

A WEBERIAN ANALYSIS OF THE GESTATION OF DOMINATION STRUCTURES IN TRADE UNIONS

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the report of a survey that aimed to investigate the role of union leaders in gestation structures of domination in Brazilian unions adopting an interpretative Weberian analysis. Weberian concepts, such as domination, social relation and legitimacy were articulated to explain, in a qualitative approach, the internal social relations within trade unions. The exploratory analysis of 26 interviews conceded by trade union leaders allowed the identification of five groups of orders that constitute maxims and rules of action among the union leaders. This paper focuses on the documental analysis of 115 documents looking for evidence of the domination structures genesis. The documents revealed that these structures go back to the trade union training process, especially from the decade 1970s. The data analysis was structured in five groups of orders: ethics; political repression; ideology; mistrust between parts; and validity of laws. The study concluded by the pertinence of the adoption of the interpretative Weberian approach to explain the action of administrative staff (as in Weber, the influential individuals on the decision making process within the organization) related to the making and preservation of the structures of domination, confirming the Weberian theory.

Keywords: Weber; Domination Structures; Leadership; Social Relations; Unions.

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RESUMO

Neste artigo apresenta-se o relato de uma pesquisa que teve por objetivo investigar o papel das lideranças de trabalhadores na gestação de estruturas de dominação em sindicatos brasileiros, utilizando uma análise interpretativa weberiana. Conceitos weberianos como os de dominação, ordem, relação social e legitimação foram articulados para explicar, numa abordagem qualitativa, as relações sociais internas nos sindicatos. Um exame exploratório de 26 entrevistas com sindicalistas possibilitou a identificação de cinco grupos de ordens que se constituem em máximas e regras de agir entre os sindicalistas. Este artigo foca na análise documental de 115 documentos, em busca de evidências da gênese das estruturas de dominação. Os documentos revelaram que estas estruturas remontam ao processo de formação sindical, principalmente a partir da década de 1970. A análise dos dados foi estruturada em torno de cinco grupos de ordens: ética; repressão política; ideologia; desconfiança entre as partes; vigência de leis. O estudo concluiu pela pertinência da utilização do método interpretativo weberiano em explicar a ação de quadros administrativos (entendidos por Weber como os indivíduos influentes na tomada de decisão da organização) na gestação e preservação de estruturas de dominação nos sindicatos, confirmando os apontamentos de Weber.

Palavras-chave: Weber; Estruturas de dominação; liderança; Relação social; Sindicatos.

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to describe, through a Weberian methodological approach to social phenomena, the role of leadership in the gestation of domination structures in Brazilian unions. A comprehensive analysis is sought to address the research problem: how did the genesis of domination structures, evidenced in social relations among Brazilian trade unionists, occur today?

Domination is a complex phenomenon. Analyzing the genesis of domination structures is the same as promoting a distinction between the mode of emergence and the range of orders that regulate the social relations of the members of a certain organization or groups of organizations (WEBER, 2004, v1, p. 1-35). Therefore, this article seeks to clarify the contents used by the union leaders in the construction of subjective meanings of social actions among Brazilian union members. Specifically, two objectives guided the structuring of the research: 1- apply Weberian concepts and methodology in the study of unionism, a social phenomenon whose records reveal an important facet of Brazilian democracy, and; 2- explore in practice, from the sociological perspective, the study of leadership as a type of social relationship in Brazilian unions, associating it with the Weberian concept of domination.

The choice of the workers' union environment as a locus in which the phenomenon of domination was studied, is due to the fact that in it, rather than the business environment, the various forms of social relations that were intended to be investigated are highlighted. In this environment, they are less curtailed than what is seen within companies (CARVALHO NETO, 2001; KATZ, 2005; JÁCOME e RAMALHO, 2007). Additionally, it was observed in union organizations the characteristics of the Weberian ideal types (charismatic, traditional and legally rational), which facilitated the association of social relations with the phenomenon of domination and organizational structures. Notably, when studying the characteristics of social relations in union organization, some advantages over other organizational environments can be perceived: a) this is, par excellence, a field of successive disputes and negotiations between collective social actors with historically divergent interests; b) different modes of legitimation, backed by orders also with different genesis, may coexist in these organizations.

In this research, it was established as a study clipping the events that occurred between the years 1970-2014. This is mainly the 1980s, when the charismatic union leaders of workers emerged who, through their actions, participated in the current design of the Brazilian Industrial Relations System (CARVALHO NETO, 2001; AMORIM, 2012).

The following sections will present a theoretical framework based mainly on Weber's writings and a survey conducted in Brazilian unions between 2011 and 2014, and the analysis of the results presented will focus mainly on the effects of union formation on the constitution of domination structures.

2 DOMINATION STRUCTURES

For Weber (2004, v. 2, p. 187), "domination, as a more general concept and without reference to any concrete content, is one of the most important elements of social action." He argues that, "not every social action has a structure that implies domination;" however, "in most of its forms, domination plays a considerable role, even in those where it is not supposed at first sight." From this still very general assumption, it can be understood that any attempt to study community or associative social relations in organizations, such as unions, necessarily involves the study of domination structures.

For Weber, in turn, social formations are the product of human interactions when they assume the character of identity and perpetuity (WEBER, 2004, pp. 1-35). Examples of social formation are the state, cooperatives, joint stock companies, foundations, unions, etc. The study of domination in social formations is quite significant to Weber; therefore, he states that "in an extraordinarily large number of cases, domination and the way it is exercised is what gives rise, from an amorphous social action, to a rational associative relationship". It is explained that, even in cases where a rational associative structure is not sought (the other type described by Weber is the communitarian structure), it is "the structure of domination and its development that shapes social action and, above all, constitutes the first impulse, to unambiguously determine its orientation towards a goal". The fact that Weber relates the domination structure to the objectives of associations, not just something that is haphazard, is a relevant element for the purposes of this article, since it is believed that in the use of their attributions, the leaders of organizations create a structure of domination to achieve the goals of the represented association, in addition to their very goals (WEBER, 2004, v. 2, p. 187).

