100 - INITIAL TENSION IF THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONALIZATION OF BRAZILIAN SOCCER

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The principle of the amateur spirit to maintain the sport as element of social distinction was cultivated by several clubs and their managers during the first decades of the XX century, as they believed that this structure was more appropriate for managing and controlling the clubs. Part of the elite that managed the clubs thought that these were places for cheerful and festive pastimes, where wellborn people gathered together. The club associates, formed by upper classes, sought activities that could reflect their lifestyle. Thorstein Veblen in "The theory of the Leisure Class" (1899) argues that the higher learning as expression of the pecuniary culture had in the sports and fine arts a proof of status and social prestige, by wasting time with activities of no economic value in themselves. According to the author:

"The criteria of a past performance of leisure therefore commonly take the form of "immaterial" goods. Such immaterial evidences of past leisure are quasi-scholarly or quasi-artistic accomplishments [...] which do not conduce directly to the furtherance of human life. So, for instance, in our time there is the knowledge of the dead languages and the occult sciences; of correct spelling; of syntax and prosody; of the various forms of domestic music and other household art; of the latest properties of dress, furniture, and equipage; of games, sports, and fancy-bred animals, such as dogs and race-horses. In all these branches of knowledge the initial motive from which their acquisition proceeded at the outset, and through which they first came into vogue, may have been something quite different from the wish to show that one's time had not been spent in industrial employment; but unless these accomplishments had approved themselves as serviceable evidence of an unproductive expenditure of time, they would not have survived and held their place as conventional accomplishments of the leisure class. These accomplishments may, in some sense, be classed as branches of learning. Beside and beyond these there is a further range of social facts which shade off from the region of learning into that of physical habit and dexterity" (VEBLEN, 1994, p.98).

Hobsbawm (1988), from another theoretical perspective, also pointed out the importance of sport in the new lifestyle of the bourgeois class. In Brazil, the upper classes sought in sports and fine arts the assimilation of a lifestyle identified with the European culture. Initially, soccer and the upper class clubs served as an element of sociability and affirmation of a class identity.

Historical analyses portray the attempt of keeping soccer as an upper class sport, trying to restraint the presence of classes considered low from the economic and cultural point of view (PEREIRA, 2000; CALDAS, 1990; CUNHA, s/d). The incorporation of sports as one of the spaces for identity affirmation of wellborn people did not happen without cultural confrontation. The dandy lifestyle was opposed to the sportsman lifestyle (PEREIRA, 2000). Specifically in the field of sports, one could see the dispute between part of the elite that sought in sport only a place of class sociability and social distinction and the other part that thought the sport as an educational and civilizatory element for the population. The attempts of exclusion or closing the doors to lower classes in this field, however, were not efficient, as the development of soccer in the most different social strata has not been stopped. Lucena (2002) discussed that, in Brazil, the emergence and diffusion of sport, initially as result of one class, expanded to other segments, sometimes unintentionally and unpreparedly.

Soccer diffusion and insertion in the less favored classes took place rapidly, unlike what it was written in part of the historiographic narrative of the Brazilian soccer until the early 90s. The barrier existed only in the major upper class clubs; which is the same today with golf clubs, such barriers, nevertheless, in historical terms, lasted a considerably short time. The research of several documents (newspapers and books) showed that soccer became popular in the beginning of the XX century, in Rio de Janeiro, federal capital at the time, based on the following arguments:

1st - The right to play soccer was not restricted to the upper classes; it could be played in other social spaces. It happens that, as indicated by narratives of historians and columnists, the leagues founded by upper class clubs had prohibition mechanisms for some social segments, a fact confirmed by the competition regulations and club statutes, according to Pereira (2000).

2nd - Other leagues emerged to organize the lower class soccer clubs, for those that did not find space in the first division of the carioca soccer league (PEREIRA, 2000).

3rd - When the upper classes needed to increase the competence of their own clubs, they created means to strengthen their teams, partially ignoring or overlooking to the criteria that hindered the participation of manual laborer in the major league (CORRÊA, 1933).

