

# CENTRO DE COMPUTAÇÃO

## FISEX

Symposium in the  
Sport in the Civilizing Process and  
Violence in the Football

Sept. 9, 1996

## FEF

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fun" (*exercício apenas como diversão*) instead of indolence. Another passage in the author's second book at the beginning of Chapter 6 on page 89 extends these observations in reference to Easter Week in São Paulo:

Tinha muitas compras a fazer e trabalhozinhos a encomendar aos operários e ainda encontrei mais dificuldade do que na minha primeira viagem, por causa das festas de Pascoa de 1822 (7 de abril), pretexto que me era sempre invocado em resposta a qualquer pedido que eu fizesse. Estas festas para cá atraem grande numero de pessoas do campo. Segui parte dos officios, e doe-me a falta de atencao do fieis. Ninguem se compenetra do espirito das festas. Os homens mais distintos nelas tomam parte pela forza do habito e o povo como a um grande divertimento.

I had a lot of shopping to do and small jobs to turn over to workmen and I still found it more difficult than in my first trip because of the 1822 Easter holidays (April 7), a pretext that was always handy whenever I asked for anything. These festivities here attract a great number of people from the countryside. I took part in the festivities, and I was struck by the lack of faith of the followers. No one understands the depth of these festivities. The most distinguished individuals take part in them out of habit, and the people just for fun.

In this other quotation by Saint-Hillarie, new conceptualisations and opinions raise certain issues. Is great entertainment something so serious and useful as exercise just for in the previous quotation? Which are the references of one and the other? In the first case, the great entertainment was deforming adequate participation in a religious event; in the second case exercise was occupying a place of indolence. What is the relationship between work time and multiple time, (or is it just merely time?) without work?

In their initial contacts with the Indians, to tame became synonymous with pacify for the Portuguese and the Jesuit. After slavery was established in Brazil, a legal system was created to control the mobility and free time of the slaves and/or black persons. These prohibitions also applied to poor people, even though they were free and property owners.

Foreign travellers in Brazil during the end of the eighteenth century and beginnings of the nineteenth century noted the preoccupation with free citizens in relations to the control over their free time. In all instances of the first European contacts with native peoples, it is possible to perceive the existence of different perceptions in relation to free time. The Indian, from the point of view of the Portuguese or the Jesuits, was predisposed in their "leisure" time to adopt a determined world vision and the appropriate use of time, in particularly to tame. The African slave, a habitant and compulsory worker of the European civilising process, had his or her leisure time determined by legal norms and their work time controlled by the imposing will of the slave owner.

In this slave system, European travellers anticipated the insertion of social control mechanisms in non-working periods of free individuals. Laziness had to be controlled; games, even before the end of slavery, were presented as ways to combat laziness. Fundamental to this view was that exercise was presented as enjoyment.

The affirmation that industrial society disciplined the worker to live only to produce, in opposition to free time, should be mediated in the sense that the discipline of the non-working times of the worker seems to have had its own history, whose logic cannot be found in the mere imposition of the industrial society and the period of productive activity.

Faculty of Physical Education at the  
State University of Campinas

Symposium in the  
Sport in the Civilizing Process and  
Violence in the Football

September 19, 1996

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Sport in the Western Civilizing Process by Eric Dunning (University of  
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History and Leisure in Brazil: a Civilizing Process by  
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Youth Policy Changes in Europe, Clubs and Players by  
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# SPORT IN THE WESTERN CIVILIZING PROCESS

by Eric Dunning  
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## Table of Content

SPORT IN THE WESTERN CIVILIZING PROCESS.....	1
The theory of civilizing processes.....	3
The sports of the ancient world.....	8
The sports of medieval and early modern Europe.....	10
The initial development of modern sport.....	12
Early stages in the development of rugby and soccer.....	15
Conclusion.....	18
Notes.....	19
FOOTBALL HOOLIGANISM AS A WORLD SOCIAL PROBLEM.....	21
COMPARATIVE EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES ON FOOTBALL SPECTATORSHIP.....	45
A. European fan behaviour.....	46
B. The celebratory function.....	48
C. Conclusion.....	52
References.....	53
YOUTH POLICY CHANGES IN EUROPE, Clubs and Players.....	55
- The Bosman ruling. A turning point in European football organisation.....	55
A. The Bosman case seen from the side of the football federations and UEFA.....	55
B. The youth football scene in Europe.....	57
C. Football schools.....	59
D. Implications and reactions to the Bosman ruling.....	60
References.....	62
SONHAR DE OLHOS ABERTOS.....	63
DREAMING WITH YOUR EYES OPEN.....	67
HISTÓRIA E LAZER NO BRASIL : O PROCESSO CIVILIZATÓRIO.....	71
HISTORY AND LEISURE IN BRAZIL: A CIVILISING PROCESS.....	85

## SPORT IN THE WESTERN CIVILIZING PROCESS

by Eric Dunning

University of Leicester

It is widely believed that we are living today in one of the most violent periods of human history. Indeed, it is probably fair to say that, in Western societies at least, the fear that we are currently undergoing a process of 'decivilization', perhaps especially with regard to physical violence, is deeply imprinted in the contemporary *Zeitgeist*, one of the dominant beliefs of our times. The psychologists, Eysenck and Nias, for example, referred in 1978 to what they called 'a number of acknowledged facts' which, they claimed, 'have helped to persuade many people that the civilization in which we live may be in danger of being submerged under a deluge of crime and violence' (Eysenck and Nias, 1978, p.17). From a figurational standpoint, of course, 'civilization' is always faced with such a danger: that is why we lay such stress on increasing understanding of the processes involved. It is a moot point, however, whether Eysenck and Nias's contention is based on an analysis which is sufficiently sober and detached.

Arguing from a different perspective, another psychologist, Peter Marsh, contended around the same time that recent social developments in Britain have led to a decline in the opportunities for 'socially constructive ritual violence' - what he called 'aggro' - with the consequence that uncontrolled and destructive violence has increased. Using a variation of Erich Fromm's distinction between 'benign' and 'malignant' aggression (Fromm, 1977), Marsh argued that there has taken place a 'drift from "good" violence into "bad" violence.' People, he said are 'about as aggressive as they always were but aggression, as its expression becomes less orderly has more blood as its consequence' (Marsh, 1979, p.142). Marsh even went so far as to claim that, given certain peculiarities of American social structure and social development, a tradition of 'aggro' or 'ritualized violence' never emerged in the United States, in a word that violence in America has always been 'disorderly' and 'malign' (Marsh, 1979, p. ). I shall discuss the issue of violence in America and American sports in Chapter 6. In that context I shall also discuss the implication of Marsh's argument that, with the supposed breakdown of 'aggro' in European societies, we are currently witnessing as part of a more general process of 'Americanization' associated with globalization? - a convergence of the societies of Western Europe towards American forms and levels of violence in sport and elsewhere. For the moment, I want to turn to beliefs about violence in sport.

Writing in 1991, Kevin Young suggested that:

Sports-related violence is considered to have become a critical social problem in many countries. Fans of European sport, particularly soccer, have gained notoriety for their violence inside and outside staid. Violent disturbances at sport have occurred with some frequency in Australia, Central and South America, Asia and North America (Young, 1991, p.539).

Similarly, August Hirsch, Director of the Federal Institute of Sports Science in the then Federal Republic of Germany wrote in 1988, that: 'spectator riots at big sports events are one of the negative accompaniments of modern sport' (Hahn, Pilz, Stollenwerk and Weis, 1988, p.7) and Peter S.

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Greenberg, an American journalist, even went so far as to claim in the 1970s that '... mass recreational violence has never before been so rampant in the sports arenas of America' (in Yiannakis et al, 1976, p.217-221). Probably the most extreme statement of this kind was made in 1979 by the Australian journalist, Don Atyeo. He detected parallels between modern sports and their counterparts in Ancient Rome, suggesting that a self-destructive trend towards greater violence is occurring world-wide in modern sport, principally as a result of the demands of sensation-seeking spectators. Atyeo expressed his apocalyptic vision thus:

The future of violent sports seems assured. Games will grow harder and bloodier to feed the rising appetite of an audience which will grow both increasingly more jaded and satiated with violence, and increasingly more violent itself, until, perhaps, something happens to bring it all crashing down. This time around, though, the likelihood is that it won't be the barbarian hordes banging on the gates outside which will destroy the Coliseum. This time the violence will be of sport's own making and will come from within the walls of the Coliseum itself (Aty eo, 1979, p.377).

It is, then, widely believed that sport and society are coming today to be characterized by such high levels of violence that both are on the brink of collapse. What light do figurational theory and research throw into this complex and contentious issue? In order to move towards an answer to this question I am going to provide a thumbnail sketch of the theory of civilizing processes developed by Norbert Elias (Elias, 1939, 1994). I shall start by discussing two general issues.

The first relates to the fact that there is at least one sense in which the belief that the twentieth century has witnessed a trend towards increasing violence is based on solid foundations. It is the fact that, as an accompaniment of the increasing pace and scope of globalization, ours is the first century in which world wars have occurred. The twentieth century has also been one in which the violence and effectiveness of the technology of mass destruction have increased to hitherto unprecedented levels, a fact which is evidenced above all in nuclear weapons and the weaponry of chemical and germ warfare. As I noted in the previous chapter, there have also been numerous violent and destructive wars since 1945. However, they have been local in scope, restricted mainly to Third World countries, and many areas of the world, particularly in the West, have enjoyed hitherto unprecedented levels of peace and prosperity since the end of World War Two. A world authority comparable to those of western nation-states and based, like them on a monopoly of violence and taxation, has not emerged and perhaps never will. Nevertheless, this process of increasingly localized and destructive wars, coupled with the enjoyment of relative peace elsewhere, has been in some ways reminiscent of the civilizing and state-formation processes of Western Europe since the middle ages. More particularly, if Elias was right, whilst changing from feudal through dynastic to nation-state forms, these societies grew increasingly pacified internally whilst engaging in increasingly violent and destructive warfare with each other.

My second general point relates to a difference between the theoretical underpinnings of the theory of civilizing processes regarding violence and aggression compared with the work of those in the field who have been influenced on this issue either by Lorenz (19 ) or Freud ( ). The core of the figurational position on the balance between 'nature' and 'nurture' in the production of aggression and violence in humans has been cogently summarized by Elias as follows:

(A) false way of posing (this) problem is the currently widespread tendency to ascribe social conflicts and the resulting psychological conflicts to people's innate aggressiveness. The idea that people have an aggressive drive to attack others which resembles in its structure other innate drives, such as the

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sexual drive, is unfounded. People do have an innate potential to shift their whole physical apparatus to a different gear if they feel endangered. The body reacts to the experience of danger by an automatic adjustment which prepares the way for intensive movement of the skeletal muscles, as in combat or flight. Human impulses that correspond to the model of a drive are released physiologically or, as is often said, 'from within', relatively independently of the actual situation. The shifting of the body's economy to combat-or-flight readiness is conditioned to a far greater extent by a specific situation, whether present or remembered.

The potential for aggressiveness can be activated by natural and social situations of a certain kind, above all by conflict. In conscious opposition to Lorenz and others, who ascribe an aggression drive to people on the model of the sexual drive, it is not aggressiveness that triggers conflicts but conflicts that trigger aggressiveness. Our habits of thought generate the expectation that everything we seek to explain about people can be explained in terms of isolated individuals. It is evidently difficult to adjust our thinking and thus, the explanation of how people are interconnected in groups: that is, by means of social structures. Conflicts are an aspect of social structures (Elias in Keane, ed, 1988, pp. 177-178).

Of course, there is a degree of rhetorical exaggeration in this. Elias would not have denied that some conflicts are caused by the disruptiveness of aggressive individuals or that, in some cases, the aggressiveness of such individuals has psychological and perhaps even genetic roots. It was simply that he wanted to counter the crude and widespread psychological reductionism that is involved in the notions of an 'aggressive instinct'. I have now reached a point where I can summarize the basic tenets of the theory of civilizing processes.

### The theory of civilizing processes

An anonymous reviewer of my initial proposal for Sport Matters generally approved of the planned book but expressed reservations regarding a discussion of sport in the western civilizing process because, he/she said, the topic had 'already been sufficiently debated'. This revealed a view of sociology which seems nowadays to be rather widespread but which is radically at variance with that of figurational sociologists. We see the subject as being less about debate - although, of course, public debate is crucial - than about building up reliable knowledge through the interplay of theory and research. Seen in this light, it is mistaken to regard a theory as no longer deserving a place on the sociological agenda simply because it has been 'sufficiently debated'. Only if theories have been refuted by reasoning and research - a primary requirement of which is that they should be carefully and accurately interpreted in the first place - should they be consigned to the dustbin and forgotten. It is my contention that, however much it may have been critically debated, Elias's theory of civilizing processes has so far stood the test on both theoretical and empirical grounds. That is, while neither Elias nor any other figurational sociologist would want to claim that our understanding of civilizing processes at the moment is anything other than rudimentary, Elias's preliminary theory - and it is to be regarded at present as nothing more than that has yet to be refuted by observation and reasoning.