In this article, according to the Weber guidelines outlined above, it can be understood that domination "is a special case of power" (WEBER, 2004, v. 2, p. 187), as, for Weber, domination, in the very general sense of power, is the "possibility of imposing self-will on the behavior of others." It is from the structure of domination that Weber derives the types of authority (WEBER, 2004, v. 2, p. 188).

Further explaining the relationship between authority and domination, for Weber (2004), it must be taken into account that, "in addition to numerous other possible types of domination, there are two radically opposite types." On the one hand, domination by virtue of a constellation of interests, which Weber clarifies to manifest especially by virtue of a monopoly situation, and, on the other, domination by virtue of authority, which is characterized by a commanding power (dominator) and duty of obedience (dominated). The purest type of the former is monopolizing domination in the market in terms of influence, and the latter the power of the head of household, administrative authority, or prince. The former, in its pure kind, constitutes the influence that is exerted by virtue of a property or skill available on the market over formally free action apparently directed at the interests of the dominated. The latter, also in its pure kind, is based on a duty of obedience that is considered without regard to any motives and interests (WEBER, 2004, v. 2, pp. 188-189).

Among these opposite types, pure in the Weberian concept, there are a multitude of positions that the structure of domination can characterize, but Weber draws attention to the fact that in most structures of domination there coexist community and associative elements guiding the actions of its participants. In this article, the concept of domination used is identical to the authoritarian command power. Therefore, it will focus on the use of the concept of authority that expresses the mani-

festation of a right to obedience (by the dominator), legitimized (by the dominated), and sustained by the force of orders in the same perspective that led Weber to define domination as follows:

By "domination" we will understand a factual situation in which a manifest will ("warrant") of the "dominator" or "dominators" wants to influence the actions of others (the "dominated"), and in fact influences them in such a way that these actions, to a socially relevant degree, are realized as if the dominated had made the very content of the warrant the maxim of their actions ("obedience") (WEBER, 2004, v. 2, p. 191).

For Weber, the sociological character of domination reveals different traits, according to certain basic differences in the general underpinnings of domination. These basic differences must be kept in mind when trying to classify the structures of domination according to the ideal types created by Weber (charismatic, traditional, and legally rational). These types of ideal structures, and their forms of legitimation, have been and are widely studied in the Brazilian administrative literature (MOTTA and BRESSER PEREIRA, 1979; NELSON, 2010; SILVA and CARVALHO NETO, 2012), and in the international literature most associated with the study of charismatic leadership, mentions are made to the works of WALTER and BRUCH (2009); AVOLIO, WALUMBWA and WEBER (2009); DAY et al. (2014); and DINH et al. (2014).

According to Weber, human groups seeking to achieve their goals are grouped and organized (in the sense of generating rules) and intentionally build coordination and guidance tools for their members, seeking predictability in social actions. These instruments become power holding devices while intentionally being reproduced to all associates, systematically or otherwise, as laws or conventions, in terms of expected behavior. Therefore, in all cases, rational or irrational devices, internal or external, represent the validity of orders. Orders to Weber (2004, v.1, p. 19-23) are "indicative maxims for action orientation." Every social relationship can be oriented by the participants, by representing the existence of a legitimate order. The probability that this occurs is called validity. By relating to the ideal types of domination mentioned above, the legitimacy of an order can be guaranteed: a) "solely by the internal attitude," in an affective or rational way regarding values, or in a religious way; b) "also (or only)" by interest, by expectations of certain consequences. In addition, an order may be called convention or law. It is called convention in Weber, when its validity is externally guaranteed by the probability that, within a given circle of people, discordant behavior will stumble with (relatively) general and practically sensitive disapproval; and it is called law, when it is externally guaranteed by the likelihood of coercion (physical or psychic), exercised by a cadre of persons whose function is to force the observance of this order or to punish its violation. This "willingness of one or more persons to submit to orders" (provided it is not merely out of fear or rationally oriented motives but the existence of ideas of legality) "presupposes the belief in an authority in some legitimate sense of that or those who impose order".

However, the study of structures of domination requires some care. Weber already warned that there are extremely rare associations of domination belonging to the pure types considered here. Moreover, in order to achieve this approach successfully, it is necessary to interpret the type of legitimation of the predominant orders in the association and the relationship between the master and his administrative staff.

The types of legitimation have already been thoroughly studied; however, Weber warns that in a domination structure one must also consider the relationship of solidarity between the master of the domination structure and his administrative framework. But what are the most important elements to consider in this relationship that impact the analysis of the structure of domination? This response comes to the end of Weber's discussion of the combination of various types of domination, the conclusions of which are reproduced here:

1. For all associations, the existence of the administrative framework and its continuous action directed to the execution and imposition of orders is vital for maintaining obedience;
2. The existence of this action is what is called "organization";
3. It is decisive for it (the organization) the solidarity of interests (ideal, material) between the leader and the board;
4. As for the relationship between these two, the phrase goes: the leader, supported by this solidarity, is stronger before each individual member, but weaker before all;
5. It takes, however, an associative relationship planned within the administrative framework to neatly and successfully obstruct or consciously act against the leader and to paralyze your direction;
6. Solidarity of interests with the leader appears in its most intense degree in the case where the very legitimacy and the guarantee of support of the administrative staff depend on him;
7. Finally, and above all, the historical reality is undoubtedly also a continuous, mostly latent struggle between the leader and the administrative framework for the appropriation or expropriation of the first or second (WEBER, 2004, v. 1, p. 174).

These considerations explain why, in certain types of structures of domination, the leader enjoys greater freedom for his personal agency. For the greater the power conferred upon the administrative framework by the rules of the structure of domination, the less is the general liberty of the leader. The reasons for this can be rescued from the clipping presented, but also in several previous discussions regarding the types of legitimation of social relations.

In an attempt to understand the genesis of orders, and therefore the origin of the domination structures that exist in Brazilian unions, it was sought in union education or training (understood as social action of an administrative framework) the elements that could clarify their genesis. Therefore, it is necessary to define what is meant by union formation and the role of the administrative framework of unions in this initiative.

3 UNION TRAINING AND CONSTRUCTION OF DOMINATION STRUCTURES

In Manfredi's conceptualization (1996, p. 23), education or union training is:

[...] those more systematic, intentionally programmed educational practices, such as workers' congresses, courses, seminars, lectures, etc., promoted by trade associations or other socio-cultural organizations in order to convey trade union political projects and proposals and form organizational boards.