4th - Perhaps, the children of the aristocracy of the time, some of whom were soccer players, have fought to maintain the criteria of social distinction in their clubs. The fraudulent signing of outsiders by their teams and rivals generated feelings of

1 This article is part of the first author's master thesis entitled: "*Between the passion and the interest - amateurism and professionalism in the Brazilian soccer*. Program of Master degree in Physical Education - Universidade Gama Filho, Rio de Janeiro, julho/2004, advisor Prof. Dr. Antonio Jorge Soares

2 Elias and Dunning (1992).

3 In addition, a great deal of narratives and researches pointed this exclusion process, referring to the race issue, placing it as accusation of racism in the Brazilian society. Soares (1998) expressed, in his thesis *History and invention of traditions in the field of soccer*, criticism against those researchers in social sciences, specifically in the field of historiography of soccer, who use sources without analyzing or thoroughly investigating the facts presented by the authors. Soares confirmed such reality by re-reading the official history of soccer in Brazil and racial issues strongly placed by authors that research racism through soccer within the Brazilian society. According to Soares, the authors, named by him "new narrators", used as main source Mário Filho's book entitled *The black in Brazilian soccer*, published first time in 1947, with five chapters and re-edited in 1964 with two new chapters. Soares questioned the fact that the "new narrators" developed their studies using the 1964 edition as main source. For this reason, he accomplished its investigations and noticed that the 1947 edition presented data that were suppressed in the new 1964version, although with two more chapters. Soares observed that, when taking the work of Mário Filho in the way "new narrators" do, they confirm the author's ideas, hindering for different reasons empiric researches that could be accomplished (p.6). He also, observes that "Mário Filho's work is taken as proof for the interpretations established a priori on the racial relationships in soccer and in the Brazilian society" (p.7). He pointed out that the analyses somewhat agree, as a type of racism accusation: "racism in Brazil is, and it was always, as perverse and violent as in any other place. Thus, "racism is racism" (p.7). Soares referred to Hobsbawn (1997) to say that "the new narratives end up being part of the mythology or the invention of the Brazilian soccer tradition" (p.120). The debate was originated about the article presented by Soares to the Getulio Vargas Foundation, and it was published in the magazine Historical Studies, in 1999, vol. 13, p.119-146.

4 Pereira (2000) presents evidences of the prohibition made to the participation of some individuals in the clubs, divulged by Jornal Gazeta dos Sports, Gazeta de Notícias, (March 8, 1907). It was a common norm in associations such as the "Club Sportivo dos Liberais" - which, according to regulations approved in 1906, accepted a "limitless number of associates of any nationality, except colored people - then it became a general norm to be followed by all the members of the league" (p.66).

loss and/or break of class agreements.

5th - The appeal of soccer made it prominent in almost all social events (religious, political, and others) at that time, creating the need for better organization and formal commitment of the players.

Soccer had already become a popular sport in the first two decades of this century. For this reason this process might have followed the cultural course pointed out by Elias (1992) in another context:

"In all expansion waves that occur in respect to the norm of conduct of a small group expanded to more numerous classes moving upward, two phases could be clearly distinguished: a colonization phase, or assimilation, in which the lowest and most-numerous class was still clearly inferior and ruled by the example of the traditional superior group that, intentionally or not, saturated it with its own code of conduct, and a second repulse phase, differentiation or emancipation, in which the groups moving upward increase perceptibly their social power and self-confidence, while the superior group is forced to a higher moderation, isolation and become larger the contrasts and tensions in the society " (p.252).

All these arguments emerge as indicative of the change that would happen in the profile of soccer players in the Brazilian society. According to Sevcenko (1992), the sporting habits that were present in the society since the beginning of the century would fill the emptiness of the daily routine of the communities; sports becomes the sparkling trend of great metropolises. Ostensibly assuming the signs associated with the new athletic activism constitutes unequivocally a way of patenting the distance between the generations and the difference between mentalities" (p.49). The wave began to be formed. Soccer, indirectly, assumed the role of social approach through this type of socialization, i.e., indirect without rational planning, later being used as mechanism of political approach by some rulers (LEVER, 1983).