Figurational sociologists have already responded on several occasions to criticisms of the theory of civilizing processes which are demonstrably based on misconstruals of what Elias wrote, so it would be redundant to repeat such criticisms here (Dunning; ; Mennell, For present purposes, it must be enough to quote Nicos Mouzelis who has written in this connection that: -

A standard criticism of Elias's thesis is that it very much resembled nineteenth century evolutionist theories stamped by multilinear, deterministic descriptions and explanations of social change. Figurational sociologists rebut that change - quite correctly, I think - by pointing out that Elias's theory is not marred by the drawbacks of classical evolutionism, since it neither implies progress in the

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moral sense of the term, nor does it claim the civilizing trend to be unilinear or irreversible (Mouzelis, 19).

I agree with this assessment. The reasons why a number of English-speaking sociologists experience difficulties with Elias's theory may be in part connected with the translation of his book and, in part, with their deep emotional reaction to the term, 'civilization', which they see as value-laden in a moral sense. Elias's book was first published in 1939 under the title, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation* 'on' or 'about' the process of civilization. This shows that Elias saw the theory as a contribution to the understanding of the development of the West rather than as a theory which is fully-fledged and complete. That is lost in the bald English translation of the title as *The Civilizing Process*. Also lost in the critical reaction is any reference to the context in which the book was originally produced. Writing as he did in exile in Britain after the Nazi rise to power and on the eve of the Second World War, Elias, born a German Jew and having fled Germany in 1933, wanted to convey, not only the lost idea of 'civilisation' as a process rather than as an already accomplished state but, particularly at that historical juncture, as a social format which was massively on trial as well. In short, his work was central concerned from the beginning with civilizing (social) controls as a more or less fragile shell and with civilizing processes as developments which are liable, under specific and at present not well-understood conditions, to go into reverse.2.

In *The Civilizing Process*, Elias started by considering the meaning of the term 'civilization' and reached the conclusion that, since any act of human society and behaviour can be judged to be either 'civilized' or 'uncivilized', providing such a definition is a difficult if not impossible task. It is easier, said Elias, to specify the function of the term. It has come, he argues, to express the self-image of the most powerful western nations and has acquired in that connection derogatory and racist connotations, not only in relation to what Westerners call the 'primitive' or 'barbaric' non-western societies which they have conquered, colonized or otherwise subjected to domination and exploitation but also in relation to 'less advanced', i.e. less powerful societies and outsider groups in the West itself. Interestingly, Elias shows how the First World War was fought by Britain and France against Germany in the name of civilization; and how, in the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when the formerly disunited and therefore weak Germans were engaged in a process of catching-up with their more united and powerful western neighbours, many Germans became ambivalent about the term 'civilization', preferring to express their self-image through the more particularistic concept of *Kultur*, ('culture') (Elias 1994, p3 ff.; Williams,).

A further way in which Elias sought to distance his theory from the evaluative connotations of the popular concept of civilization was by means of an explicit denial that Western societies have come to repressed some kind of 'end-point' or 'pinnacle' in this regard (Elias, 1994, p ). People in the present-day West may consider themselves to be 'civilized' and regard western civilization as 'complete' but, whilst it can be empirically shown that they have grown more 'civilized' than their medieval forebears in certain limited respects - i.e., that, although there is no guarantee that such a process will continue in the future, they can be said to have undergone a 'civilizing process' in a technical sense - Elias was crystal clear that present-day westerners are far from being civilized in any absolute sense and speculated that future historians may come to judge even the most 'advanced' present-day western societies as having formed part of an 'extended middle ages' (Elias, 1994,) and their members as 'late barbarians' (Elias,199, ).

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The reverse side of this coin, according to Elias, is that, with the marginal exception of the unborn and as yet unsocialized child, there is no 'zero-point' of civilization, no 'absolutely uncivilized' society or individual (Elias, 1994, ). It was also Elias's contention that the level of development of a society can be measured with a relatively high degree of detachment by means of what he called 'the triad of basic controls' (Elias, 1978). These are: (i) the extent of societies' control-chances over natural events; (ii) the extent of societies' control-chances over human relationships; and (iii) the extent to which societies' individual members have learned from childhood onwards to exercise self-control. The theory of civilizing processes is concerned with the second and third of these 'basic controls', and the two volumes of *The Civilizing Process* involve an attempt to trace developments in these regards in the most powerful societies of Western Europe from the middle ages to the early twentieth century.<sup>3</sup> In short, far from being some kind of fully-fledged and universally applicable construct, the theory of civilizing processes as it stands at present is strictly delimited in terms of time and space. It attempts to account for the differential developmental trajectories mainly of Britain, France and Germany, and, if one takes Elias's work on the Germans into account, seeks to add to the understanding of how and why German development up to 1945 went on balance in a 'barbarizing' direction resulting in Nazism and the Holocaust (Elias, 1995; Dunning and Mennell, 199 ).

It is neither possible nor necessary in the present context to specify in detail the entire spectrum of factual developments which Elias saw as constituting the West European civilizing process. It is enough just to stress that he was clear about the fact that, as with social developments more generally, it has been based on the inter-generational transmission of learned experiences. Hence it is reversible. In fact, it is useful to think of Elias's theory as operating on two distinct yet interpenetrating levels. On the one hand, it involves an empirical generalization about the overall trajectory of personality structure, *habitus*-formation<sup>4</sup> and social standards in the societies of Western Europe from the middle ages until the early twentieth century. On the other hand, it involves the hypothesizing of an explanatory connection between what Elias seeks to establish was an empirically demonstrable civilizing trajectory in that connection and an equally demonstrable tendency towards more effective forms of state-centralization and control. More particularly, Elias's time-series data on what would conventionally be called the 'micro-social' or 'behavioural normative' level - his principal evidence comes from manners books - consistently reveal a dominant trend which, despite variations in speed and temporary reversals, continued over long periods in the direction of: the elaboration and refinement of manners and socially required standards of behaviour; increasing social pressure on people to exercise an even measure of all-round self-control over their feelings and behaviour, i.e., regarding all aspects of bodily functions and in more and more social situations; a shift in the always socially necessary balance between external constraints (*Fremdzwänge*) and self-constraints (*Selbstzwänge*) in favour of self-constraints; an advancing threshold of repugnance (*Peinlichkeitsschwelle*) regarding bodily functions such as eating, drinking, defecation, urination, sex and sleeping, a process in terms of which these functions and the connected bodily organs came to be increasingly laden with taboos and surrounded by feelings of anxiety, embarrassment guilt and shame; an advancing threshold of repugnance regarding engaging in and even witnessing violent acts; and, as a corollary of this generally advancing threshold of repugnance, a tendency to push violence and acts connected with biology functions increasingly 'behind the scenes'. Examples are the abandonment of public executions and the confining of sex and sleeping increasingly to the bedroom. In a word, according to Elias a central tendency of the European civilizing process has involved a trend towards privatization.

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Elias sought to explain this empirical generalization principally by reference to empirical data on state-formation, that is, regarding the unplanned or 'blind' establishment<sup>5</sup> at the 'macro' level of social integration of relatively stable and secure centralized state monopolies on violence and taxation - according to Elias, tax and violence are the major 'means of ruling'<sup>6</sup> - processes in which violent 'hegemonial' or 'elimination' struggles among kings and other feudal lords were decisive. Using more conventional language what was involved was the gradual transition via competitive struggle from highly de-centralized feudal societies to more highly centralized dynastic states and eventual to nation-states.<sup>7</sup>

According to Elias, an important corollary of this unplanned long-term process was the gradual pacification of larger and larger spaces within each developing state. In a word, states which remained externals embattled at each stage - and it is crucial to remember that - became increasingly pacified internally. In turn, internal pacification facilitated material production the growth of trade, an increase in the amount and circulation of money together with a growing 'monetarization' of social relations, and correlatively with all of this, a lengthening of interdependency chains, i.e., a shift from bonds of interdependence which were primarily local in scope to bonds which became increasingly national and even international.

According to Elias, the 'macrosocial' consequences of this complex of changes were principally threefold. More particularly, there took place: (i) a further augmentation of state power (in the first instance primarily royal power) because tax revenues and hence the capacity of governments to employ and equip standing armies increased; (ii) a progressive argumentation of the power of middle class or 'bourgeois' groups, i.e., initially of groups which lived by trade and whose power and status depended primary on relatively fluid and expandable monetary resources as opposed to the comparatively fixed resource of land; and (iii) a correlative weakening of the 'warrior aristocracy', i.e. of knights whose power depended fundamentally on the force of arms and the ownership of land. At the point where the power of these rising middle class and falling upper class groups became approximately equal, kings became able to play off one against the other and uphold a claim to 'absolute rule'.

This development went further in France than anywhere else - Louis XIV in the seventeenth century, for example, is reputed to have said: *L'état c'est moi* (the state is me) - and it was at this point, according to Elias, that what he (Elias) called 'the courtization of the warriors' (*die Verhöflichung der Kriegen*) began most significantly to occur, i.e., they began to be tamed and transformed from rough and ready 'free' or independent 'knights' into urbane and polished 'courtiers' who were depended on the king. In Britain by contrast partly because, as an island, it was depended for military purposes more on a navy than a land army, claims to absolute rule proved impossible to sustain and monarchs were forced to share the business of ruling with parliament. In the British context the civilizing function of the royal court was shared with parliament and 'Society', the assembly of nobles and untitled 'gentlemen' and 'ladies' whose 'London season' coincided more or less with when parliament met. As I shall show briefly in the present chapter and in greater detail in Chapter 3, there is reason to believe that this overall figuration was crucial to the fact that the initial development of modern sport took place in Britain.

Subsequently, as a direct result of the continuing growth of bourgeois power and, later, of working class power as well, private ownership of the means of ruling gave way increasingly to more public forms of control over the state-apparatus. Another way of putting it would be to say, following

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Weber, that the Matrimonial rule of dynastic and absolute rulers gave way to forms of parliamentary sovereignty and rational-legal rule (Weber, 19 ). According to Elias, the fundamental power shifts which led to these changes in the forms of ruling were principally a consequence of (i) the disarming of all members of the population other than the specialist military and police, i.e., depriving them of the right to use the means of violence which does not mean they were all deprived in fact.<sup>8</sup> This had the effect of diminishing the use of direct force in social relations, hence to a degree equalizing the power chances of those who were physically weaker relative to those who were physically stronger, eg women relative to men, children relative to adults. In this context a more peaceful habitus began to become increasingly dominant in social relations, especially, but not solely, in one's own society; and (ii) the fact that the lengthenings of interdependency chains increased the dependency of rulers and other powerful groups on those over whom they were dominant, hence increasing the power chances of the latter - e.g., by providing opportunities for the organized withdrawal of their labour - and leading, not to equality tout court, but to a shift towards lesser inequality in the relations between them. Elias referred to this as 'functional democratization' (Elias, 1978, ; 1994, ).

According to Elias, there were considerable differences between the civilizing and state-formation processes of Britain and France, though in both of these cases, the processes were relatively continuous in the longer term. This contrast markedly with German developments which were, Elias argued, much more discontinuous. More particularly, in the case of Germany there were deep-rooted structural obstacles which for a long while impeded state-centralization, the emergence of a powerful and relatively independent middle class and hence the development of more democratic values, altitudes and institutions. In fact, Germany did not become a relatively unified nation-state until 1870 and it did so under the hegemony of the militaristic Prussians. In such a context the Germans remained subject to forms of absolutist rule until 1918 and this became deeply rooted in the traditions, habitus and conscience of a majority of German people. This helps to explain the central part played by Germany in the origins of the First and Second World Wars and the rise of Nazism and 'the Holocaust'. It also helps to explain why a cult of dueling and Turnen, a nationalist and militaristically orientated form of gymnastics, originated in Germany rather than forms of modern sport.

Whatever its degree of adequacy, it is difficult to see how such a theory can be justifiably described as 'evolutionary', even in the relatively weak sense of displaying 'a tendency towards latent evolutionism' (Horne and Jary, 19 ). It is a theory concerned with processes based on the inter-generational transmission of learned experiences which Elias sought to demonstrate as having empirically occurred. As such, it is testable at both the 'macro' and the 'micro' levels, and regarding the connections which Elias postulated between them. It is also potentially testable by reverend to societies outside a Western context and in relation to specific spheres of social life such as crime and punishment and, more germane for present purposes, sport. In fact, pace Horne and Jary and others who have similarly argued that the theory of civilizing processes is untestable, the body of Leicester work on sport represents an explicit test and elaboration of the theory. It does so because, when Norbert Elias and I first began our work on the development of sport in 1959, neither of us knew what the results would be.