By assuming the position expressed in the training booklet for trainers of the United Central of Workers (CUT – *Central Única dos Trabalhadores*) (2009, p. 3), it will be said that: "those who do the training have the intentionality and appropriates of a logic or vision and sets a group of procedures in motion in their daily practice". These are the social actions proper to the administrative staff. If procedures are the visible part of the process, the main interest of this paper is to determine the intentionality of this framework and the worldview that union training courses wish to convey.

One should remember the contents and manifestations of orders as maxims of ways of acting, such as usage, custom or fashion, or convention and law (WEBER, 2004). Primarily, the contents of the union formation courses are a way of preparing the union members for their work in the union activity, which aims to defend the objectives of the constitution of the social formation. The unionists meeting in a community space, or being exposed to a common forma-

tive material, being taught to be and to act, are the focus of this research aimed to understand the structures of domination. In this sense, the form of content organization and the means used to build knowledge with trade unionists interests us as much as the content of teaching itself. On the other hand, the educator/trainer's reference proposition in relation to the educated/trainee means the most interesting object for sociological analysis (MANFREDI, 1996).

In this logic, the interest is to know about the objectives of elaborating and communicating a new course of union formation that exists beyond the simple socialization of objective knowledge, specific for debates in chambers of negotiation, for union action restricted to the defense of class interests. Besides the contents and the systematization of the training, the gains in terms of power and authority that are conveyed to such courses are also of interest: the gain of notoriety of its creators; the social projection of the participants of the centrals; participation in the politics of the country; and the permanence in elective positions in the union itself.

Therefore, the study of the historical dimension of unionism, regarding the subjective analysis of the contents of the training courses, represents a way to analyze domination structures, aiming at understanding the phenomenon in its current facet. The proposed analysis is one that considers the leaders of the Brazilian trade union movement (which makes up the framework of union trainers) as articulators of social action content that resulted in a structure of domination in the unions, with the objective of facilitating access to some objective possibilities (politics, economic, and social), while developing mechanisms and devices for its perpetuation. Union education or training was taken as a device for achieving class goals, but at the same time a mechanism for maintaining the structure of domination. This is how Weber (2004) claims to proceed in the various forms that social formations assume. Imagine if the determination to hold a standstill or strike did not resonate with the trade union bases. The strike does not happen at the directive summit, but at the jobs. Thus, union formation helps to objectively build the chain of command for the union movement.

4 METHODOLOGY

The reference works in this chapter were: *Metodologia das ciências sociais (MCS - Social Sciences Methodology)* (WEBER, 1999), e *Economia e Sociedade (Economy and Society)*, (WEBER, 2004). Thus, fidelity to the Weberian concepts and method was sought, building a qualitative interpretative study.

In this sense, an effort has been made in this section to organize coherent steps, according to Weber (1999), in order to conduct a qualitative study of a social phenomenon, gathering content that is dispersed in several of its comments found in *MCS*, to form an approach script. In this sense, the tactic of retrieving his notes to justify the steps was adopted. The notes are gathered in chart 1 below.

Chart 1: Steps to approach a social phenomenon according to Weber.

Steps to approach a social phenomenon according to Weber		
Premise: "The social science we intend to exercise is a science of reality. We seek to understand in the reality around us, and in which we are situated, what is specific about it; on the one hand, the connections and cultural significance of our various manifestations in their present configuration and, on the other, the causes by which it has historically developed in one form and not in the other." (WEBER, 1999, v. 1, p. 124).		
Steps	Atividades	Referências
1 st Step	- Interpretative perception of human actions.	Weber (1999, v.1, p. 71)
2 nd Step	- (...) always add new parts and elements "interpreted" in the concrete historical reality.	Weber (1999, v.1, p. 71)

3 rd Step	- (...) new sources that must be interpreted within the parameters of the sense of human action emerge.	Weber (1999, v.1, p. 71)
4 th Step	- Forming (...) an ever-broader set of meaningful people's actions, whose elements mutually explain and support that same set.	Weber (1999, v.1, p. 71)
5 th Step	- (...) exhaustively describe this "uniqueness" in all its individual components, and (...) capture it in what has to be causally determined.	Weber (1999, v.1, p. 124)

Source: Built by the authors of the article from Weber (1999, v. 1, pp. 71 e 214).

From the reflection on the Weberian method, a scheme was organized and proposed which, as understood, represents the way to interpretatively study a social phenomenon. This study would have the configuration represented in Figure 1 below, which also represents the path taken in this work for the interpretation of order groups.