Sport clubs that appeared as model of elitist behavior in the 20s expanded into the peripheries and neighborhoods and "became natural development of labor unions themselves" (SEVECENKO, 1992, p.34-35). Behind this new philosophy, there was the latent joviality profile: "being young, a sportsman, knowing how to dress and dance the rhythms is to be modern, the greatest triumph" (p.34).

That new social conformation, widened by the urban expansion in large cities (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo etc.) and impelled by the growing sporting habit (and mainly by the sport massification), generated a new social dynamics. Turf and rowing, however, were before the prominent sports in the Carioca sports preference (MELO, 1999).

The urban expansion, because of the relocation of workspace to areas or neighborhoods far away from the dwelling place, changed habits, and consequently changed the leisure profile of the population. The time off from regular work schedules facilitated the emergence of sports vocation, either participating in or watching events. Specifically in Rio de Janeiro, turf and rowing, favorites until then, did not allow easy access to all interested people, because of the distance of events (usually in the south zone), social structure surrounding such sports (glamour), event locations (upper class clubs) and need for special equipment and animals, making these sports expensive events for middle and lower classes. Soccer, therefore found a space in the daily routine of the city; the new urban structure was adapted, creating possibilities for playing in the most different neighborhoods and areas. The simple organization and, mainly, the low demand of investment made soccer reach several social segments. Salles (1998), investigating soccer in the leisure of players at the "Flamengo Aterro", found that the sport is still played for the same reasons of the beginning of XX century, and, in addition, it congregates different social classes in different places, standardized or adapted.

Evidently, the initial structural organization, intended for managing the sport among few clubs, started not to comply with the other clubs' demands, mainly because the increase in audience. The players and leaders of suburb clubs put pressure on major league leaders causing discomfort and pointing out the need for new guidelines. However, in face of the different expectations, the pressure of lower-class groups on the barriers imposed by the upper social layers turned the soccer space in a battling place. Veblen (1974) argued that the upper classes tended to impose part of their lifestyle upon the lower classes, however maintaining a structure of closure. Nevertheless, the pressure put on the upper classes forced the openness for the inclusion of lower classes into a higher status. Elias (1995) also discussed the tension of lower classes upon upper classes, since in modern societies "the strength of the less favored classes grew quite a lot compared to the fortunate layers" (p.68). Successively, individuals of upper layers try to create other closure mechanisms, likewise the leaders of elite soccer leagues intended. Surely this process is differentiated in each event and social space. For sports, and particularly soccer, the search for the competence inherent in sport seems to have enabled that openness, hindering the implementation of other strategies to bar players from lower classes. Besides, one cannot think that the elite soccer directors at that time had a similar view on soccer politics in Rio de Janeiro.

The leagues had no regulations that managed to satisfy all the demands of the sport dynamics. Still today, the CBF and the state federations have problems similar to the decades 1920 and 1930. The pressure of major clubs to maintain its privileges as well as smaller clubs for equal rights was part of the frequent journalistic and popular debate. The speech of major club leaders was that equal rights would be a threat to quality and existence of "good soccer".

From this point of view, the initial debates on professionalism emerged ambiguously, leaders were divided between interested in and opposed to the professional regime. The speeches constructed moralist arguments used by both sides. This tension is in agreement with Hirschman's (1992) theses on the significant social transformations in human history in the affirmation of the right to citizenship. The author proposed three theses to discuss the tensions created by some of these transformations: Perversity, Futility, Jeopardy. His presuppositions are that these theses are used in the rhetoric of conservatives and reactionaries, as well as by those called liberal and progressive. The theses, in general, are used to construct arguments, but the three would not necessarily be used in all rhetoric.

5 Corrêa argued that in 1915 the payment of bonus to players openly no longer caused astonishment in any club of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Pernambuco and Rio Grande do Sul.

6 Some small clubs (River F.C. and May 24 F.C.) already had the public solidarity, being invited to festive events, using soccer as attraction in wider spaces than only the stadiums where the league games took place (PEREIRA, 2000. p. 22).