This is an appropriate point at which to begin a discussion of that work. As I hope to show, the principal strands in the development of modern sport tend to confirm that the theory of civilizing processes, both as far as its direction and its 'causes' or, more properly, its sociogenetics, are concerned.<sup>9</sup> I shall start by dealing briefly and for comparative purposes with the 'sports' of the

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Ancient world.<sup>10</sup> I shall then discuss the 'sports' of medieval and early modern Europe, and after that, what we have come to define and recognize as 'sports' today. Finally, I shall look briefly at the issue of soccer hooliganism.

## The sports of the ancient world

There is a tendency both in academic discourse and popular mythology to look on the

'sports' of Ancient Greece as representing some kind of pinnacle of civilized sporting

achievement (McIntosh in Dunning, Maguire and Pearton, 1993, p.27).<sup>11</sup> By contrast the 'sports' of Ancient Rome are commonly viewed as a regression into barbarism. There is no need to deny what was, from the standpoint of the 'late barbarians' of today who consider themselves to be 'civilized', the high level of cruelty and violence of the 'sports' of Ancient Rome. The brutality of the gladiatorial combats, the mock battles and the massacres and the bloodlust of the crowds who flocked to see them are all well enough established. Sociologically, these 'sports' are indicative of an attitude to life, death and the sufferings of others which was very different from that which domineers in the contemporary West (August, 1972). It probably reflects in large part the centrality of slavery to the economy and society of Ancient Rome. It is probably not so well known, however, that the violence of the Roman Games was not restricted to events in the arena: crowds throughout the empire often behaved violently as well. Take the circus factions at the chariot races, for example. They were divided principally into 'the Blues' and 'the Greens' after the colors of the charioteers. In his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Gibbon described them thus:

... the blues affected to strike terror by a peculiar and Barbaric dress, the long hair of the Huns, their close sleeves and ample garments, a lofty step and a sonorous voice. In the day they concealed their two-edged poniards (daggers), but in the night they boldly assembled in arms and in numerous bands, prepared for every act of violence and rapine. Their adversaries of the green faction, or even inoffensive citizens, were stripped and often murdered by these nocturnal robbers, and it became dangerous to wear any gold buttons or girdles or to appear at a late hour in the streets of a peaceful capital ... No place was safe or sacred from their depredations; to gratify either avarice or revenge, they profusely spilt the blood of the innocent; churches and altars were polluted by atrocious murders; and it was the boast of the assassins that their dexterity could always inflict a mortal wound with a single stroke of their dagger (quoted in McIntosh, 1993, p.35).

The Blues and Greens were evidently comparable in some ways to the soccer hooligans of today, though, if Gibbon is to be believed, they were considerably more murderous. That he may have exaggerated their violence to some degree is suggested by the fact that he was trying to establish that Rome's 'decline and fall' occurred largely as a consequence of a rising tide of immorality and vice. In short, whatever the degree of conscious deliberation that may have been involved, Gibbon may have exaggerated the violence of the circus factions in order thereby to provide greater support for his thesis. Whatever is the case in this regard, however, recent research (e.g., Cameron, 1976) certainly substantiates the thesis that, judged by present-day standards, their behaviour was often violent in the extreme. For example, they set the wooden hippodrome in Constantinople on fire in 491, 498, 507 and 532AD, leading the emperor Justinian to invest in a marble stadium. The evidence suggests that by far the worst of these circus riots was the one in 532 AD when the Blues and the 'Greens' joined forces, rescued prisoners who, as was customary, were about to be publicly executed prior to the commencement of the racing, and were eventually put down by troops at an estimated cost of 30,000

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lives (Guttman, 1986, p.32). The thirty nine deaths at the European Cup Final match between the soccer teams, Liverpool and Juventus at the Heysel Stadium, Brussels, in 1985 and even the estimated death toll of between 287 and 328 (Smith, 1983, p.181) at the soccer international between Peru and Argentina in Lima in 1964, the worst recorded soccer-related tragedy of modern times, are placed by this comparison with what went on in Constantinople in 432 in a perspective which is rather different from that which would come from looking at them in solely present-centred terms, competes divorced from what is known about the history of sports.

But what about the 'sports' of Ancient Greece? Were they, as present-day mythology would have it, less violent than the 'sports' of ancient Rome? Comparative judgements of this kind are difficult to make but the surviving evidence certainly suggests that they were considerably more violent than modern sports. Take the case of the pankration. According to Finley and Pleket (1976, p.40), it combined elements of boxing, wrestling and judo, and was one of the most popular events in the Ancient Olympic Games. In the pankration, we are told,

... the competitors fought with every part of their body ... (They) were allowed to gouge one another's eyes out, ... trip their opponents, lay hold of their feet, noses and ears, dislocate their fingers and arms, and apply strangleholds. If one man succeeded in throwing the other, he was entitled to sit on him and beat him about the head, face and ears; he could also kick him and trample on him. It goes without saying that the contestants in this brutal contest sometimes received the most fearful wounds and that not infrequently men were killed! The pankration of the Spartan *epheboi* was probably the most brutal of all Pausanias tells us that the contestants quite literally fought tooth and nail and bit and tore one another's eyes out (Elias, 1986, p.136).

Greek boxing was similarly brutal. There were no weight classes and, as in French *savate* and kick-boxing, contestants could use their feet as well as their hands. Blows could also be delivered with outstretched fingers and dodging and feinting, especially moving backwards, were regarded as a sign of cowardice. Ancient Greek boxers just stood toe-to-toe and slugged it out (Elias, 1986, pp.137-138).

Further testimony to the violence of the Ancient Greek Olympics is provided by the fact that the 'hellanodikai', the managers of the games, employed two classes of assistants: the 'mastigophoroi' or whip-bearers, and the 'rabdouchoi' or truncheon-bearers, whose task was to keep both competitors and spectators under control (Guttman, 1986, p.17). The need for functionaries of this kind is suggestive of crowds which must have frequently been unruly and which would only respond to a strong measure of externally imposed physical restraint. One measure of how unruly they were is provided by the fact that drunken/rowdiness was apparently such a problem at the Pythian Games at Delphi that spectators were forbidden to carry wine into the stadium (Guttman, 1986, p.17). The recent ban on alcohol at soccer matches by the British and other governments is evidently nothing new!

The 'sports' of Ancient Greece were based on the ethos of a warrior nobility. Unlike modern sports, they involved a tradition of 'honour' rather than of 'fairness' which helps to explain the high level of violence that was customarily tolerated within them. This level of violence was also consonant with the frequency with which the different city-states went to war and with the fact that life within them was generally more violent and insecure than that in modern nation-states. In fact, one of the principal justifications given for 'sports' in ancient Greece was as a training for war. For example, Philostratos wrote that, at one time people regarded the games as training for war and war as training for the games (Finley and Pleket, 1976, p.113), thus indicating a closer connection between war-contests and game-contests than exists - with marginal exceptions such as Nazi Germany - in present-day nation-states. A

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similar ideological connection was often made in the European middle ages and early modern period. It is to these 'sports' that I shall now turn.

### The sports of medieval and early modern Europe

In the European middle ages, there were four principal types of 'sports': tournaments, hunts and other activities which involved the brutalization of animals, archery contests and folk games. There was some imitation across class-boundaries in this regard and a degree of variation between countries but, in general, such 'sports' tended to be class-specific. That is, tournaments and hunts were restricted to knights and squires, archery contests to the middle strata, and folk games, as the name implies, along with such sports as bear-baiting, cock fighting and dog-fighting to the 'common people'. In this context, I shall confine my discussion to the tournaments and folk-games.

The earliest surviving records of the tournaments date from the twelfth century and are indicative of a very violent type of 'sport'. The typical tournament, we are told, 'was a *mêlée* composed of parties of knights fighting simultaneously, capturing each other, seeking not only glory but also ransoms' (Guttman, 1986; Barber, 1974). Most significantly for present purposes, between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, the tournaments underwent a civilizing process in the course of which they were transformed increasingly into pageants involving 'mock' rather than 'real' violence, that is, they became centrally concerned with spectacle and display, and as this process unfolded, the role of spectators, especially of upper-class females, grew in importance. As Guttman has expressed it:

The presence of upper class women at tournaments plainly signals transformation in function. The perfection of military prowess became ancillary and the tournament became a theatrical production in which fitness to rule was associated with fitness of sensibility (Guttman, 1986, p.41)

This is consistent with Elias's concept of 'the courtization of the warriors' and with the part he attributed to the growing power of females in that process (Elias, 1994, p.).<sup>12</sup> Despite the taming of the tournaments themselves, however, spectatorship continued to be a hazardous affair and stands are reported to have collapsed in London in 1331 and 1581 resulting in numerous injuries and, on the latter occasion, loss of life as well (Guttman, 1986, ). It is to the folk games that I shall now turn since it is from that source that such more civilized modern sports as soccer and rugby sprang.

Modern soccer and rugby are descended from a type of medieval folk-games which, in Britain, went by a variety of names such as 'football', 'camp ball', 'hurling' and 'knappan'. Continental European variants included 'la soule' in France, 'sollen' in Belgium and the *gioco del pugno* in Italy. The ball in such games was carried, thrown and hit with sticks as well as kicked, and matches were played through the streets of towns as well as over open country. They were played by variable, formally unrestricted numbers of people, sometimes in excess of one thousand. There was no equalization of numbers between the contending sides, and the rules were oral and locally specific rather than standardized, written down and enforced by a central controlling body. Despite such local variation, the games in this folk tradition shared at least one common feature: they were all play-struggles which involved the customary toleration of forms of physical violence which have now been taboed and were generally played in ways which involved levels of roughness and violence that were considerably higher than would be permitted in soccer, rugby and comparable games today. That this was so will emerge from a few extracts from sixteenth and seventeenth century accounts. These two centuries are the richest source of evidence about such games largely as a result of attacks on them by Puritans and

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counterattacks by the Puritans' opponents. Despite the degree of ideological contamination that was inevitably thus engendered, evidence from earlier and later centuries by and large confirms the sixteenth and seventeenth century sources (Dunning and Sheard, 1979, pp.21-45). As a result, these folk games can be said to have constituted a single tradition the basic structure of which endured over several centuries in a basically unchanged form. That is, such changes as occurred did not involve developments of a basic structural kind. Judged by present-day standards, the games in this tradition were also very rough and wild.

We hear, for example, that, in Chester, a town near Liverpool in the north-west of England, a football match between the Shoemakers' and the Drapers' Companies had been played annually on Shrove Tuesday since 'time out of man's remembrance'. By 1533, however, what were described as 'evil disposed persons' - sixteenth century equivalents of today's soccer hooligans, if you like - had apparently come to take part with the result that... much harm was done, some in the greates thronge falling into a trance, some having their bodies bruised and crushed; some their arms, heades or legges broken, and some otherwise maimed or in peril of their lives' (Dunning and Sheard, 1979, p.23). In the description of Cornish 'hurling' which he published in 1602, Sir Richard Carew hints that this level of violence and physical danger was inherent in the structure of such games and was not simply a consequence of the involvement of what we would call 'hooligans'. Thus he described the game as being '... accompanied by many dangers ... For prooffe whereof, when the hurling is ended you shall see them retyring home, as from a pitched battaile, with bloody pates (heads), bones broken and out of joynt, and such bruises as serve to shorten their daies ...' (Dunning and Sheard, 1979, p.27). A year later, Sir George Owen wrote of Welsh 'knappan' that

...at this playe privatt grudges are revenged, soe that for everye small occasion they fall by the eares, web beinge but once kindled betweene two, all persons on both sides become parties, soe that some tymes you shall see fyve or vi hundred naked men, beating in a clusture together (Dunning and Sheard, 1979, p.28).

Just as in the case of Cornish hurling, some of the participants played on horseback. The horsemen, said Owen, 'have monstros cudgels, of iii foote and halfe longe, as bigge as the partie is well able to wild (wield)'. Further testimony to the wildness of such games is provided by Sir Thomas Elyot, the disciple of the humanist Erasmus, and friend of Sir Thomas More. Writing in 1531 in his *Boke (Book) Named the Governour*, Elyot condemned 'foot balle' as a game in which there is 'nothyng but beastly furie, and extreme violence; whereof proceedeth hurte, and consequently rancour and malice do remayne with them that be wounded; wherefore it is to be put in perpetuall sylence' (Elyot, 1531; quoted in Marples, 1954, p.66).

Between 1314 and 1667, unsuccessful attempts were made by state and local authorities to ban these wild games on more than thirty occasions (Dunning and Sheard, 1979, p.23). In France, too, unsuccessful attempts were made to ban 'la Soule' and similar games, at least up until the Revolution in 1797 (Elias, n.d.). That the continental European variants were as wild and rowdy as their counterparts in Britain is suggested by Allen Guttmann's description of the 'gioco del pugno' (game of the fist). It was played in Northern Italy and it was, according to Guttmann:

... often little better than a pitched battle, a tournament fought with weapons provided by nature. An even rougher version... occurred when the 'players' hurled rocks at each other, a pastime honoured by Savonarola's condemnation. In Perugia, a thousand or more men and women joined in the annual stone fight, which became so violent that the authorities attempted to

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moderate the bloodshed in 1273 by threatening that those who killed their opponents would henceforth be tried for murder (Guttmann, 1986, p.52).