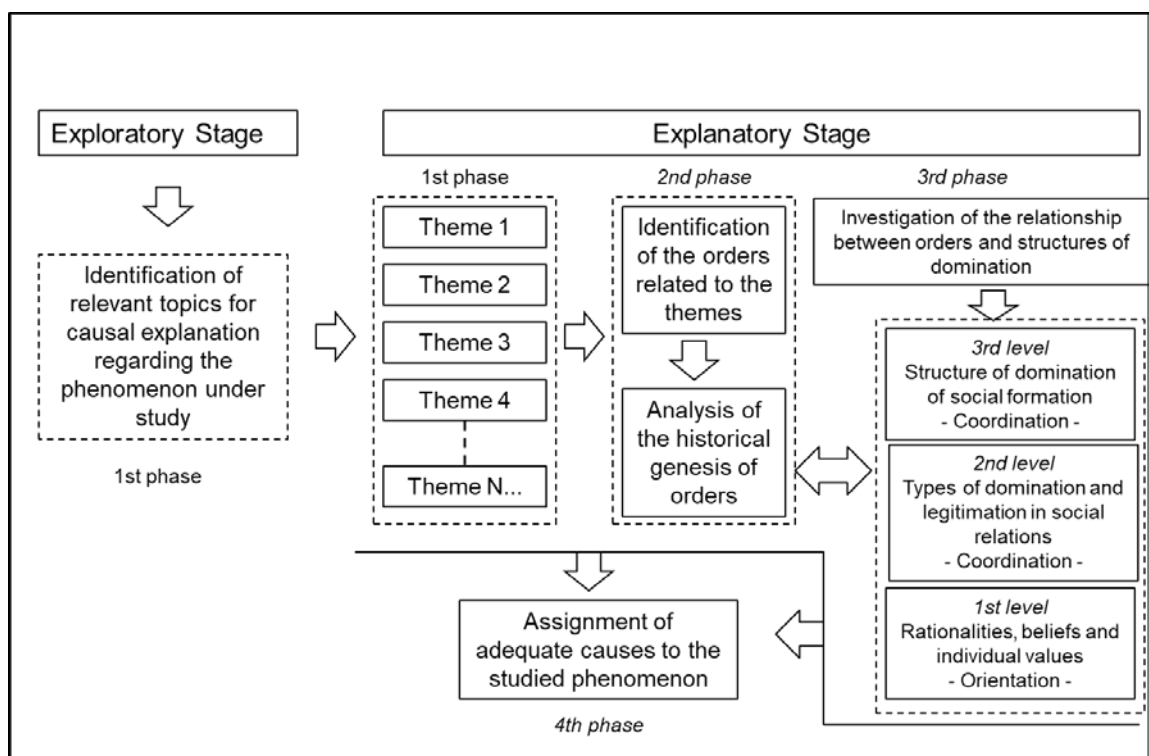


Figure 1: Proposed scheme of a Weberian interpretative analysis of social phenomena.

Source: Built by the authors of the article from Weber (1999, 2004).

It is understood that a study in Weberian molds presents a step of approximation of the field and the object of study (exploratory stage) and a stage of explanation of causal relations between the distinctive elements of the phenomenon (explanatory stage). Figure 1 describes the logical steps for interpreting the valid causes of individual action and the content of their subjective meaning from the analysis of the external effects of social action (WEBER, 1999).

The first stage was carried out in two insertions in 2011 and 2012. In these inserts, 26 semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives of the workers' and employers' unions of the states of Minas Gerais and São Paulo, as both were the cradle of the new Brazilian unionism, and later because the most significant union formation initiatives are found in these states (MANFREDI, 1996). Considering representatives of employees and employers, the participants of the exploratory research were the following: 1- Employee unions: Bankers of MG, Bankers of SP, Chemists of SP, Metallurgists of SP, Metallurgists of ABC; 2- employers unions: FIESP, Chemical

Employers unions; 3- trade union centrals: United Central of Workers (CUT – *Central Única dos Trabalhadores*), General Workers Union (UGT – *União Geral dos Trabalhadores*), UNION FORCE.

The analysis of these interviews allowed mapping four themes of recurring conflicts in the social relations among union members: 1 - the role of the leaders; 2 - the conflict between historical and young leaders in occupying union positions; 3 - succession; and 4 - environmental conditioning factors. The analysis also allowed the identification of five groups of orders (from the Weberian perspective) that permeated these social relations: 1 - ethics and religion as formers of individual values and beliefs; 2 - political repression as an element of value and people selection to the Brazilian trade union movement; 3 - transmission of the Marxist ideology in the formation of trade unions; 4 - the climate of distrust between the parties (workers and employers) continues; and 5 - the validity of laws in labor relations.

After the exploratory stage, it was decided to continue the research with workers unions only, since the characteristics of social relations that they displayed were more in line with these research objectives. Thus, the (explanatory) stage was developed between May and September 2014 only in worker representation institutions. During this period, the collections of the institutions that had relevance in the union formation since the 1970s were visited. The institutions that were visited and contributed to the research, allowing broad access to the collections and donating copies of digital and physical documents for documentary research, were: Inter-Trade Union Department of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies (DIEESE - *Departamento Intersindical de Estatística e Estudos Socioeconômicos*); National CUT Documentation Center (CEDOC - *Centro de Documentação da CUT Nacional*); ABC Metalworkers Documentation Center - CEDOC of the ABC Metalworkers Union; Federation of Agricultural Workers of the State of Minas Gerais (FE-TAEMG - *Federação dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura do Estado de Minas Gerais*); 7 de outubro School of MG; São Paulo School; and Worker Pastoral of SP.

At this stage, nearly 300 documents were collected: physical, digitized (available on websites), CDs and DVDs. After classifying them according to the highest criteria of this paper, reflecting elements of union formation, they were selected and classified for the second time, obeying the affinity presented between its contents and the themes and orders identified in the exploratory stage. 115 documents were selected and with them the production of document analysis was performed. Additionally, videos recorded at congresses or trade unionist training courses were examined. This material is from a historical period between 1970 and 2014.

The results of the research presented below are mainly focused on the explanatory stage that took place in 2014. However, it is clear that, in order to reach this result, the path taken since the first field insertions in 2011 cannot be disregarded (see Figure 1). To meet the research objectives the list of identified orders are presented in tables considering: 1 - their general scope; 2 - the orders of the same group related to the action of the leaders/dominators; and 3 - orders related to the actions of the led/dominated.

5 PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

In this section we make an inventory of documentary evidence of the gestation and validity of orders as personal guidelines and coordination of social actions among trade unionists. Following the logic proposed in the model of analysis of social phenomena, they are organized and grouped according to their historical significance in the constitution of the meaning contents of social relations and domination structures in Brazilian unions and referenced in the Weberian writings.

5.1 1st group of orders: Ethics and religion as formers of individual values and beliefs

The first group of orders records how the union leaders made the linking of the content of religious and ethical origin to the themes of the labor movement. Weber (1999, v. 2, p. 417) had already discussed rational action according to values. In the search for behaviors as ways of acting, there are in the following excerpts practical examples of how ethical-religious contents were articulated in the formation of rationality according to values, giving them the peculiarity of an action that is structured according to maxims of individual or collective conduct. It is an action according to commandments by the conscious belief of its ethical-religious value. But it is not only rational action that, according to values, is structured according to these contents. Affective or emotional action can also use them to subjectively mean behaviors and sentimental states.

