50 - HIERARCHY AND SOCCER: THE TRADITIONAL CONFIGURATION OF CLUB CAPIXABA

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Introduction

Soccer, a sport that started in England and introduced in Brazil in 1894, although is not an endemic sport, was very well assimilated and absorbed by the country, and has a great representation in the social and cultural Brazilian context since its inception.

No more than two decades ago, soccer has served as an object of study within academic context. Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology and Physical Education, have been known as the areas of greater theoretical production, discussing and debating soccer in the most several aspects (social, cultural, anthropological, pedagogic, medical and others).

By analyzing part of theoretical contribution regarding the soccer, it is intriguing the fact that most of the authors who writes about Brazilian soccer only refers it as related to Rio and São Paulo areas. The privilege as a theory referring to Rio - São Paulo route does not occur to soccer teams from other states, which, due to that reason, we chose to address on the soccer from the State of Espírito Santo, whose first soccer match was on 1906 (SILVA, 1998, p.5), and more specifically Caxias Esporte Clube (CEC), a soccer team that became champion in 1944 by defeating Rio Branco FC team, a candidate to trichampionship of the year. In 1970, it is laurelled with Cidade of Vitória Prize.

Objects and Investigation Methods

The objective of this study is to identify the administrative singularities of a team exclusively focused on soccer. Those singularities are exactly are the differences faces that allows to recognize a team identify, comprising social devices that distinguish them from other similar institutions, and pinpoint the causes that led Caxias to quit from supporting soccer as a team soon after the period when conquered the championship among other professional Espirito Santo´s teams.

As to investigation methods, as a first analysis plan, we tried to search, in document proofs, facts that could support our theory. We understand that those documents that some truth of the past would be printed, and an interpretation and analysis the document sometimes brings back life, which is the historian task to work it, organize it, clip it and establish all relations it is intended to.

Caxias Esporte Clube: What documents tell us

Caxias Esporte Clube, founded in 1940, has some singularities which made us to undertake this study. Leaning over that team's history, a scenario full of social differences is placed in front of us. Those singularities have been identified during the study, and the research showed two singularities that indicate the object that is considered the main piece of the investigation for the study: Hierarchy and amateurism. The soccer team is based on a circle of associates whose members' area comprised of military and civil policemen, and their relationship is paved on a single gender: male.

A soccer team is found underneath, on which the club is sustained and how it communicates with society. CEC also has supporters. The growth in the number of supporters for an portrayer of the 70´s “is forming, it goes spreading, regardless of social context to which it belongs, and the team keeps on creating their own values by expressing empathy which soon will bring even more supporter.”

Suddenly the admirer starts to become interested in the soccer team, in general, due to family bonds, friendship, by living close to the club, by identification with their origin and “by the color of the shirt, because those who rooted for Flamengo had the same sympathy for the officer's team wearing red and black uniforms”, or listening to the history of team, since one had the chance to take part on teams success or failure.

The documents speak

Documents searches to endorse and direct our baseline and behaviors and regiments CEC relations in found in Caxias Esporte Clube´s statutes. CEC statute, a document with 97 provisions, translates and provides the resolutions on which the members are subject to.

A statute is what team behavior, procedures and discipline is based on, that a legitimate group built to regulate the coexistence, in the space where the most different relationships occurs involving the portrayers. It is noticed that a statute holds a power that goes forward and distributes hierarchizations that, when seen as a chain, is not located nor is found the hands of the club management, but it is deemed to a power that is exercised in a “networked” fashion, and this network all individuals circulates, and any one can be in position of being subject to such power, but he/she also capable practicing it.

From its foundation in 1940 until today, the members' staff has inducted more than 16 presidents, among them colonels, majors and captains who have been elected. To understand that historical power relationship, we have interviewed members and former soccer players. The information translated by the portrayers at that time indicated us that to social relationships were equal and they didn't notice a hierarchy to be questioned in a game field. The information changes directions when questioning comes to be a position of the portrayers in isolated, individual relationships.

Amateur x Professional

A second facet appears in the research, revealed by portrayers and documents that built and registered CEC scenarios. Portrayers information is revealed to be a facet that, during a given of the Brazilian soccer history, allows to identify it in several aspects of the soccer game. Here we are going to work with the concept of amateur soccer, because in the analysis of the interviews that terminology in found the relationships “matched” among players, the team and leaders.

The term “amateur” in sports has been used as a concept to translate several approaches. Those approaches reside in the field of the social and historical contexts of the modern sport and it is focused on team clubs managerial structures. In the context of the social relations, now it describes a context where a scenario appears between leaders and players, almost always used against leaders' craft or their benevolence towards the players (Mário Filho, 1964). The decade of the Brazilian soccer professionalism sends us back to 1930´s, since in Italy there already had since 1920, as well as Argentinean soccer, in 1931 and Uruguayan soccer in 1932.

A portrayer explains us that “The management that took office in the years after 1977 and 1978 saw that it was not possible to mount a competitive team to become a state champion. [...] representativeness was very strong.” Other structures can be attributed to the reasons of not keep on training a team that was a “capixaba”´s leader back in 1970 and quit playing main league soccer in the subsequent years due to a decision of the management. “Caxias didn't have a good stadium and the authority of a Desportiva and Rio Branco team was very strong”, and between one and other speech here the portrayers added that “It was lack of incentive, lack of money.”