How did the modern forms of football develop out of this violent folk tradition? In the next two sections, I shall try to show how soccer and rugby developed as part of the 'civilizing spurt' which Britain experienced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

### The initial development of modern sport

In Florence during the Renaissance, a more restrained and regulated game developed, the 'gioco del calcio' (game of kicking). It was played by noblemen (Marples, 1954, p.67; Young, 1968, p.26). However, it was a very rough game and, as far as one can tell, was controlled in the last instance by ranks of pikemen present in case the excitement of the struggle led either the young noble players or members of the crowd to get carried away and lose their self-control (Guttmann, 1986, p.51). The 'gioco del calcio' is still played in Florence today and it remains a rough game, perhaps even rougher than rugby.

It has been suggested that calcio may have formed the model on which soccer and rugby are based but there is no direct evidence for such a process of modelling and diffusion. It seems much more likely, especially since it did not take place until some two or three centuries after the initial emergence of calcio, that the development of these games was a process which mainly occurred autonomously in Britain, in the first place especially in England. That, at least, is consistent with the judgement of the Dutch historian, Johan Huizinga, who, in his influential book, *Homo Ludens*, described England 'as the cradle and focus of modern sporting life' (Huizinga in Dunning (ed), 1971, p.13).

Although there are one or two signs of the development out of the folk traditions of more restrained and regulated sport-forms in England as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all the evidence suggests that these did not catch on. In fact, it is reasonable to suppose that the initial development of modern sport was a process which principally occurred in two main, overlapping stages: a stage which began in the eighteenth century in which members of the aristocracy and gentry were predominant, and a stage which began in the nineteenth century in which members of ascendant bourgeois groups joined the landed classes in taking the lead. The evidence also suggests that this process was more a function of wider social developments, especially of the peculiarly English variants of the state-formation and civilizing processes, than it was of the properties of these emergent sporting forms per se. More particularly, the eighteenth century saw the emergence of more regularized and civilized forms of boxing, foxhunting, horseracing and cricket while the nineteenth century saw the emergence of more regularized forms of athletic competition, mountain and water sports (boat racing as well as swimming), but above all, the early development of more civilized ball games such as soccer, rugby, hockey and tennis. The increasing predominance of ball-games and non-violent forms of athletic competition over field sports, especially field sports in which the quarry is killed, arguably in itself represented a 'civilizing shift' of some significance. (I understand here water sports and mountain sports under the general rubric of 'athletic competition'). So, too, did the fact that modern sports came over time - at least in non-totalitarian countries - to be justified less and less as a training for war and more and more as healthy, enjoyable and socially valuable and constructive 'ends in themselves'.

Two other things are worthy of note in this connection. The first is the fact that, in popular consciousness in western societies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the term 'sport' has

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increasingly been withdrawn from the hunting and killing types of activities, eg, in Spain bullfighting is not regarded as a sport and increasing doubts have been raised over whether foxhunting can be regarded as one. Correlatively with this, the term has been applied more and more exclusively to competitive leisure activities involving physical exertion which either do not involve violence as a legitimate component at all - it can be involved illegitimately, of course, as with bumping, jostling and spiking in running events or in which violence is centrally involved but subjected more to civilizing controls, eg, the no hitting below the belt rule in boxing.

Another aspect of this process has involved the attempt by specific groups to secure the inclusion of more and more non-violent competitive activities under the rubric of the term 'sport'. A good example is provided by activities such as mountaineering and rock-climbing in which the competition is not between humans, or not just between them, but between humans and some physical obstacle and usually involving an element of danger and risk. Such activities are consistent with the theory of civilizing processes because they presuppose the bringing of what was hitherto wilderness under greater human control. Moreover, the risks and dangers in such cases are almost always controlled by means of the use of special techniques and equipment. Engaging in risky activities which are then controlled, followed once again by the 'shift to risk', has been a central characteristic of the development of sport and leisure forms in the relatively civilized societies of Western Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Let me examine the two initial phases in the development of modern sport in greater detail.

An obvious hypothesis by which to explain the initial emergence of modern sporting forms would be to link this process with the fact that Britain in the eighteenth century began to become the world's first industrial nation, in other words to suggest that there was probably some kind of connection between the 'sporting' and the 'industrial revolutions'. That has indeed been proposed by authors such as Brohm (19 ), Brailsford (19 ), Hargreaves (19 ) and Rigauer (19 ). Such an hypothesis is not wrong but, by placing too much stress on the independent significance of 'economic factors', it is a gross oversimplification. It is arguably better to trace the industrial and sporting 'revolutions' to an overall social transformation in which, if anything, political rather than economic developments were predominant. During the seventeenth century, Britain became caught up in a cycle of violence associated mainly with the civil war (16 ), the regicide and the so-called 'glorious revolution' of 1688 (Elias in Elias and Dunning, 1986, p.26 ff.). In that century in other words, in conjunction with religious conflict but also because of the conflict engendered by the Stuart attempt to claim 'absolute power' along the lines of Louis XIV in France, the state's monopoly of power was severely challenged. By the eighteenth century, however, the effectiveness of the state's violence monopoly had been more or less restored - though under conditions in which aristocratic and gentry groups enjoyed greater autonomy and power than their counterparts in absolutist France. By that time, too, passions had begun to calm down and parliamentary party forms of conducting political struggles began to emerge. It was in the context of an increasingly pacified society subject to more effective forms of parliamentary rule that the modern forms of sport first began to emerge. That there was a strong connection between these two developments is suggested by the fact that there were close parallels between the emergent party rituals of parliament and the emergent rituals of modern sport. Both, as they came to develop in eighteenth century Britain, came to involve less violent ways of conducting struggles and conflicts than had previously prevailed. In other words, pace the interpretation of Stokvis (1992), it was not a question of some abstractly conceptualized 'political factor' somehow influencing the development of sport but rather of the fact that the habitus of ruling groups in eighteenth century Britain underwent a

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'civilizing spurt', leading them simultaneously to transform both the political and the leisure sides of their lives in a civilizing direction. As Elias expressed it:

Military skills gave way to the verbal skills of debate, of rhetoric and persuasion, all of which required greater restraint a] round and identified this change very clearly as a civilizing spurt. It was this change, the greater sensitivity with regard to the use of violence which, reflected in the social habitus of individuals, also found expression in the development of their pastimes. The 'parliamentarization' of the landed classes of England (Britain) had its counterpart in the 'sportization' of their pastimes (Elias in Elias and Dunning, 1986, p.34)

The fact that the leisure side of this process involved a civilizing spurt emerges perhaps most clearly from the development of boxing and foxhunting. More particularly, if Elias was right, the development of boxing from the eighteenth century onwards was connected with the emergence of a fighting code through which 'gentlemen' came to settle their 'affairs of honour' less and less by duelling with swords and pistols, and more and more with their fists alone. This code subsequently percolated downwards into the middle class and the upper sections of the working classes. The gradual emergence of such a form of fighting contrasted markedly both with the development in France of *savate*, a form of boxing in which the use of legs and feet remained central and legitimate tactics, and with the cult of duelling which gained precedence among the German upper and middle classes in the more unified German empire (Reich) which developed under Prussian hegemony after 1870 (Elias, 1989;1995).

By contrast with earlier forms of hunting, foxhunting members of the aristocracy and gentry were similarly required from the eighteenth century onwards to kill foxes 'by proxy', that is, through the hounds. They did not, themselves, take part directly in the kill and this, according to Elias, constituted a civilizing shift. Let me deviate for a moment in order briefly to consider two critical responses to Elias on this score.

Stokvis (1992) has plausibly hypothesized that foxhunting may have been influenced by the French 'chasse par force'<sup>13</sup> but Tester has implausibly asserted that Elias's thesis about the civilizing of foxhunting falls to the ground because it 'implicitly assumes a finalist epistemology which contends that the origins of the present are to be found in the past and that everything between two historical moments has a meaning and a place in a processual advance'(Tester, 1989, p.163). What Tester means by this is not entirely clear but there seem to be two possible interpretations. On the one hand, this argument may involve a failure on Tester's part to appreciate how Elias's concept of 'blind social processes' avoids problems of teleology, namely the idea that the germs of future social states are somehow imprinted or contained in past social forms and that the transition from one to another occurs necessarily, almost as if some kind of purposiveness or goal-directedness were involved. Elias circumvents this problem by means of a concept of social processes as relatively open-ended yet determined. What this apparently contradictory statement means is that, given, for example, the part played in them by the choices of countless individuals, the complex processes involved in explaining why in a society one developmental path rather than another is followed can only be determined retrospectively (Elias, 1978, p. ). Alternatively, Tester may be implying that there are no connections in social life between past and present, in a word that social processes are entirely discontinuous. However, if that is what he means, it fits uneasily with his espousal of historical sociology. Tester is on firmer ground in suggesting that '(f)oxhunting was only a "spurt of civilization" because the foxhunters had the power to make the landworkers perform the "vulgar" and "violent" acts' and that, through foxhunting, they were 'forcing their rule by forcibly and if need be violently oppressing the labourers

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who made their leisure possible'(Tester, 1989, p.171). Although he did not explore these aspects of the problem, that is not a proposition with which Elias would have disagreed. Tester is only able to make it by arbitrarily and wrongly interpreting Elias as having espoused a harmonistic Historical sociology which examines social processes from 'the top down' whilst simultaneously tending to ignore 'the bottom' (Tester, 1989, p.171). Since figurational sociology is concerned with seeking explanations by reference to 'total' figurations, such a criticism simply makes no sense. By making it, Tester has added to rather than refuted Elias. Let me return to the initial development of modern sport and focus on the nineteenth century stage which saw the emergence of the rugby and soccer forms of football.

### Early stages in the development of rugby and soccer

By contrast with their folk-antecedents and, in most respects, with more advanced but still pre-modern games such as Italian 'calcio', soccer and rugby can be said to exemplify sports which are more civilized in at least six senses which were lacking in the older forms. More particularly, modern soccer and rugby are more civilized in the sense that each involves:

- I. strict limitation on the numbers of participants, together with numerical equality between the contending sides. De-limitation of the numbers of participants represents a civilizing development because a game played by unlimited numbers is liable to result in frequent mêlées and brawls. The institutionalization of numerical equality between sides is civilizing, too, because it constitutes a central ingredient of the notion of 'fair play';
- II. specialization around the practices of kicking, or kicking, handling and throwing, together with elimination of the use of sticks either for purposes of striking other players or the ball. Similarly, all the players play on foot. That is to say, practices which were often indiscriminately and dangerously intermixed in the old folk tradition, such as some players using sticks and some playing on horseback and others on foot, have come to be separately institutionalized in the form of the specific and differentiated games of soccer and rugby, together with related games such as hockey and polo;
- III. a centralized rule-making, administrative and rule-enforcing body, the Football Association (FA) in the case of soccer, and the Rugby Football Union (RFU) in the case of rugby;
- IV. a set of written rules which demand from players the exercise of strict self-control over physical contact and the use of physical force, and which prohibit force in certain forms, eg, 'stiff-arm tackling' (striking an opposing player in the throat) and 'hacking' (kicking an opposing player to the ground).
- V. clearly defined 'intra-game' sanctions such as 'free-kicks' and 'penalties' which can be brought to bear on those who break the rules and, as the ultimate sanction for serious and persistent violation of the rules, the possibility of excluding players from game; and
- VI. the institutionalization of specific roles with respect to the task of controlling the game, that is, the roles of referee and, in soccer, 'linesmen' and, in rugby, 'touch judges'. Unlike the 'whip-bearers' and 'truncheon-bearers' of the Ancient Greek Olympics and the pikemen of

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Florentine 'calcio', those match officials do not rely on physical force or the threat of it to secure compliance with the rules but on non-physical sanctions which are specific to the game as such. This shows clearly that the orderly character of these modern games is fundamentally dependent, not only on non-violent external constraints but on the exercise of a large measure of self-control by the players. In a word, such sports are indicative of a shift in the balance between external constraints and self-constraints in favour of self-constraints and are thus symptomatic of the sorts of civilizing process undergone by the societies of western Europe. A corollary of this shift is the fact that arguing with but above all striking a match official is regarded as one of the most reprehensible acts in these as in all other modern sports.

The early development of soccer and rugby occurred as part of a temporally concentrated civilizing spurt. Two significant moments in it were the production in the 1840's of the first written rules, and the formation, in 1863 and 1871 respectively, of the FA and the RFU. Let me elaborate briefly on this civilizing spurt.

The first surviving written rules of football were produced at Rugby, a 'public school' in the English midlands, in 1845 (Dunning and Sheard, 1979, pp.91-94). The developing social context in which they were produced - the 'public schools' - was a microcosmic reflection of the state-formation and civilizing processes which were then occurring in British society at large. Most of the leading public schools of Britain can trace their origins to the Middle Ages and early modern periods. They were founded as charitable institutions or local grammar schools but, during the eighteenth century, they were increasingly usurped by members of the aristocracy and gentry. In that context they came to take on the character which they have today of elite boarding schools which cater for the perceived educational requirements of the upper and middle classes.