To understand the structures of domination in Brazilian unions, the ethical-religious content seems to be one of the indispensable pillars. Much of what has been attributed to charismatic actions in Brazilian unions has its origins in these pillars. In this sense, it became important to understand the approach and educational actions of the Catholic Church, through its social activists, with the Brazilian labor movement. Something interesting happened in the decades of political repression: in a tragic moment for individual and collective expression of the Brazilian history, there was the elective affinity between the reflection contents of religion (faith and belief), intellectual education (politics and economy), and the labor movement (classist interests). These contents were articulated and reproduced in the union formation. Regarding religious content, its effects were reflected in the constitution of orders as will be exemplified:

We know that in the Gospel there is no distinction between faith and politics. This difference is something invented to cover up the political interests of those who are only interested in religion. [...] Jesus died of what? Hepatitis? Of disaster? ... No! Jesus died as a political prisoner, just like the Titus. We are all disciples of a political prisoner. (FREI BETTO, 1989, p. 8).

As can be seen, the thinking of religious activists has polarized discussions on the ethics of the labor movement. Much has been done at youth group meetings. Although its effects cannot be generalized throughout the country, at least for São Paulo workers' youth, this particularity of the Brazilian trade union movement was decisive in the constitution of rules as ways of acting, both individually and collectively.

Inspired by multiple exhortations, preaching and discussion groups, militancy was created dating back to the 1950s with the meetings of the Christian Workers' Youth (JOC - *Juventude Operária Cristã*) and Catholic Workers' Action (ACO - *Ação Católica Operária*) (PO, 1984, p. 31). Many of the still militant trade unionists drank from this source, including those who granted the exploratory interviews. As a consequence, also of the activity of the PO, the formation of the unionists registered an advance in the rationality of the structure of social actions, although it is logically attached to the plan of values. At the same time, other training activities were developed by DIEESE.

In this group of orders, the close relationship with the Weberian concept of social relation as fight can be identified. This fight, which aimed at the selection of social relations, according to the Weberian concept, became combative in the strikes of 1970-80, as it ultimately meant the struggle against oppression, and for a fairer society. This study records the transformation of elements of morality into practical elements that form ethics in social relations, a position equal to that of the dome of the so-called liberation church. The main orders of this group are summarized in chart 2 below.

Chart 2. First Order Group.

First Order Group: Ethics and religion as formers of individual values and beliefs	
Identified General Orders	
1. In the Gospel there is no distinction between faith and politics; 2. Human labor is the key to every social question for the good of man; 3. The relationship between capital and labor is oppressive to workers. This oppression can be solved only through the struggle born of the reflection of the gospel.	
Derivation of General Orders for Dominators / Leaders	
Specific Orders	Union leadership must be exercised for the benefit of the workers, so it must be achieved through the coherence between the class defense actions and the militant way of life.
Self-justification	I lived like the one I represent, felt the same anguish, and enabled myself to be its spokesperson. My removal from work was necessary to defend the interests of the worker.
Derivation of general orders for the dominated / led	
Specific Orders	Our representatives are one of us. They repudiate what they lived, so they seek the common good of the workers.
Legitimation	Our leaders expose and sacrifice themselves on behalf of the entire working class. They are whole people who suffered like us the oppression of the bosses and the government

Source: Built by the author of the thesis based on documentary analysis.

5.2 2nd group of orders: Political repression as an element of selection of values and people for the Brazilian trade union movement.

In the union training courses, the events that occurred during the dictatorship period, with intense political repression between 1964 and 1985, is a prominent subject. However, there was no interest in a historical analysis that made facts explicit, unfolding the discussions of the analysts of this period, but in the effects that the appropriation of these facts as training content had and still has for the social relations among the unionists. It is in this sense that the contents reproduced in courses were evaluated as elements (re)interpreted by the union leaders with the intention of affirming and legitimizing orders as the maximum conduct in the social relations between them. Indeed, not infrequently, one can perceive a heroic tone in the narratives reproduced as discussion content in the courses, such as the following clipping:

“In the military governments the situation was terrible and the Union was broken,” said Joaquim dos Santos Andrade, Joaquinzão, who for eight times was elected president of the São Paulo Metalworkers Union. “The entire union leadership was revoked by the military coup of 1964 on charges of partisan militancy, and all our efforts were to resist and free the union from intervention.” Joaquinzão, who led the union throughout the military dictatorship, recalled that with repression little or almost nothing could be done. “Especially after AI-5, when all constitutional guarantees were lifted, trade unionism was disjointed by repression, which prevented workers’ organization, strikes and even inter-union meetings.” During the dictatorship, the most significant union leaders were in jail, in exile or in hiding. “Many were arrested and their homes searched,” Joaquinzão said (FORÇA SINDICAL, 1999, p. 72).

The exaltation of people and events is common in the texts of course handouts. Unlike the booklet of the Worker Pastoral that were highlighted when we spoke of orders based on ethics and religion, in this study the meaning content of the action that is sought comes close to the tradition of the reports of the deeds and heroism of historical unionists; reports of glory. As highlighted in the speeches of our interviewees in the exploratory stage, the tradition of the trade

union movement acts as a reference for socializing new unionists. Those who can contribute, as reported in the exploratory research, are selected. Weber already said that much of what is done in everyday life is done almost automatically, but it must not be forgotten that this automatism is the result of a well-directed education that teaches people to act as human beings, husbands, wives, students, and/or union members... At this point, the intentionality of union formation achieves its objectives when it establishes references for the neophyte. When this individual aspires to imitate his predecessors, doing his best for the cause, the formation of the union is complete. The same meaning content worked in the union formation is what legitimizes the actions of the leaders of the movement with those who are willing to follow and perform, as if “the content of the mandate of the dominator was the very content of his will”, according to Weber’s teachings (2004, v. 2, p. 189).

In the sense of being more general orders, it can be said that the contents conveyed by union formation for this group directly influence the directions of social formation at the broadest level of coordination: that of social formation, because it works ideal references aiming at ideal postures. This is a principle of cohesion for social formation and identification for the trade unionist, at the same time as these orders establish hierarchies. The oldest, the most experienced, and especially those who experienced this historic period of persecution, stand out from the rest in decision-making positions.

This set of factors, represented by the tradition of unionism and the predilection of historical unionists for management positions, established a type of domination preferentially traditional for Brazilian unions. Although their functional structures are made up of paid officials, who survive presidents’ mandates and assimilate much of the characteristics of Weberian administration domination, they are also employees of the trade union movement. They are therefore permeable to traditional values, which regulate social relations between them. In this case, they overlap with the contractual nature of the social relationship, the values of tradition, establishing relationships of a personal nature, faithful to principles and to people. It is no wonder that many of the unionists interviewed perpetuate in senior positions for many decades, backed by achievements of this glorious period of unionism.