7 in the perversity thesis, or the perverse effect, the author argues that "any deliberate action to improve an aspect of the economic, social or political order is only good to intensify the situation that one wants to remedy " (p.15). In the futility thesis, the author discuss that the arguments are presented from the point of view of nullity of the expected action, he "sustains that the attempts of social transformations will be fruitless, that they simply have not left their mark " (p.15). Concerning the jeopardy thesis, it explains that the argument used by the actors is of imminent danger: "the cost of the proposed reform or change is too high, as it jeopardize other previous precious accomplishment" (p. 16.). Hirschman, Albert. O. The rhetoric of intransigence. São Paulo. Companhia das Letras. 2000.

8 Caldas (1990) reported that, after the implementation of professionalism, the amateur players could not keep the fans' attention anymore. Fans would attend the fields to see the professional players performing. They paid tickets to see the major team formed by the professionals. The games between amateurs were just a preliminary attraction to the professional games.

9 Recollecting league and club impositions: they imposed investigations seeking to control the player profiles; registration laws, which determined the time that the player should stay in the club; and the training law, which prohibited players of participating in the major team for one year, after having confirmed its transfer. Such circumstances were contradictory to a space where freedom and the amateurism were valued. It would be natural that professionalism had some closure and control mechanisms, but in the amateurism this was questioned.

10 In addition the *Fuminense Football Club*, considered upper class club until recently, would have used its advertising spaces (Tricolor - Revista Sportiva do Fluminense *Foot-ball Club* and the Fluminense Football Club - Newspaper) to foment the dispute in favor of soccer professionalism.

Possibly, the conservatives that opposed to the professional regime used the rhetoric of intransigence in their arguments: a) some felt threatened with the change, because they believed that their space of social distinction would be invaded by individuals of different social strata, and mainly the imminent loss of power would lead that civilized practice to "barbarism" (jeopardy thesis); b) others argued that the change in regime could create an effect contrary to what some reformers believed, since moralization by means of a contract, even if the show is guaranteed, could generate expenses the club would not afford (perversity thesis); and c) others argued that such change would only be an illusion, as it would not result in anything and things would come back to what was previously (futility thesis).

Despite the speech defending amateurism, the payment of players was already common since the first decade of the XX century, according to Corrêa (1933): "And the amateurism" was being exposed. In 1915, paying bonus to players openly was no longer a scandal....." (p.24).

The speech of amateur spirit, which validated the argument of conservatives, weakened when the right and prestige of the representation were threatened. They intended to keep the amateurism, however, the mechanisms used for this purpose were restricted to imposition and closure , which only made sense in the professional regime. The leaders pleading changes in the soccer political scene with the acceptance of professionalism sought, at the same time, to maintain elements of the amateur regime.

In fact, still in the phase of consolidating soccer in Brazil (in the 10s and 20s of the XX century) the amateur ideals started to be questioned. The development of sports and soccer, in Brazil or anywhere, could not remain amateur because of the process of popularization and consolidation in a society that was in a quick process of urbanization of large cities (Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo) and was trying to establish itself in a configuration of capitalist market among nation-states.

This tension increased in the thirties. It is worth noticing that, although this tension could be the result of pressure by lower classes, it was engaged by elite members (the major upper-class clubs at the time). On one hand, the defenders of professionalism, who believed in the sport development and the growing entertainment industry, and, on the other hand, the defenders of amateurism, who wished to maintain the aristocratic ideals and the appropriate sociability among the "good families". Naturally the amateurism defenders came out defeated, as the logic of the development of the soccer and entertainment industry in the urban centers did not leave space for the maintenance of "closure ideals".

