. 51). This finding, however, does not measure the influence of the Carioca program on the scope and directives of the DC and, more specifically, in the conception and instrumentalization of the tourism policy aimed at promoting the image of the city and, consequently, to increase visits and boost the municipal economy.

The doubts expressed by Mário de Andrade in correspondence sent to Paulo Duarte (1985), in which he admits to having failed with Tourism, radio school project, and the 1936 carnival edition, shows the lack of articulation of these directives coming from the Federal District with the DC's cultural policy. By promoting public entertainment drawing on the Brazilian tradition, the DC was simultaneously preserving and disseminating them. In the same direction are the bold initiatives of conception of the restaurant and the idealization of the *Congresso da Língua Nacional Cantada* in this case, food and language are constituent elements of culture and identity of a people, linked to nationality and, thus, in accordance with the federal policy.

During the years 1936-1938, the DTDP supported the actions of the DC, especially those related to the organization and dissemination of events, creation of tourism routes in the city, lodging of guests, etc., at the same time as being a reference for issues related to tourism infrastructure and promotion of the city both for the municipal authorities and hospitality industry. The political uncertainties of 1937 precedes its extinction, and therefore, the postponement of the approval of the suggestions forwarded by the Division, exacerbated by the questioning of the effectiveness of its achievements, after a proposal—sparked by the São Paulo press and corroborated by the director of the Division—for turning its tourism offer complementary to that of Rio de Janeiro.

In spite of similar studies on tourism departments in other municipalities (Daibert, 2010, 2011, 2016; Marroquim, 2015), or at the federal level (Guimarães, 2011), our tourism history requires research that identifies external influences and focuses on the scope, guidelines, and activities of these departments in the various Brazilian municipalities, especially the Federal District, due to its pioneering role as noted throughout the article. Despite the difficulties of the research with primary sources, mainly due to the characteristics of the

¹⁹ The print house was created with the objective of minimizing the costs related to printed matter of the City Hall as well as the publication of the *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (RAM). Besides being commercialized, the RAM presented advertisers who paid for spaces to advertise their products. However, it is not known how the revenue from this source was calculated and whether the amounts collected were disclosed.

organization and state of preservation of Brazilian archive collections, we urge researchers in this field to carry out studies from historical analysis perspectives.

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