By understanding these accounts of glory one can understand the intentionality of union formation: that of producing a correct interpretation of unionism for its members. This sense content certainly selects and elevates those who spread the right way to practice unionism, distinguishing them from those who learn it or those who do not know it. By this, union formation is understood as a device of organization, therefore, of maintaining the structure of domination. Chart 3 below lists the orders identified in this group.

Chart 3: Second Order Group.

Second Order Group: Political repression as an element of selection of values and people for the Brazilian trade union movement.	
Identified General Orders	
It contributes more to the establishment and pursuit of the union objectives of those who have more experience in the representation of the working class; This experience is proven when the militant does not retreat from the persecution imposed on the labor rights defender; He who has proved his worth in persecution must become a reference to others.	
Derivation of General Orders for Dominators / Leaders	
Specific Orders	The persecution I suffered in defense of the rights of the worker prepared me to speak and to decide on behalf of my class. I am a reference for those who do not have this experience.

Self-justification	My life was dedicated to the trade union movement and the defense of workers' rights. All my acts point in this direction, so I am best prepared to speak on their behalf.
Derivation of general orders for the dominated / led	
Specific Orders	Those who suffer or have suffered persecution in the name of the workers' cause must also be their legal representatives.
Legitimation	Our leaders sacrifice for us, so we must do the same on our part.

Source: Built by the authors of the article from documentary analysis.

5.3 3rd group of orders: Transmission of Marxist ideology

This item highlighted the other content of the formation of workers' ethics of the 1970-80s: socialism. For this reason, an attempt to explain the meaning of the social action of Brazilian trade unionists, from a historical perspective, could not disregard the great importance of Marxism in the formation of its predominant ideology. In the considerations of the first group of orders, in turn, it was noticed that the Worker Pastoral worked with the logic of conflict and exploitation in the relationship between capital and labor, associating them with the concepts of religion. The appearance of the terms "oppression", "exploitation" in the textbooks is constant.

In a scenario of intense international influence, the Brazilian trade union movement was mirrored in socialist but also social democratic initiatives, carried by various institutions from abroad, to elaborate its agenda of claims. As an example of this influence, it can be cited the conventions and the letter from International Confederation of Free Trade Union Organizations (CIOSL), adopted by the CIOSL World Congress, held in Oslo in 1983. This letter called on youth to uphold the human dignity, rights, and norms of workers' lives, set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the CIOSL Statutes (CIOSL, 1983). Just to illustrate, the letter advocated a mobilization in the following terms:

Trade unions must resist the global threat of economic downturn and put pressure on governments to take coordinated action for full employment, economic expansion and a new economic and social order. (CIOSL, 1983, p. 23)

This material was reproduced with the purpose of generating identity in the class struggle, also for the Brazilian workers. At the same time, it was used examples of books such as Costa's (1981), which reported a research on work accidents titled: *As vítimas do capital: os acidentados do trabalho* (The victims of capital: individuals injured at work). One can reflect on the effects that the discussion of passages of these books had on the masses of workers. The following clipping illustrates the impact on sections where it could be used as case study material in union training courses:

J.M.S.N. has worked for a total of 15 years in a foundry, where he lost one finger and has suffered from "industrial fatigue". During this time, he worked 12 hours a day, including on Sundays and during vacation, when he was late or wanted to increase his income. His job was manual; he had to control the oven, push carts with incandescent iron, etc. He worked practically without protection, or special installation, in sheds where the temperature was around 50°C. He received no health risk premium, and had to sue the company to recognize his right to overtime after 12 years of work. His nerves could not stand the pressure and tension exacerbated by the constant accidents; he eventually lost consciousness and wanted to assault his colleagues. Doctors diagnosed him with "industrial fatigue" (COSTA, 1981, pp. 42-43).

There was a direct harmony between the cases of injured or exploited comrades with the daily reality of those receiving union formation. An ideological spread in this fertile field of dissatisfaction would certainly have, and had the effect, generate the fuel for the trade union movement of the new unionism and, consequently, the basis of the legitimacy of the leaders who engendered it. For the working class, Marxist thinking was hegemonic for the 1970s and 1980s. This was reflected in the first syndical training books prepared by CUT members in 1987.

Chart 4 shows the orders identified in this group.

Chart 4: Third group of orders.

Third group of orders: Transmission of Marxist Ideology	
Identified General Orders	
The bosses exploit the worker's labor to make ever greater profits, while the poor distribution of labor income condemns the worker to misery. To solve the problem of the exploitation of workers, they must take control of the economy and politics, reversing the effects of the social pyramid that favors governments and employers.	
Derivation of General Orders for Dominators / Leaders	
Specific Orders	All our efforts must be to put workers at the top of the social pyramid; Inequality is the result of social injustice. This inequality must be corrected by making the resources of production a property of all by seizing power.
Self-justification	He who works must get the full benefit of his work. Therefore, all my energies must be directed towards the realization of this ideal. In this effort of mine I must organize the mass of workers against the domination of the bosses, using the necessary methods to make them aware of the condition of the worker. Our ideal will come to fruition by taking over the factory and the government, just like our colleagues from other countries who have already done this.
Derivation of general orders for the dominated / led	
Specific Orders	The union wants the common good of the worker; our enemies are those in government positions and those who use capital to oppress the working class.
Legitimation	Only through the action of our representatives and the support of the mass of workers does social justice become reality; Only by uniting the workers in the ideal and in the struggle without weakness will we achieve the social justice we aim for.

Source: Built by the authors of the article from documentary analysis.

5.4th group of orders: The climate of distrust between the parties (workers and employers) continues...

In its constitution, the fourth group of orders is different from the third. While the third group refers to a prevailing worldview for workers in the twentieth century, supported by a theory of society organization, the fourth group of orders is based on more immediate interests backed by workers' experience. But its influence on this one is clear. Thus, while adherence to Marxism is the result of learning and reflection on worldviews, this fourth group of orders contemplates the orders managed and nurtured in the memories and traditions of conflicts of social relations due to the incompatibility of a greater adjustment of interests between workers and employers, which permeates, but transcends the force of orders from the socialist-oriented worldview.