In conjunction with their usurpation by the aristocracy and gentry, the public schools experienced a cycle of violence which was expressed most strikingly in the frequency with which boys openly rebelled against the school authorities (Dunning and Sheard, 1979, pp.46-62). Between 1728 and 1832, for example, Eton and Winchester, the two oldest schools, each experienced at least seven rebellions, whilst Rugby, which only became a public school at the end of the eighteenth century, experienced at least four. That it is no misnomer to describe these disturbances as 'rebellions' is shown by the fact that the 1797 revolt at Rugby and the 1818 revolt at Winchester led to the Riot Act being read and could only be quelled by contingents of the army or the militia using drawn swords and bayonets. The first school at which the authorities regained regular control was Rugby under Thomas Arnold and it is no accident that it was in conjunction with the regularization of authority relations at that school that more regularized and civilized forms of football began to emerge. It was also symptomatic of this development and of British social development more generally that the boys, especially the seniors or 'prefects', were allowed a large measure of autonomy in this process (Dunning and Sheard, 1979, pp.79-99)

Central among the objectives of the senior boys at Rugby who framed the written rules of 1845 was to secure stricter control over physical contact and the use of physical force in the game. To this end, the rules placed restrictions on the practice of hacking and sought to prohibit altogether the use of what were called 'navvies'. These were iron-tipped boots, sometimes with projecting nails, and had formed a violent part of the game at Rugby and some of the other public schools. That navvies had

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also been used in at least some of the folk antecedents of modern football is suggested by an anonymous Old Etonian who wrote contemptuously in 1831 that:

I cannot consider the game of football as being at all gentlemanly. It is a game which the common people of Yorkshire are particularly partial to, the tips of their boots being heavily shod with iron; and frequently death has been known to ensue from the severity of the blows inflicted thereby (Quoted in Dunning, 1971, p.135).

In spite of this dismissive attitude, forms of both 'the Wall Game' and 'the Field Game'-early variants of football, both of which continue to be played at Eton today - were well established at the school in the 1830's and 40's. In fact, the first written rules of Eton football were laid down in 1846,<sup>14</sup> one year after the Rugby rules had been committed to writing. Significantly, they embodied the first known absolute taboo on the use of hands and can thus be considered as having legislated for an embryonic form of soccer. (The Eton field game, is in effect, a type of soccer with a strict, Rugby type offside rule which prohibits forward passing). It seems likely that status rivalry between Etonian and Rugbeians lay behind the incipient bifurcation of football into the Association and Rugby forms. The bifurcation only became finally institutionalized, however, when playing football came to be recognized as a legitimate activity for adult 'gentlemen', when members of the upper and middle classes formed clubs specifically or mainly for purposes of playing football, and when, in that connection, associations were formed with a view to framing common, national rules.

The first of these bodies, the Football Association, emerged from a series of meetings held in London in 1863 and attended mainly by public school 'old boys' (former pupils) and other gentlemen'. At first, those in attendance attempted to form a single, unified football code. A majority favoured a mainly kicking game from which hacking had been totally eliminated but proponents of versions of football modelled on the form played at Rugby school preferred a rougher, mainly carrying and throwing game in which the violent practice of hacking retained a central place. Hence they withdrew, themselves banding together in 1871 to form the Rugby Football Union. The devotees of Rugby took this step partly as a result of a public controversy over what had come to be perceived in some quarters as the excessive violence of their codes, and one of their first acts in framing a unified set of rules was to follow the example of the Football Association and place an absolute taboo on hacking. I wrote of rugby 'codes' in the plural before the unification of 1871 because, prior to that time, there were considerable variations in the games played by different schools and clubs. There was even one type of rugby in which there was a goalkeeper (Dunning and Sheard, 1979, pp. 113-122).

The available evidence thus suggests that both the first and the second main stages in the initial development of modern sport involved a transformation in the direction of greater civilization. That is, sports such as boxing, foxhunting, soccer and rugby, as they developed in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, came to embody the elimination of some forms of physical violence and the general demand that participants should exercise stricter self-control in regard to physical contact and over the aggressive impulses for which sport can serve as a central avenue of expression, and which, in any case, are liable to be aroused in any competitive activity. As part of this development, too, sports such as boxing, rugby and soccer which involve forms of play-fighting between individuals and groups came via a process of trial and error learning to be subject to systems of control by match officials who use as sanctions, not physical chastisements but various forms of non-violent, sport-specific penalties which adversely affect the chances in the contest of erring participants and/or their teams. In all these respects, modern sports are different both from their counterparts in Ancient Greece and Rome, and

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from their antecedents in medieval and early modern Europe. In other words, the development of modern sports can be said to be an exemplification of a civilizing process and to provide support for Elias's theory.

## Conclusion

Let me conclude this chapter by making two final points. The first is that there is some evidence that, at least in present-day Britain, we may be in the early stages of a civilizing downswing - a de-civilizing process of some as yet indeterminable moment and duration and which is taking place both in sport and society at large.<sup>15</sup> In soccer this manifests itself, eg, in the increasing use of elbows and, in rugby, in the increase of practices such as 'raking', i.e., scraping one's boot-studs across the skin of opponents. In both cases, these de-civilizing developments appear to be largely a consequence of the increasing competitiveness of such games. This, in its turn, appears to be connected with their growing commercialization, professionalization and internationalization, and with the increase in the significance of winning which has been generated in this connection. However, such practices appear to be engaged in mainly for instrumental reasons rather than as pleasurable ends in themselves. They are what one would expect of 'late barbarians' who experience an increase of competitive pressure and they do not entail a regression to the forms and levels of mainly expressive violence which were characteristic of the 'sports' of the ancient and medieval worlds.

My second point relates to soccer hooliganism, a form of behaviour which does involve expressive violence to a considerable degree and which thus appears to contradict the theory of civilizing processes. Since I shall concern myself with providing an in-depth analysis of soccer hooliganism as a world phenomenon in Chapter 5, only a few brief observations are relevant here.

Writing in 1890 of the nineteenth century 'survivals' of the folk antecedents of modern soccer and rugby, the ethnologist, G.L. Gomme, had this to say:

It is impossible ... to contemplate these fierce contests... without coming to the conclusion that the struggles were... not football games so much as local struggles; and when we observe further that locality now takes the place of clanship, the argument is forced home to us that we have in these modern games the surviving relics of the earliest conditions of village life and organization, when different clans settled down side by side, but always with the recollection of their tribal distinctions. (Gomme, 1890)

With one or two exceptions such as Shrove Tuesday football at Ashbourne in Derbyshire and the annual, Easter Monday 'bottle kicking' match between Hallaton and Medbourne in Leicestershire, these folk 'survivals' have now been abolished or have spontaneously died out. However, that is less relevant for present purposes than the fact that Gomme's description suggests the possibility that, with its intense expression of local rivalries, present-day soccer hooliganism may perhaps be understood as a kind of recurrently generated urban continuation of the old folk tradition, though superimposed upon and intermingled in complex ways with the more highly regulated and civilized Association game. Interesting support for such a hypothesis comes from the work of Richard Holt on sport in France. He shows how, when soccer began to become popular with the French working class around the turn of the century, outbreaks of spectator violence were a frequent accompaniment of matches and he concludes that: 'In town and country, youths who had formerly faced each other in open combat in the fields and market places began to congregate in the local stadium with broadly similar ends in view' (Holt, 1981, p.135).

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Soccer, of course, is not the only sport at which crowd violence occurs but violent disorders certainly take place more frequently in soccer-related contexts around the world than in the context of other sports. One possible explanation may be that this is a function of the relatively non-violent character of soccer compared, for example, with rugby or American football, that is, of the fact that soccer provides spectators with fewer opportunities for vicariously experiencing violence and aggression, and hence does not allow them cathartically to purge their violent impulses. However, such an hypothesis is doubtful. Some forms of sports crowd violence are a function of the intensity of partisanship and it is difficult to see how soccer intrinsically generates higher levels of partisanship than other sports. According to Richard Holt, moreover, in the South of France, it is rugby rather than soccer which has traditionally provided the main focus for hooligan rivalries (Holt, 1981, pp.135-136). Nor is such an hypothesis consistent with the rise in the incidence of crowd violence at American football reported in the 1970's. In fact, it is much more plausible to suppose that crowd violence is more frequent in conjunction with soccer simply because soccer is the world's most popular team sport. As such, it attracts not only the greatest publicity but also the largest crowds and the latter are predominantly lower class. In other words, the relatively greater world-wide frequency of violence at or in relation to soccer appears principally to be a function of the publicity it attracts and of the size and social composition of its crowds. The fact that comparatively little crowd disorderliness has been reported at soccer in the United States where the game remains a minority sport and where both players and spectators are drawn mainly from the middle classes is consistent with this hypothesis.

As I have said, I shall deal with the problem of soccer hooliganism in Chapter 5. In Chapter 3, I shall examine some theoretical and conceptual issues, and look in greater detail at the part played by state-formation in the early development of modern sport. Then in Chapter 4, I shall explore the development of soccer as a world game.

### Notes

1. The subtitle of the English translation of Volume I is 'The History of Manners.' It was imposed by Urizen, the first publishers of the translation, because they thought it would help sales. Elias resisted this subtitle strongly because his German subtitle, "Wanderlungen des Verhaltens in den weltlichen Oberschichten des Abendlands" - changes in the behaviour of the secular upper classes in the West - is a much more accurate reflection of what the book is about.
2. An example of a 'reverse civilizing process i.e., of a 'de-civilizing' or 'barbarizing' process' is provided by former Yugoslavia where the disintegration of a formerly unified state has resulted in a power shift towards war lords and their political cronies.
3. The first of these 'basic controls' is considered by Elias in *Involvement and Detachment* (198 ) and *The Symbol Theory* (199 ).
4. By 'habitus' - a word which Ice used long before its popularization by Bourdieu (1979) - Elias basically meant 'second nature' or 'embodied social learning' (Elias, 1939, p.xi)
5. Elias's use of the term 'blind process' is reminiscent of Richard Dawkins's usage in his *The Blind Watchmaker* (19 ). Just as Dawkins uses the term 'blind' in an attempt to produce a

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nonteological theory of biological evolution, -o Elias uses it in order to lay the foundation for a non-teleological theory of -social development.

6. Elias's concept of the means of ruling is a direct parallel to the Marxian concept of the means of production.
7. Marxist writers, (e.g. Anderson) argue that the more highly centralized dynastic or 'absolutist' states of Western Europe were forms of feudal state. In his *The Nation-State and Violence* (198 ), Antony Giddens parallels Elias in arguing that they constitute a distinct stage. Since Giddens was a lecturer at the University of Leicester for eight years during the 1960's and that Elias, too, was at Leicester in those years, it is difficult to believe that Giddens was not influenced by Elias in reaching this conclusion.
8. The fact that citizens have not been disarmed to the same extent in the USA suggests that America, in this regard at least, is a less civilized society than the societies of Western Europe.
9. The concept of "sociogenesis", literally 'social generation', is preferable to the term 'causes' because it helps to avoid an overly simple, mechanistic idea of social 'causation'.
10. Because they were so different from modern sports, Elias coined the term 'agnostic game contests', as a label for describing the 'sports' of Ancient Greece.
11. McIntosh's work is representative of this idealizing tendency because Ice attempts arbitrarily to impose the modern idea of 'fairness' on the ancient Greeks. It is undoubtedly the case that there were relatively crude equalizing rules - 'standardizing' would be a better term - in the sports of Ancient Greece but it is highly implausible that an equivalent to the modern idea of 'fair play' could have developed in warrior, slave-based societies.
12. It was one of Elias's contentions that a fundamental power resource of males relative to females is their generally superior capacity to use physical violence. It follows that the 'taming' of the European warrior class - the 'knights' - through their incorporation into royal courts involved a decrease in their power and an increase in that of female members of their class.
13. For a counter-critique of Stokvis's criticism of Elias, see Dunning (*Dunning and Rojek*, 1992).
14. The 1846 Eton rules were discovered by Graham Curry, a Leicester postgraduate student.
15. For a lengthier discussion of this issue, see Eric Dunning, 'Sport in the Civilizing Process: Aspects of the Development of Modern Sport in Dunning, Maguire and Pearton (eds), 1993.

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## FOOTBALL HOOLIGANISM AS A WORLD SOCIAL PROBLEM

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### I

Football hooliganism is alive and - quite literally - kicking. It is alive, not as used wrongly to be thought in the 1970s and 80s as a mainly English or British problem but as one which is world-wide in the sense of occurring - or as having at some time in the past occurred - in virtually every country where the game of Association football or 'soccer' is played. In this chapter, I shall explore this problem sociologically in an attempt to explain it. I shall do so primarily by reference to an analysis of data collected in an English context but I shall go beyond that and, using data and arguments developed by sociologists and social scientists in countries other than Britain, I shall offer some speculative hypotheses about some of the possibly internationally shared features of football hooliganism as a social problem. First of all, however, I want to look at some data on this subject. I shall start with an example from the Portuguese-speaking world.