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INITIAL TENSION IF THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONALIZATION OF BRAZILIAN SOCCER*ABSTRACT*

In the first two decades of the XX century, soccer had already become an increasingly popular sport. It seems that the main dilemma at the time soccer was developing into professional sport was the loss of upper classes domain over this space. Part of club managers still had in mind that this was a place of cheerful and festive pastimes for wellborn people. Club associates sought activities that could reflect their lifestyle. When allowing the presence of players from the lower classes, they were giving up the place of refinement that the sport in general should observe. The process of changing the amateur status into professional created several tensions in the first decades of the XX century. The initial structural organization, designed to manage the sport among few upper class clubs, started to not to respond the demands posed by the other clubs -- the lower class ones--, mainly due to the increasing audience that paid to see the games and wanted to see a good show. The pressure that players of smaller clubs put on the managers caused discomfort and showed the need for new guidelines. Veblen (1974) discussed that the upper classes tended to impose part of their lifestyle upon the lower classes, however maintaining a structure of closure. Nevertheless, the pressure put on the upper classes forced the openness for the inclusion of lower classes into a higher status. Hirschman (1992) analyzed some social transformations that accompanied modernity and proposed three theses to argue the tension created by such changes: Perversity, Futility, Jeopardy. In this study, we have used Hirschman's theses to argue the tension between liberals and conservatives in the period in which this transformation was about to happen. On one hand, the defenders of

professionalism, who believed in the sport development and the growing entertainment industry, and, on the other hand, the defenders of amateurism, who wished to maintain the aristocratic ideals. This article develops a reflection concerning this period of transformation.

Keywords: Soccer, amateurism, professionalism, history.

LES PREMIÈRES TENSIONS DANS LE PROCESSUS DE LA PROFESSIONNALISATION DU FOOTBALL BRÉSILIEN

RESUMÉE

Dans les deux premiers décénnies du XXe siècle, le football s'était déjà popularisé. Au moment où le football allait vers le chemin du profissionnalisme, a surgi le dilemme de la perte de la domination de cet espace pour l'élite. Une partie des dirigeants des clubs croyaient que le club était un lieu pour le loisir et l'amusement des personnes « bien nées ». Les associés des clubs cherchaient des activités qui puissent traduire leurs styles de vie. En permettant la présence de jouers venus des classes populaires, ils renonçaient gratuitement l'espace du raffinement que le sport géneralement devrait observer. Alors, le processus de transformation du joueur, de la condition d'amateur à la condition de professionnel, a créé des tensions diverses pendant tous les deux premiers décénnies du XXe siècle. L'organisation structurale primaire, destinée a gérer le sport entre les clubs de l'élite - et ils étaient peu, ne correspondait plus aux exigences des autres clubs - les populaires, surtout à cause du public qui augmentait et payait pour voir les matchs et, ainsi, voulait voir un bon spetacle. La pression des praticants des clubs mineurs sur les dirigeants provocait un inconfort et montrait la necessité d'avoir des nouvelles directrices. Veblen (1974) argumentait que les classes supérieurs avaient la tendence d'imposer une partie de leur structure de vie aux classes inférieurs, mais elles mantenaient quand même une structure fermée. Cependent, la pression des classes inférieures provocait l'ouverture envers leur inclusion dans le « status » supérieur. En analisant quelques transformations sociales de la modernité, Hirschman (1992) propose trois thèses pour argumenter sur la tension provoquée par ces transformations (perversité, futilité et menace). Nous nous sommes appropriés de ces thèses pour argumenter sur cette tension entre les libéraux et les conservateurs au période où cette transformation était au bout de se consolider. D'un côté, on a les défenseurs du profissionalisme, qui croyaient au développement du sport et de l'industrie de l'amusement qui grandissait, et de l'autre côté, on avait les défenseurs du amateurisme qui voulaient mantenir les idéaux aristocratiques. Cet article développe une réflexion sur ce période de transformation.

Unitermes: football, amateurisme, professionnalisme, histoire.