But it is another facet that is being drawn by an “amateur” scenario that takes use to revealing Caxias Esporte Clube´s differences. A portrayer told us that what caused the Management to leave “professional” soccer had been a “financial problem... because from the moment that Caxias was a champion (1970), the players themselves were already expensive... they became

"stars",... so they couldn't keep the players there, and they left."

Soccer players' transactions in Brazil grow more and more. The time of permanence in the team is being reduced since the contracts establish player's period in the team. In 1989, 132 professional players were "negotiated" among Brazilian and foreign clubs. Since this is gear that moves the teams, CEC, didn't have that possibility due to the constitution of its group, which showed a team that historically had differences since its foundation, and it was centered on ethnocentric image of its managers.

Here, when we establish those historical cuts, it marks and indicates the facets that glimpsed in the CEC scenario: A new soccer logics was born and considering that a team founded on partners' collaboration was kept unaffected due to new facets of a soccer marked by the capitalist logic.

Conclusion

In this analysis we can conclude that Caxias Esporte Clube presents a dual facet which allows to identify it as a team. The first one that takes team leaders' identity as hierarchical by limiting the member's traffic and consequently manifesting in the team space. The second facet deals with amateur structures, where the soccer world modernity is not possible to follow up due to its historical formation, based on in a team model centered on an ethnocentric image of its social management.

The documents, the portrayers' speeches, can be analyzed under several prisms, and it is shifted for this study to understand the relationships that occurred in the social spaces in Dumont (1993), it was possible to identify a soccer team that traditionally is maintained as an amateur team.

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HIERARCHY AND SOCCER: THE TRADITIONAL CONFIGURATION OF CLUB CAPIXABA

ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to identify the administrative differences of Caxias Esporte Clube, an amateur soccer team from Espírito Santo´s scenario. The problem is to reveal the reasons that took the team to prevent from supporting soccer soon after the period when it conquered the championship among the professional capixaba´s teams in 1970. This study revealed that CEC has two facets which are characteristics of amateurism still found today in Brazilian soccer teams: Leaders' ethnocentric hierarchy and amateur structure of managing soccer rules. KEY WORDS: Soccer, Hierarchy

HIÉRARCHIE ET FOOTBALL : CÔTÉS TRADITIONNELS DU CLUB CAPIXABA

RÉSUMÉ

Le but de cette étude est d'identifier les singularités administratives du "Caxias Esporte Clube", club de football actuellement amateur de l'état d'Espírito Santo. La problématique consiste à dévoiler les motifs qui amenèrent le club à ne plus soutenir le football, juste après la période où celui-ci gagna le championnat entre les clubs professionnels de l'état d'Espírito Santo en 1970. L'étude révéla que le CEC possède deux côtés qui sont les caractéristiques de l'amateurisme encore présent dans les clubs de football brésiliens : la hiérarchie ethnocentrique des dirigeants et une structure amateur de gestion du football.

MOTS-CLÉS: Football, Hiérarchie

JERARQUÍA Y FÚTBOL: RASGOS TRADICIONALES DE UN CLUB CAPIXABA

RESUMEN

El objetivo de este estudio es identificar las singularidades administrativas del Caxias Esporte Clube, club de fútbol actualmente amateur de la escena capixaba (Estado de Espírito Santo). La problemática es desvelar los motivos que llevaron al club a dejar de apoyar el fútbol, inmediatamente después de haber conquistado el campeonato entre los clubes profesionales capixabas, en 1970. El estudio reveló que el CEC posee dos rasgos que son característicos del amateurismo aún presentes en los clubes del fútbol brasileño: jerarquía etnocéntrica de los dirigentes y una estructura amateur de gerenciamiento del fútbol.

PALAVRAS CLAVE: Fútbol, Jerarquía

***HIERARQUIA* E FUTEBOL: AS CONFIGURAÇÕES TRADICIONAIS DE UM CLUBE CAPIXABA**

RESUMO

O futebol capixaba, assim como o de outros Estados, é pouco abordado enquanto tema de produções teóricas, o que faz com que a sua trajetória histórica seja pouco recordada ou conhecida, devido ao enfoque majoritário atribuído ao eixo Rio-São Paulo. Utilizamos de uma pesquisa de campo, documental e bibliográfica, com o objetivo de verificar se há a presença de manifestações hierárquicas no Caxias Esporte Clube, por ser uma instituição eminentemente militar. Concluímos que o Caxias Esporte Clube apresenta uma face que mostra a identidade dos dirigentes do clube como hierárquica. E que é no estatuto do clube que se encontra um poder que avança e distribui hierarquizações que analisado em cadeia, não está localizado nem se encontra nas mãos da diretoria do clube, mas trata de um poder que é exercido em rede, e nessa rede todos os indivíduos circulam, sendo que qualquer um pode estar em posição de ser submetido ao poder, mas também de exercê-lo.

PALAVRA-CHAVES: Futebol, Hierarquia.