On December 15 1994, the following report from Rio De Janeiro was published in an Australian newspaper:

What should have been the most glorious season in the history of Brazilian soccer is rapidly becoming the most tragic. Five months after the national team won an unprecedented fourth World Cup, violence among teenage fans is driving others away from stadiums in record numbers. At least six people have been killed in brawls and shoot-outs after games. ... The problem is not limited to Rio. While hooliganism has long been associated with soccer fans in Europe, Brazilian crowds had been safer if no less passionate. Most of the violence revolves around 'torcidas organizadas' or organized fan clubs. The groups, which have names like the 'Red-Black Race', 'Green Stain' and 'Flu Force' often are run by teenagers and have up to 40,000 members. They fight with fists, knives, bottles, guns and sometimes home-made bombs.<sup>2</sup>

My next example comes from Italy. On Sunday 29 January 1995, Vincenzo Spagnolo, a 24 year old Genoa fan, was knifed to death in a brawl which took place before his team's match with AC Milan. On the Wednesday afterwards, the following report appeared in a British national paper:

Six people have died in fights at or near football stadiums (in Italy) - since 1979. Nor was it the first sign of trouble this season. Last October, there were 10 taken to hospital in Naples after a fight with Bari supporters, while in Brescia, the local deputy police chief was stabbed by a fan following the visitors, Roma. The following month, fighting broke out in the stands during a Roma-Lazio derby and some fans hurled teargas canisters onto the pitch. Some 200 police officers have been injured at matches this season alone.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly to Brazil, in the Italian case organized fan groups - the Italians call them 'tifosi' - have been centrally involved in these violent confrontations. In both cases, adolescent and young adult males were reported as the principal offenders.

Of course, one cannot take newspaper reports as necessarily providing sociologically adequate diagnoses. However, until systematic cross-national studies using an agreed-on body of concepts, theories and methods are undertaken, they are extremely useful as a first indication of particular national manifestations of a global phenomenon which poses considerable difficulties as far as

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systematic sociological investigation is concerned. Let me push the argument one step further by providing evidence of the international spread of football hooliganism. I shall still rely on newspapers as my source.

In the early stages of the research into football hooliganism which we started at Leicester University in the late 1970s, we examined a range of English newspapers and recorded items on violent football-related incidents involving fans rather than players which were reported as having occurred outside the United Kingdom. We looked at newspapers from 1890 onwards and ceased this recording practice in 1984. This means that, whilst our figures cover most of the 20th century they do not cover years after 1983. In that sense, they are incomplete. Nevertheless, they are revealing as a rough indication of the world-wide incidence of football hooliganism. More particularly, we came across reports of 101 incidents of football-related violence which were said to have occurred in 37 countries between 1908 and 1983.

The countries referred to and the numbers of incidents reported in each are cited in Table 1:

Table 1  
World-wide incidence of football-related violence as reported in English newspapers, 1908-1983.

Argentina	(ca)1936,1965,1968.	Italy	1920,1955,1959, 1963 (two incidents), 1965 (two incidents), 1973, 1975, 1979, 1980,1981,1982.
Australia	1981	Jamaica	1965
Austria	(ca)1965	Lebanon	1964
Belgium	1974,1981	Malta	1975,1980,
Bermuda	1980	Mexico	1983
Brazil	1982	New Zealand	1981
Canada	1927	Nigeria	1983
China	1979,1981,1983	Norway	1981
Colombia	1982	Peru	1964
Egypt	1966	Portugal	1970
France	1960,1975,1977 (two incidents), 1980	Rumania	1979
Gabon	1981	Spain	1950,1980 (two incidents), 1981,1982
Germany*	1931, 1965 (two incidents), 1971, 1978, 1979 (two incidents), 1980, 1981 (three incidents), 1982 (six	Sweden	1946

\* Apart from the reported incident in 1931, these incidents were reported as having taken place in the former Federal Republic (West Germany)

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	incidents)		
Greece	1980 (two incidents), 1982,1983	Switzerland	1981
Guatemala	1980	Turkey	1964,1967
Holland	1974,1982	USSR	1960,1982,
Hungary	1908	USA	1980
India	1931,1982	Yugoslavia	1955 (two incidents), 1982 (two incidents)
Ireland**	1913, 1919, 1920 (three		

Source: Williams, J. et. al., (1989), *Hooligans Abroad*, London, Routledge.

Measured in terms of deaths and injuries reported, the most serious of these incidents were as given in Table 2:

Table 2  
Selected incidents at which serious crowd violence was reported

Country	Year	Match	No. of deaths	No. of Injuries
Argentina	1968	River Plate v Boca juniors	74	150
Brazil	1982	San Luis v Fortaleza	3	25
Colombia	1982	Deportivo Cai v Club Argentina	22	200
Peru	1964	Peru v Argentina	318	500
Turkey	1964	Kayseri v Sivas	44	600
USSR	1982	I Moscow Sparta v Harlem	69	100

Source: Williams et. al., loc. cit.

I have no wish to minimise the tragedies involved in any of these cases. However, it seems to me that, by comparison with some of the figures reported here, the deaths of 39 fans, most of them Italians, in the Heysel Stadium, Brussels, at the 1985 European Cup Final between Liverpool and Juventus, are placed in a somewhat different perspective than is usually the case. Above all, since the hooligan-related deaths at Heysel were probably more important than any other single set of events in fixing in world opinion the idea of football hooliganism as the 'English disease', the data in Tables 1 and 2 provide fairly conclusive evidence that football hooliganism is and never has been a problem which is peculiar to the English. But an apparent paradox has arisen in this connection, namely that, precisely at the time when football hooliganism has begun to be reported as having become deeply rooted in countries such as Italy and Brazil, the widespread belief has arisen in England that its own domestic hooliganism problem has either been 'cured' or has simply 'disappeared'. This belief is and always was a myth. Let me elaborate on some aspects of the conundrum which it poses.

\*\* Includes incidents reported as having taken place in both Eire and Ulster as well as incidents reported before the partition.

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From the late 1960s until around or after the middle of 1990, the year of the World Cup Finals in Italy, football hooliganism was routinely regarded as one of Britain's, particularly England's, major social problems. So far in the 1990s, however, a different national mood has come widely to prevail. Gordon Taylor, Chief Executive of the Professional Footballers Association, gave expression to this mood when he wrote in September 1993 of how, since the nadir represented by the Heysel tragedy in 1985, 'a joint policy between local authorities, police, government and football has dealt successfully with the hooligan problem'.<sup>3</sup> Only the week before Taylor's article appeared, the idea that the English/British problem of football hooliganism has been 'solved' was proposed by Birna Helgadottir writing in *The European* and quoting a variety of supposedly 'expert' opinion. She contrasted what she took to be the current English/British situation with what is happening on the continent, arguing in this connection that the 'ugliest habits (of the English hooligans) are being imitated by young hooligans from Greece to Rome ... But in Britain the situation is, ironically, quieter than it has been for years.'<sup>4</sup>

Helgadottir's article was headlined, 'Return of the Violent Fans' and premised on the assumption that, while the English hooligans have entered a period of relative quiescence at home, they have, beginning with the 1992 European Championships in Sweden, started regularly to engage in their hooligan activities on the continent once again, the violence and vandalism of England fans in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in November 1993 being at the time she was writing only the most recent large-scale example. Both aspects of this assumption are demonstrably false. Or rather, they represent at best what is a gross oversimplification of a highly complex issue. That is, the English hooligans have not 'returned': they have never gone away. And English fans are continuing to engage in hooligan behaviour in both domestic and international contexts as they have done at varying rates since the early 1970s.

What appears to have happened, in fact, and been mis-read by people such as Taylor and Helgadottir is that, since the 1990 World Cup Finals, the English problem of football hooliganism has been 'de-politicized' for a variety of reasons. More particularly it has been de-politicized, firstly as a result of the government's decision to withdraw Part I of its Football Spectators Bill. This was a measure pushed by Mrs. Thatcher and then Sports Minister, Colin Moynihan. Its central provision was a demand for computerized entry to matches and it was condemned by Lord Justice Taylor in his report on the Hillsborough tragedy of 1989 where more than 90 people were crushed to death at a football match in Sheffield as likely to increase rather than decrease the incidence of crowd fatalities.<sup>5</sup>

The issue of football hooliganism in England also began to be de-politicized in 1990 as a result of the government's decision to withdraw its opposition to the English Football Association's annual application to UEFA for the re-admission of English clubs to European football following the ban imposed as a result of Heysel. A consequence of these two political decisions was that the occurrence of football hooliganism, especially hooligan incidents involving English fans in domestic contexts, became less 'newsworthy' and hence less frequently reported, particularly by the national media. That is, the British media lost two reasons which they had had during the second half of the 1980s for regularly focusing on football crowds and their behaviour: the interest generated in connection with discussions of the Football Spectators Bill; and the interest generated in conjunction with the FA's attempts to get English clubs re-accepted into European competition. Three other factors have also been working in the same direction. The first is the 'feel-good factor' generated by the England team's better-than-expected performance in 'Italia90' and the fact that it was awarded FIFA's 'Fair-Play Trophy'. The second has been the mood of self-congratulation engendered at the higher levels of

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English football by the programme of stadium renewal embarked on in the light of the recommendations of the Taylor Report. In this connection, the false idea gained ground that new stadia would help to 'civilize' the hooligan fans. The third factor, and probably of equal importance to the de-politicization of hooliganism, has been an attempt at 'news management' by the football authorities and members of the 'new business class' - perhaps together with such agencies of the state as the Home Office - designed to foster and consolidate a public image of English football as a 'safe', 'family' game which has managed successfully to put its hooligan past behind it.

In the context of the present chapter, the figures in Tables 3 and 4 must be enough to show that England's domestic problem of football hooliganism is far from being 'solved' in any deep or realistic sense.

Table 3 offers a selection of incidents which took place at or in conjunction with Premiership, Football League and other matches during the 1992/93 season. In fact we know from our research that, in that season more than sixty football hooligan incidents took place in England and Wales. Eleven of these were regarded as 'serious' by the police, two allegedly involved murders, and CS gas was used by hooligans on four occasions. Incidents occurred at all levels of the Premier and Football Leagues, as well as in conjunction with an international played at Wembley. Only 26 of the incidents, however, involved trouble inside grounds. Hence, in the majority of cases they were not readily visible to the media, and it was partly as a result of this that relatively few of them were reported, especially at a national level.

Table 3  
Selected hooligan incidents at or in conjunction with Premiership, football league, international, pre-season friendly & other matches in England & Wales

Date	Match/Fans Involved	Type of Incident	Date	Match/Fans Involved	Type of Incident
7.10.92	Notts. Forest v Stockport	CS gas used, 8 policemen hurt.	7.3.93	Man. City v Tottenham	Pitch invasion, fighting outside ground.*
18.10.92	Sunderland v Newcastle	30 arrests, 200 ejected	17.3.93	England U18 v Ghana	Attack on police.
31.10.92	Leyton Orient v Swansea	Fights in London (Marble Arch)	3.4.93	Sheffield Wed. v Sheffield Utd.	Fighting, Murder.*
31.10.92	Grimsby v Portsmouth	Missiles thrown at players.	3.4.93	Millwall v Portsmouth	Pub fights, missiles thrown.*
14.11.92	Darlington v Hull	Pub fights in city centre & station.	24.4.93	Peterborough v Leicester	Pitch invasion, arson.
16.11.92 & 24.11.92	Stoke v Port Vale	Fights inside & outside ground /town centre.	28.4.93	England v Holland	Pub fights, police attacked
19.12.92	Chelsea v Manchester Utd.	CS gas thrown in Covent Garden pub.	1.5.93	Reading v Swansea	Fighting inside /outside ground, pitch invasion.*
12.1.93	Soutiend v Millwall	Pitch invasion, pub fights*	2.5.93	Aston Villa v Oldham	Disturbances in Oldham; riot police used.
16.1.93	Tranmere	Fan beaten to death (racial more than football-related)	4.5.93	Exeter v Port Vale	Attack by fans on referee
19.1.93	Cardiff v Swansea	Pitch invasion, pub fights.*	8.5.93	Millwall v Bristol Rovers	Pitch invasion, missiles thrown.*
30.1.93	Leicester v West Ham	Fights outside ground, CS gas thrown in pub.	8.5.93	Halifax v Hereford	Mounted police used. Fighting inside ground
20.2.93	Tottenham v Leeds	300 in fight, CS gas thrown in pub.*	Div.1 Play-Off Semi-Final	Portsmouth v Leicester (at Nottingham's City Ground)	Fights outside the ground.
5.3.93	Tottenham and Blackpool fans	Fighting in Blackpool prior to Spurs/Man. City match	Div. I Play-Off final	Swindon v Leicester City (at Wembley).	Leicester fans ransacked Wembley pub. Disturbances in Swindon.