Therefore, the orders of interest in this group are those that regulate social relations between union members and employers and also serve as guidance for social relations among workers' unionists, especially for union formation. In this category, the orders arising from the daily defense of class interests are inserted. For this reason, it is observed from the analysis of the documents that while Marxism, with its political and economic pretensions, defended the substitution of the employing class by the workers in power, in this group of orders the employers are seen as a necessary counterpart for the negotiation of better working and living conditions.

The third and fourth groups of orders coexisted in the glorious period of the new trade unionism. However, if the meaning content of the actions of a revolutionary (Marxist) nature prevailed there, at present, those of the fourth group, which aim at negotiation between the parties, are predominant. This can be seen in the following excerpts from these two distinct historical periods.

The pamphleteering tone of that period leaves no doubt about the predilection of the union leaders for the Marxist ideal. Nonetheless, what can be seen from this clipping is the coexistence of different visions of the way of class struggle. Certainly, due to the ability to mobilize the leadership of the new unionism in its golden age, a more combative aspect stood out. In this sense, the union formation was an important instrument in the reproduction of the key ideas of this combative unionism, establishing strategies and mobilization tactics, as shown in the following clipping:

(...) The flatterers and reformists have already shown their capacity to mobilize only at certain times already stipulated by the union calendar itself (for example: salary campaigns on base dates) (...). Moreover, triggering isolated mobilizations (eg by company or even by isolated categories) sometimes favors a more global strategy of the bourgeoisie itself and the bourgeois state. Isolated struggles are easier to control, can revolve around (albeit victorious) short-range claims and often fail to point to the broader political issues (CUT, 1987, p. 3).

Comparing the discourse of the previous cut-off with the next one conveyed in the workbook of the ABC Metallurgists Union (SMBC, 2003), there is a significant difference in the approach to the class struggle theme. There is currently a more conciliatory discourse for both employer and internal union relations:

A partner may be sympathetic to the fight, but not very dedicated, preferring to participate sporadically. Of course this has some value. But the regularity, firmness, grit and combativeness demonstrated in the militancy are fundamental to guarantee the efficiency of the union action and to earn respect among the base workers (SMABC, 2003, pp. 40-41).

Even because, by analyzing the meaning of the word combativeness for the two historical periods, one can see the difference of proposals of the working class regarding the way to make a trade union movement. Before they were physical clashes, with ideological, economic and political pretensions for the whole working class; they are now clashes of defending class interests with economic repercussions for the working class and policies for union leaders. At some point, between these two distinct periods, there was a break with that first Marxist ideal, with the orders of the fourth group presented coexisting solely for the defense of class interests. It is understood that this moment occurred with the politicization towards partisanship of the unions, with several of its members taking public positions, culminating with the conquest of the presidency by the Workers Party (PT).

The group orders are summarized in chart 5 below.

Chart 5: Fourth Order Group.

Fourth Order Group: The climate of distrust between the parties (workers and employers) remains
Identified General Orders
Employers 'and workers' interests are conflicting in nature. There is a latent struggle between the two classes that cannot be definitively resolved. Employers will always seek the highest possible profit even if they have to penalize the employee for this. The way to reverse this state of affairs is negotiation.
Derivation of General Orders for Dominators / Leaders

Specific Orders	I have to be a partisan of the class I represent because the employer will always try to take advantage of the work of the workers.
Self-justification	Employees need enlightened advocates who represent them and defend their interests. The constitution of employee representatives is necessary to generate balance in the capital-labor relationship. The more prepared for negotiation this representation is, the greater the chances that this balance will be established.
Derivation of general orders for the dominated / led	
Specific Orders	Carrying out the social action proposal of the representatives, defended in collective bargaining, is the most effective way of facing the power of capital.
Legitimation	Because there is no possibility that everyone will sit at the negotiating table, union representatives are the voice of the workers. It's us talking through them.

Source: Constructed by the authors of the article from documentary analysis.

5.5 5th group of orders: The enforcement of labor relations laws

Weber established that orders can be classified by the presence or otherwise of an official coercive framework. Those whose validity was guaranteed under the prerogative of social disapproval alone would be classified as conventions. Those whose transgression was assessed and sanctioned by a coercive framework officially established for this purpose would be classified as right (WEBER, 2004, v. 1, pp. 18-23). The 5th group of orders falls under this last classification. If the previous groups depend on social approval/disapproval to demand their compliance by the members, therefore being part of the plan of social conventions, the same does not happen with the orders of this group. Most situations that occur in social relations seek their rules in the two sources of approval; however, the associative relationship, whose main feature is the presence of an administrative framework, does not dispense with the right (WEBER, 2004, v. 1).

Three types of orders were identified, linked to the law: orders related to labor legislation; the orders regulating the work of unions (statutes and operating laws); and the ratification of national and international labor conventions and trade unionism. The first type is part of the legislation of labor relations, and regulates the rights and duties of the contractual relationship between employees and employers, having as its official coercive body the Ministry of Labor and Employment.

In Brazil, the rights and duties of employment, except for certain private or public service contracts, are governed by the Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT - *Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho*). The second type is governed by the Federal Constitution, and falls under the purview of the Public Prosecution Service. The third type is the subject of negotiations (government, employers, and unions) to become laws, vested rights, both to compose the first group and the second, and is therefore the object of a coercive framework. The CLT is perhaps the most controversial document in these union disputes. In the following excerpts, it is not sought to discuss controversial issues, but simply to show some of their contents on which orders are erected during negotiations and the consequent construction of meaning of social actions. The CLT is a decree that regulates labor relations in Brazil, as follows:

Article 2 - An employer is considered to be an individual or collective company that, assuming the risks of economic activity, admits, pays salaries and directs the personal service rendering.

1st § - For the sole purpose of the employment relationship, self-employed persons, charities, recreational associations or other non-profit institutions who hire workers as employees shall be treated as employers. (Brasil, 1943, p. 1).