LA TENSIÓN INICIAL DEL PROCESO DE PROFESIONALIZACIÓN DEL FÚTBOL BRASILEÑO

RESUMEN

El fútbol ya en las dos primeras décadas del siglo XX se había tornado un deporte popular. En el momento en que caminaba para el profesionalismo, parece que el dilema principal se daba sobre la perdida del dominio de ese espacio por las elites. Parte de los dirigentes de los clubes tenía en mente que aquel era un local para pasatiempos alegres y festivos, entre personas "bien nacidas". Los asociados de los clubes buscaban actividades que pudieran reflejar en su estilo de vida. Al permitirse la presencia de jugadores de clases populares estaban abriendo mano del espacio de refinamiento que el fútbol debería observar. El proceso de transformación de un jugador de la condición de amateurs a profesional, generó diversas tensiones que proseguirían hasta las primeras décadas del siglo XX. La organización estructural primaria, destinada a gerenciar el deporte entre pocos clubes de elite, pasó a no corresponder a las exigencias de los demás clubes - los populares -, debido principalmente al aumento del público que pagaba para asistir a los juegos y por eso ansiaba por un buen espectáculo. La presión de los practicantes de los clubes de menores expresiones sobre los dirigentes provocaba insatisfacción y apuntaban para nuevas dirétrises. Veblen (1974) argumentaba que las clases superiores tendían a imponer a las clases inferiores parte de su estructura de vida, sin embargo mantenían una estructura de cerramiento. De este modo la presión de las clases inferiores provocaba la abertura para su inclusión en los *status* superiores. Hirschman (1992) al analizar algunas transformaciones sociales de la modernidad, propuso tres teses para argumentar acerca de la tensión generada por tales mudanzas (perversidad, futilidad y amenaza). Nosotros nos apropiamos de esta teses de Hirschman para argumentar acerca de esta tensión entre liberales y conservadores en el período en que esta transformación estaba por consolidarse. De un lado, los defensores del profesionalismo que creían en el desarrollo del deporte y del crecimiento de la industria del entretenimiento, y del otro, los defensores del amateurs que deseaban mantener los ideales aristocráticos. Este trabajo desenvuelve una reflexión acerca de este período de transformación. (323p)

Palabras Claves: Fútbol, amateurs, profesionalismo, historia.

A TENSÃO INICIAL DO PROCESSO DE PROFISSIONALIZAÇÃO DO FUTEBOL BRASILEIRO

RESUMO

O futebol, já nas duas primeiras décadas do século XX, havia se tornado um esporte popular. No momento em que caminhava para o profissionalismo, parece que o dilema principal se dava sobre a perda do domínio desse espaço pelas elites. Parte dos dirigentes dos clubes tinha em mente que este era um local para passatempos alegres e festivos, entre "pessoas bem nascidas". Os associados dos clubes buscavam atividades que pudessem refletir o seu estilo de vida. Ao permitirem a presença de jogadores de classes populares, estavam abrindo mão do espaço de refinamento que o esporte em geral deveria observar. O processo de transformação do jogador da condição de amador a profissional gerou diversas tensões, que prosseguiram durante as primeiras décadas do século XX. A organização estrutural primária, destinada a gerenciar o esporte entre poucos clubes de elite, passou a não corresponder às exigências dos demais clubes -- os populares --, devido principalmente ao aumento do público que pagava para ver os jogos e, por isso, ansiava por bom espetáculo. A pressão dos praticantes dos clubes de menor expressão, sobre os dirigentes provocava desconforto e apontava para a necessidade de novas diretrizes. Veblen (1974) argumenta que as classes superiores tendiam a impor às inferiores parte de sua estrutura de vida, porém mantinham uma estrutura de fechamento. Entretanto, a pressão das classes inferiores provocava a abertura para sua inclusão no *status* superior. Hirschman (1992), ao analisar algumas transformações sociais da modernidade, propõe três teses para argumentar acerca da tensão gerada por essas mudanças: perversidade, futilidade e ameaça. Neste estudo, apropriou-se destas teses de Hirschman para argumentar acerca dessa tensão entre liberais e conservadores no período em que esta transformação estava por se consolidar. De um lado, os defensores do profissionalismo, que acreditavam no desenvolvimento do esporte e da ascendente indústria do entretenimento, e, do outro, os defensores do amadorismo, que desejavam manter os ideais aristocráticos. Este artigo desenvolve uma reflexão acerca desse período de transformação.

Unitermos: Futebol, amadorismo, profissionalismo, história.