\* denotes police judgement of disturbance sufficiently serious to 'stretch' available police resources  
These data were provided by Ian Stanier, a Leicester post-graduate student

Data provided by the British Transport police (BTP) for the period 21/8/90 to 22/12/93 point in the same direction. More particularly, the BTP recorded a total of 667 incidents in contexts of travel to and from football matches in England between August 1990 and December 1993, a period which covered three and a half football seasons. The seasonal breakdown of these incidents is provided in Table 4:

Table 4  
Football-related incidents Known to the British Transport Police, 1990-1993

Season	No. of Incidents
1990-1991 (21/8/90-5/6/91. Includes end-of-season play-offs)	204
1991-1992 (17/8/91-3/6/92. Includes end-of-season play-offs and one international)	260
1992-1993 (8/8/92-31/5/93)	127
1993-1994 (24/7/93-22/12/93. First half of season only).	64
Total	655

The remaining 12 incidents known to the BTP took place in conjunction with pre-season matches.

These data from the BTP are not unproblematic. They may even be indicative of a decline of incidents associated with football match travel in 1992-93. However, what they suggest with a relatively high degree of certainty, together with the data provided in Table 3, is that, contrary to what has become a widely held media and official belief, football hooliganism in England has far from disappeared. It may have declined as a publicly recognized social problem but hooligan behaviour in football contexts more often outside than inside stadia, is continuing to occur as a social fact. Of course, since the national incidence of football hooliganism is impossible to measure with any precision, and since many football hooligans enjoy publicity and revel in their notoriety, this pattern of under-reporting since 1990 may have contributed to a factual decline to some degree. All that can be said with any certainty on this score is that the problem is continuing to occur on a substantial scale and that the figures quoted here provide nowhere near a complete or accurate measure of its incidence in 1992 and 1993. Let me turn now to the question of explanation.

## II

So far in this chapter, I have established that crowd violence at or in conjunction with football matches is a social phenomenon which occurs world-wide. I have also established that, contrary to what has recently become a common myth, the problem of football hooliganism in England is far from being solved. In order to move towards an explanation of this long-standing, world-wide problem, I shall first of all examine the English case in some detail and then move on to consider whether, in what ways and to what degree the English problem of football hooliganism can be considered to be typical more generally, i.e. in the sense of constituting a case the core features of which can be generalized to countries other than England. First of all, however, I shall examine a number of popular explanations of football hooliganism, some of which, it seems likely, will have been offered in other countries, too.

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After that, I shall briefly consider the principal academic explanation which have been proposed so far, and finally, I shall put forward the figurational/process-sociological explanation which Patrick Murphy and I developed at Leicester, exploring whether and in what ways it needs to be modified in order to have a degree of cross-national validity.

In Britain, five main popular explanations of football hooliganism have been proposed. Each has been touted by the media and espoused by politicians and government figures. These explanations - some of them at least partly contradictory of the others - are that football hooliganism is 'caused' by: excessive alcohol consumption; violent incidents on the field of play or biased refereeing; unemployment; affluence; and 'permissiveness'. None of them is supported by the available evidence, at least as far as playing a deeper, more enduring role in the generation of football hooliganism is concerned. Let me deal with them one by one. Alcohol consumption cannot be said to be a 'cause' of football hooliganism for the simple reason that not every fan who drinks in a football context fights, not even those who drink heavily. The converse is also true, i.e. that not all hooligans drink. For example, in England some hooligan leaders claim they do not drink before fighting because they need a clear head in order to direct operations and to avoid being caught by rivals or the police.<sup>6</sup> There is an indirect connection between football hooliganism and alcohol consumption, however, in that the masculinity norms of the groups involved tend to stress ability to fight and ability to 'hold one's ale' as marks of being a 'real man'.

Violence on the field of play - indeed, match-related incidents in general, e.g., refereeing that is biased or perceived as being such - can similarly be dismissed as lying at the roots of football hooliganism. That is because incidents take place before and after as well as during matches, often at considerable distances from grounds. Nor can unemployment - the favoured 'cause' of the political left - be said in some simple sense to produce football hooliganism. For example, during the 1930s when unemployment in England was high, the incidence of reported match-related violence was at an all-time low. Similarly, when English football hooliganism first began to enter its current phase in the 1960s, the national rate of unemployment was at its lowest ever recorded level. And today, the rate of participation in football hooliganism by the unemployed varies regionally, being higher in areas such as the North of England where unemployment is high and lower in what were, until recently, low unemployment areas such as London and the South-East.

In fact, almost every major British club has its football hooligans, independently of the local rate of unemployment, and fans from more affluent areas used in the 1980s regularly to taunt their less fortunate rivals by waving bundles of £5 or £10 notes at them *en masse*, singing (to the tune of 'You'll never walk alone') 'You'll never work again!' However, unemployment can be said to be an indirect cause of football hooliganism in the sense of being one among a complex of factors which help to perpetuate the norms of aggressive masculinity which are basically involved.

The fourth popular explanation of football hooliganism, namely that 'affluence' rather than unemployment is the principal 'cause', tends to be favoured by the political right. Not only is it in direct contradiction of the explanation by reference to the supposed 'causal' role of unemployment, it is also sometimes associated with the explanation in terms of 'permissiveness', e.g., when it is suggested that football hooliganism is an attribute of the 'too much, too soon' generation.<sup>8</sup> However, whatever form it takes, the explanation in terms of 'affluence' is contradicted by the available evidence and seems largely to result from a mis-reading of the fashion-switch on the part of young British football fans during the

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1980s from the 'skinhead' to the 'casual' style. The skinhead style was, of course, openly working class; the casual style, by contrast is apparently 'classless'. The clothes worn by devotees of this style, however, may be but are not necessarily expensive. Sometimes they are stolen and sometimes they are only apparently expensive, e.g., when 'designer labels' are sewn onto cheap, sometimes stolen sweaters. Of course, some football hooligans are at least temporarily affluent, either because they have well-paid jobs, prosperous parents or because they make money through black market activities or involvement in crime. But the bulk of the available evidence runs strongly counter to the 'affluence thesis'. Reasonably reliable data on the social origins of football hooligans first began to become available in the late 1960s and they have been remarkably consistent since that time, suggesting that, while hooligans come from all levels in the social class hierarchy, the majority, some 80%, come from the Registrar General's Social Classes III (manual), IV and V, ie, mainly from the ranks of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers with low levels of formal education.<sup>9</sup> The popular explanation in terms of 'permissiveness' appears to be similarly deficient. It is superficially plausible in that the advent of the so-called 'permissive society' in Britain in the 1960s coincided with the growing perception of football fan behaviour as problematic by the authorities and the media. However, football hooliganism in Britain can be traced back to the 1870s and 80s<sup>10</sup>, and the *coup de grace* for the 'permissive society' argument is given by the fact that, since football hooliganism began to be recognized in Britain as a social problem in the 1960s, football matches have become much more heavily policed and subject to tighter and tighter controls, ie, watching British football has become anything other than 'permissive'. Moreover, during the 1980s, the Thatcher government sought explicitly by means of 'authoritarian', 'law and order' policies to reverse what it saw as the generally deleterious 'permissiveness' of the 1960s and 70s. And yet, football hooliganism - and crime in general - continued to grow. Let me turn to the explanations of football hooliganism offered by academics.

Other than the 'figurational' or 'process-sociological' explanation, there are three principal academic explanations of English football hooliganism which have been offered so far: the 'anthropological' explanation offered by Armstrong and Harris<sup>1</sup>; the Marxist explanations offered by Taylor and Clarke<sup>2</sup>; and the ethological explanation advanced by Marsh *et al.*<sup>13</sup> Like the popular explanations, each of these academic explanations appears to be in certain ways defective, too. Lack of space means that the deficiencies of these explanations can only be dealt with briefly in the present context. The 'anthropological' approach to football hooliganism appears to be defective because it is largely descriptive; ie, it appears not to offer an explanation at all. That cannot be said of the Marxist work of writers such as Taylor and Clarke. However, their work seems to be deficient because it is not based on systematic depth research and because these writers apparently fail to grasp the significance of the fact that football hooliganism principally involves conflict between working class groups which only regularly become involved in conflict with the football authorities and the police - and less directly with other representatives of the state - as part of an attempt to fight among themselves. Marsh *et al* do not make this mistake. However, their work lacks an historical dimension with the consequence that they tend to see hooligan fighting - or what they call 'aggro' - as an unchanging historical constant. Moreover, in their stress on 'aggro' as 'ritual violence', ie, violence which is mainly symbolic or metonymic in the sense of involving aggressive posturing but not the completion of aggressive acts, they fail to see that ritual violence can be very violent and damaging indeed. Let me turn now to the work we did at Leicester.

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I have already indicated that the Leicester research on football hooliganism was carried out within the framework of the 'figurational' or 'process-sociological' paradigm advocated by Norbert Elias.<sup>14</sup> It is one of the distinctive claims of the adherents to this paradigm that it is not so much method as discovery which 'legitimizes' research as scientific<sup>15</sup>. Accordingly, in approaching the task of seeking to add to the understanding of football hooliganism, we adopted a rather catholic approach to method, using a combination of direct observation, participant observation and historical study. The historical part of our research was central and mainly took the form of time-series content analysis of official records and newspaper reports.<sup>16</sup> In both cases, data were collected covering the late 19th century to the mid-1980s.

Using this combination of methods, it is, I think, fair to say that the Leicester team made four principal discoveries in the sense of adding knowledge-based foci to the debate about and research on football hooliganism which had been missing hitherto. These discoveries were:

- i) that football hooliganism is not and never has been a solely English or British phenomenon but is found to varying degrees and in different forms in virtually every country where the game of association football is played;
- ii) that forms of crowd violence occur in sports other than soccer as well as in countries other than Britain;
- iii) that in Britain, there is a history of football hooliganism which stretches back beyond the 1960s, the period when, most usually, the problem is popularly thought to have started;
- iv) - and this, I think, is our principal discovery - that football hooliganism is predominantly an expression of the characteristic pattern of male aggressiveness found in the 'rougher' sections of the working class and that one of the principal ways in which it is produced is by the experience of living towards the bottom of the social scale. Moreover, if we are right, a type of community structure which approximates in greater or lesser degree to what the American sociologist, Gerald Suttles, calls 'ordered segmentation'<sup>17</sup> is often, though not always, involved in this connection. I will describe what the term 'ordered segmentation' means later. For the moment, it is enough to note that it is a type of community structure which leads to the recurrent formation of street gangs which fight.

I have already reviewed our data on the first of our four discoveries at the beginning of this chapter so there is no need to repeat these findings here. The second discovery provides strong evidence against a version of the theory of catharsis which is sometimes proposed in this connection. What this version of the catharsis theory argues is that soccer is more regularly associated with crowd violence than other sports because, as a more 'civilized' and less violent game, it provides fewer opportunities than, e.g., boxing, rugby or American football, for the spectators to work out their frustrations and aggressive feelings vicariously by identifying with the violent action on the field of play. However, this theory is falsified by the simple fact that crowd violence is associated with sports such as boxing, rugby and American football. Holt, for example, has shown that fighting between opposing fans is a regular occurrence at Rugby Union matches in the South of France, 18 while a pattern of what one might call 'celebratory rioting', often of a seriously violent and destructive kind, is a frequent accompaniment of 'gridiron football' and other top-level sports in the USA<sup>18</sup> (see Chapter 7).

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For example, two people were shot and 183 arrested in the celebrations which followed the victory of the San Francisco 49ers over the San Diego Chargers in the 1995 Super Bowl.<sup>20</sup> A simpler and more straightforward explanation of the relatively greater frequency of crowd violence and disorderliness in conjunction with soccer is that Association football is the world's most popular team sport and that a large proportion of its spectators are drawn from towards the bottom of the social scale in the countries where it is played. This relatively greater factual frequency of fighting and disorder is also often magnified perceptually by the media exposure which the game attracts, ie, although in England in the 1990s the reverse has tended to occur, the problem of crowd violence in soccer can be made to appear greater than is in fact the case by the frequency of newspaper, radio and tv coverage of the game.<sup>21</sup> As I shall seek to show later, it is the case that this kind of exposure can, under certain conditions, positively affect the 'real' incidence of soccer-related crowd trouble by attracting to the game people who want to fight.