The effects of this law cannot be ignored for organizations dealing with paid staff, let alone those whose purpose is to defend class rights and reflect on these laws for the benefit of their members. Trade unions have mixed staff, the employees themselves and those employed by their companies of origin. Moreover, they are, at the same time, one of the pillars of discussion of the validity of these orders in labor relations. To what extent is it possible to distinguish for union workers their position as employees (own or allocated) and union activists? When does the trade unionist stop talking for the wage earner to speak? Conflicts in this sense are not uncommon in social relations among trade unionists. On the one hand, there is the CLT governing the rights of workers with formal employment. On the other hand, there is the proper legislation of the union activity. Weber already said that in a social relationship, agents may be subject to a broad set of orders, playing different or even conflicting roles in the same social action (WEBER, 2004):

Article 7 - The rights of urban and rural workers, as well as others aimed at improving their social status, are:

- I - Employment relationship protected against arbitrary or unfair dismissal, under the terms of complementary law, which shall provide for compensatory indemnity, among other rights;
- II - Unemployment insurance in case of involuntary unemployment;
- III - Service time guarantee fund (...) (BRASIL, 1988, p. 7).

Article 8 - The professional or trade union association is free, subject to the following:

- III - The union is responsible for the defense of the collective or individual rights and interests of the category, including in judicial or administrative matters; (...)
- V - No one shall be required to join or to remain union members;
- VI - The participation of unions in collective bargaining negotiations is mandatory (...) (BRASIL, 1988, p. 7).

In order to analyze the meaning of social action among trade unionists, it must be taken into account that the worker of the union organization is at the same time associated, employee, citizen, and union activist. Therefore, in this amalgam of orders, they also do not act with complete freedom. Membership in the organization and the activity itself are partly governed by the conventions and partly by the laws governing trade union activity.

The orders of the fifth group are listed in chart 6 below.

Chart 6: Fifth Order Group.

Fifth Order Group: Law enforcement in labor relations	
Identified General Orders	
Laws are consequences and conditions of life in society. Laws set limits on the rights and duties of those who defend their interests. Their knowledge is what makes expectations between stakeholders balanced. Laws are intended to prevent arbitrariness in the defense of interests; therefore, an arbitration or sanction body may be appealed in cases of infringement by the parties.	
Derivation of General Orders for Dominators / Leaders	
Specific Orders	Workers need to be represented by people who are able to interpret the laws that are in force in relation to work, so that their interests are protected.
Self-justification	Representation is a right of command acquired through a legitimate vote that represents an expectation of union members.
Derivation of general orders for the dominated / led	
Specific Orders	Human work in organizations is governed by laws that regulate both the authority of those who rule and the duties of those who obey; It is by will, by vote, that representation is elected. It is a right of representation to establish guidelines for the trade union movement, by consulting the bases.
Self-justification	The authority of representations stems from legitimate election.

Source: Built by the author of the thesis based on documentary analysis.

The documentary analysis allowed affirming that the choices of the union leaders, together with the administrative staff (trainers), led the Brazilian union movement to have the identity it has today. The social actions of union leaders, while being the cause of orders, reflect their validity in the subjective contents of their social relations. It was the intentionality of the union trainers that made it possible to elaborate and reproduce the contents of orders that are reflected as guiding the unionists' actions in all areas where there are conflicts or interests involved.

This study corroborates Weber's view that in the structure of domination, orders take the form of a well-defined power architecture that needs to be dealt with, reproduced, and remembered through liturgies of all kinds and statutes to achieve their intended effects. Only clear and shared orders can generate the intended effects of cohesion of social relations. Well, in agreement with Weber, it can be said that union formation has become an effective tool in the elaboration of structures of domination in unions and trade union centrals. Furthermore, that the action of moving resources, theoretical and physical, to build a union mentality, as well as the effort to maintain it legitimately favors a command relationship between unionists in the following terms: "That an authority seeking the right to issue warrants finds, to a socially relevant degree, effective obedience" (WEBER, 2004, v. 2, p. 192).

6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The identified order groups have limitations to explain the genesis of structures of domination in other social formations. They allow a look at the structure of domination and its effects on power division in Brazilian trade union organizations. Taking this study as a reference, it is not possible to affirm about structures of domination in other possible fields of action of leaders and administrative staff, focusing on the social relationship and the intentional reproduction of rules of conduct.

The structure of domination identified was constituted by the practices of union members and the traditions of Brazilian unionism. It was structured in the 1970-1980 clashes, and took the current course due to the systematization occurred by the efforts of the union formation. The question remains: would a movement based only on interpersonal relations without the intense work of systematizing the orders of conduct between them have achieved the same results? From the research carried out, the answer is no. This is exactly what Weber taught. Many fights are born and die every day. Leadership without a consistent domination structure does not achieve its goals. He says this of the structure manifested in social relations through the content of the orders that promote the cohesion of its courses and effects. This implies that a leader is not a generic leader, as generic is not the leadership he exercises. Both he and his leadership are identified by a structure of domination that takes the forms appropriate to the associative or community goals to which he is addressed, and which he dominates on his behalf while succeeding in achieving those goals.

As can be seen, the social actions of some can be significantly directed to influence the way others perceive and position themselves in the prevailing orders. It appears that this is the role of leadership, to serve as a reference in the fulfillment of orders through their will projected into the will of the associates, their desire in the wishes of the community, or the application of statutes in purpose-oriented social relations.

Finally, the study presented here contributes to rescuing the concept of Weberian domination in current organizations. It is intended to foster discussions around this and other Weberian concepts, such as authority, order, subjective sense of actions, etc. In this sense, the unions had excellent potential to discuss domination, order and domination structures along the Weberian lines. However, this study has its limitations in discussing these structures of domination only in unions. Further studies should be conducted to verify in other types of organizations the relevance of talking about the genesis of domination structures, relating them to the phenomenon of leadership.

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Contribution	[Author 1]	[Author 2]
1. Definition of research problem	x	x
2. Development of hypotheses or research questions (empirical studies)	x	x
3. Development of theoretical propositions (theoretical work)	x	
4. Theoretical foundation / Literature review	x	
5. Definition of methodological procedures	x	x
6. Data collection	x	
7. Statistical analysis	NA	NA
8. Analysis and interpretation of data	x	x
9. Critical revision of the manuscript	x	x
10. Manuscript writing	x	
11. Other (please specify)	-	-