I have also already touched on our third main finding. Expressed more systematically what we discovered in this connection was as follows: that crowd violence has occurred in conjunction with professional soccer matches in Britain in every decade since the game emerged in a recognizably modern form in the 1870s and 80s. However, the reported incidence of such violence - in the form of newspaper reports and the reports of match officials to the Football Association - has not been constant decade by decade but has roughly taken the form of a U-shaped curve. More particularly, the reported incidence was high before the First World War, fell between the wars in England, though not in Scotland; remained low after the Second World War but started rising in the mid-1950s, slowly at first but then more rapidly in and around the mid-1960s. Every form of what is labelled as 'football hooliganism' by the authorities and the media today - missile throwing, pitch invasions, attacks on players and match officials, and fights between fan groups - is observable throughout this period of more than one hundred years. However, attacks on players and match officials tended to predominate before the First World War, while fights between groups of opposing fans have tended to predominate since the 1960.<sup>22</sup>

The pattern of football hooliganism which began to emerge in the 1960s seems, in part, to have been predicated upon the greater frequency of fans travelling to away matches which can be dated from that period. This, in turn, was clearly a consequence of greater affluence, developments in the sphere of transport and communications and the emergence nationally of a distinctive, largely maleorientated and male-dominated youth culture. As far, specifically, as football hooliganism is concerned, the playing of the World Cup Finals in England in 1966 seems to have acted as a catalyst. Before that event, the principal working class 'folk devils' in Britain - the 'teddy boys', the 'mods' and the 'rockers' - were not noted for regularly fighting at football. However, their successors, the 'skinheads', who first became active in 1967, did develop a reputation of this kind. Football was their principal theatre of operations. In part, this seems to have come about in conjunction with the media reporting of football immediately prior to the World Cup Finals. This requires elaboration.

I have already suggested that the incidence of football-related disorderliness in Britain had begun to climb in the mid-1950s. This slow rise continued into the 1960s and seems to have contributed to a media panic in which newspapers, especially popular ones which in that period were starting to take on a 'tabloid' format, largely as a result of the growing competitive threat from television, began to report relatively minor disturbances at football in sensationalist and exaggerated terms. That the World Cup Finals were about to be played in England appears to have been crucial in

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the generation of this panic. In November 1965, for example, a Millwall fan threw a 'dead' hand grenade onto the pitch during his team's away 'local derby' against London rivals, Brentford. This was reported in *The Sun* in the following terms under the headline, 'Soccer Marches to War':

The Football Association have acted to stamp out this increasing mob violence within 48 hours of the blackest day in British soccer - the grenade day that showed that British supporters can rival anything the South Americans can do.

The World Cup is now less than nine months away. That is all the time we have left to try and restore the once good sporting name of this country. Soccer is sick at the moment. Or better, its crowds seem to have contracted some disease which causes them to break out in fury.<sup>23</sup>

There was fighting at this match both inside and outside the ground, and one Millwall fan sustained a broken jaw.<sup>24</sup> However, *The Sun* report chose to concentrate on the symbolic violence of the hand grenade and implicitly equated this incident with the full-scale riot which had taken place at the Peru-Argentina match in 1964. Commenting in April 1966 on disturbances which took place at a match between Liverpool and Celtic, the editor of *The Sun* wrote:

It may be only a handful of hooligans who are involved at the throwing end, but if this sort of behaviour is repeated in July, the world will conclude that all the British are hooligans... Either the drift to violence must be checked or soccer will be destroyed as an entertainment. What an advertisement for the British sporting spirit if we end with football pitches enclosed in protective wire cages!<sup>25</sup>

Elements of self-fulfilling prophecy were involved in this account in two respects: firstly, the combination of football hooliganism *per se* and the public reaction to it did lead 'the world to conclude' that many British, especially the English, 'are football hooligans' over the next couple of decades; and secondly, football pitches in Britain did become enclosed in 'protective wire cages', in that way contributing to the Hillsborough tragedy in 1989 when more than 90 Liverpool fans were crushed to death on just such a wire-caged terrace. A more immediate effect of this kind of sensationalistic reporting, though, was unintentionally to advertise football matches and football grounds as contexts where violent exciting and above all, in the traditional sense of that term, 'masculine' action takes place, in that way helping to draw into football (mainly) young men most of whom had started dressing in the skinhead style and for whom fighting was at least as important as football.

A few verbatim quotations from football hooligans, either as reported by the media or in interviews conducted in conjunction with the Leicester research, will shed light on what the characteristic motives and values of English football hooligans were and are. The four quotations which follow are from statements made by football hooligans in or about the 1960s, 70s and 80s. Reminiscing about the emotions he experienced in the 1960s during his days of hooligan involvement, E. Taylor wrote in 1984 that:

... the excitement of battle, the danger, the heightened activity of body and mind as the adrenaline raced, the fear and the triumph of overcoming it. To this day, when trouble starts at a game I come alive and close to getting involved. I may not forget the dangers of physical injury and criminal proceedings but I do ignore them.<sup>26</sup>

Similar sentiments were expressed by a 26 year old lorry driver and self-confessed soccer hooligan who was interviewed by Paul Harrison in conjunction with the 1974 Cardiff City v Manchester United game, a match where serious trouble had been quite realistically anticipated beforehand. Harrison's informant is reported to have said:

I go to a match for one reason only: the aggro. It's an obsession. I can't give it up. I get so much pleasure when I'm having aggro that I nearly wet my pants ... I go all over the country looking for

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it ... (E)very night during the week we go round looking respectable ... (T)hen if we see someone who looks like the enemy we ask him the time; if he answers in a foreign accent, we do him over; and if he's got any money on him we'll roll him as well.<sup>27</sup>

Here is how one of our informants in the Leicester project put it in 1981. His words illustrate the sort of rationality which tends to be involved in football hooliganism:

If you can baffle the coppers, you'll win. You've just gotta think how they're gonna think. And you know, half the time you know what they're gonna do 'cos they're gonna take the same route every week, week in, week out. If you can figure out a way to beat 'em, you're fuckin' laughin': you'll have a good fuckin' raut. (Raut is Leicester slang for a fight).

Finally, when interviewed in 1984/5 for the Thames TV programme, 'Hooligan', which was based on the Leicester research, a member of West Ham United's 'Inter City Firm' (ICF), England's most notorious football hooligan gang in the early and middle 1980s, said:

We don't - we don't go - well, we do go with the intention of fighting, you know what I mean. We look forward to it it's great. You know, if you've got, say, 500 kids coming for you, like, and you know they're going to be waiting for you, it's - it's good to know, like. Like being a tennis player, you know. You get all geared up to play, like. We get geared up to fight I think I fight, like, so I can make a name for meself and that, you know. Hope people, like, respect me for what I did, like.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the fact that they cover a period of more than twenty years, these statements are remarkably consistent. What they reveal is that, for the youths and young men involved, football hooligan fighting is basically about masculinity, territorial struggle and a quest for excitement or emotional arousal.<sup>29</sup> For them, fighting is a central source of meaning, status and pleasurable gratification. Thus Taylor spoke of 'battle excitement' and 'the adrenaline racing'; the ICF member referred not only to the excitement generated in fighting but also to the respect among his peers that he hoped his involvement would bring; and the lorry driver spoke of 'aggro' as a pleasurable, almost erotically arousing obsession. This latter point received confirmation when Jay Allan, a leading member of 'the Aberdeen Casuals', a Scottish football hooligan 'firm', wrote in the 1980s of fighting at football as being even more pleasurable than sex.<sup>30</sup> It receives further confirmation from the fact that members of the ICF referred to football hooligan fighting as "avin' it off", a London expression which is more usually used for sex. That the statement by Jay Allan is not the only example of a non-English expression of this kind of pro-fighting sentiment is suggested by the fact that a 17 year old Brazilian *torcida* is reported as having told the Rio newspaper *Journal Do Brazil* in 1994 that: 'For me fighting is fun. I feel a great emotion when the other guy screams in pain (I don't care about how other people feel), as long as I'm happy'. Bill Buford expressed the same idea in more literary terms when he wrote in *Among the Thugs*:

They (the hooligans) talk about the crack, the buzz and the fix. They talk about having to have it, of being unable to forget it when they do, of not wanting to forget it - ever. They talk about being sustained by it, telling and retelling what happened and what it felt like. They talk about it with the pride of the privileged, of those who have had, seen, felt, been through something that other people have not. They talk about it in the way that another generation talked about drugs and drink. One lad, a publican, talks about it as though it were a chemical thing, or a hormonal spray or some kind of intoxicating gas - once it's in the air, once an act of violence has been committed, other acts will follow inevitably - necessarily.

... Violence is one of the most intensely lived experiences and, for those capable of giving themselves over to it, one of the most intense pleasures ... crowd violence was their drug (Buford, 1991, pp.206-7).

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Sociologically, the point is to explain why some people obtain such intense pleasure from violence and why football has been chosen as one of the principal arenas - it is far from being the only one - for enacting these violent rituals. The figurational/process sociological hypothesis which we developed in the 1970s and 80s is a complex one involving reference to several levels. It can be summarized as follows.

A quest for pleasurable excitement is a common feature of leisure activities in all societies. Particularly in industrial societies, what is involved is a search for a counter to the emotional staleness which tends to be engendered by the routines of non-leisure life (See Chapter 1)<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, present-day England is a patriarchal society in which males generally are expected under certain circumstances to fight and high status can be legitimately conferred on good fighters in particular occupational contexts, for example in the military and the police. However, the dominant norms in English society demand that males should not be the initiators of fights and require them to confine their fighting to self-defence, defence of their families and loved ones, defence of 'the realm' and sports such as boxing. The 'core' football hooligans, those who engage in football hooliganism most regularly, seeking out confrontations with opposing fans rather than being drawn into fighting by the exigencies of particular situations, contravene these socially dominant norms. They are liable to initiate and plan attacks and to fight publicly in situations where, according to the dominant norms, fighting is taboo. For them, a quest for status as 'hard men' and the 'pleasurable battle-excitement' engendered in hooligan confrontations forms a central life interest. Sociologically, the point is to explain why. Who are the 'core' soccer hooligans and what in their social circumstances, personality, habitus and experience explains their deep commitment to fighting and the fact that they deviate from the dominant norms of British society in this regard? This question brings me to the fourth 'discovery' of the Leicester research. It involves reference, not to some kind of inborn pattern of behaviour, to an 'aggressive instinct', but to a learned behaviour pattern which, if we were right, is recurrently generated under specific social structural circumstances - in a specific social 'figuration'. Football is a context where this behaviour is expressed and reinforced but it is not a context where the primary generation takes place.

The currently available data on the social origins of English football hooligans suggest that, while the hooligans are recruited from all levels in the class hierarchy, the overwhelming majority (around 80%) come - using the Registrar General's categories - from the manual sections of Social Class 3 and from Classes 4 and 5. That is, the majority have low levels of formal education and work in semi-skilled and unskilled manual occupations. The data also suggest that this sort of distribution has remained remarkably stable since the problem of football hooliganism first began to attract the current levels of concern in the mid- to late -1960s. More particularly, the data of Harrington in the 1960s,<sup>32</sup> Trivizas in the 1970s,<sup>33</sup> and our own for the 1980s, all suggest that the majority of soccer hooligans come from towards the bottom of the social scale. A much smaller and relatively stable proportion is recruited from around the middle, and an even smaller, equally stable one from the top. Notwithstanding the fact that a complete explanation would have to cover football hooligans from the middle and upper classes,<sup>34</sup> the principal problem sociologically is to explain why the lower working class bulk of football hooligans behave as they do.

As Gerald Suttles has noted, one of the dominant features of many lower working class communities is the single-sex, male peer group or street corner gang.<sup>35</sup> Suttles coined the term 'ordered segmentation' to describe the structure of communities of this sort and, he suggests, gangs

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tend to develop out of the high levels of age-group segregation and segregation of the sexes (sometimes, but not invariably, also accompanied by racial and/or ethnic segregation) which tend to be found in this type of community. The formation of gangs is reinforced by the strong, narrow bonds of local and kin identification usually formed by lower working class people. This tends to work according to some variation or another of the following pattern. Age-group segregation tends to involve a pattern of sending children onto the streets to play, unsupervised by adults, at an early age. Such a pattern can be exacerbated and reinforced by poverty, cramped living conditions and a variety of domestic pressures. For its part, segregation of the sexes is conducive to a higher than usual level of objectification mutually by men and women, particularly on the part of males. It also involves a tendency for mothers to occupy a central position in the family and for girls, by adolescence, to be drawn into the home. One of the consequences of this overall pattern is that adolescent males in such communities are left largely to their own devices. As a result, they tend to band into groups which are determined, on the one hand, by ties of kinship and close or common residence, and on the other, by the threat posed by the development of parallel 'gangs' in adjacent communities. But why do such gangs fight and what part do they play in the production and reproduction of aggressive masculinity?

One of the crucial social structural determinants of the aggressive masculinity of these rougher sections of the working class appears to be the comparative freedom from adult control experienced by such working class children and adolescents. More particularly, the fact that so much of their early socialization takes place on the streets in the company mainly of their age peers means that such children and adolescents tend to interact roughly with each other and to develop dominance hierarchies in which age, strength and physical prowess are crucial determinants. Such a pattern seems to emerge, in part, because children generally are dependent on adult controls for the chance to develop stable internalized restraints over aggressive behaviour. Where adult controls are lacking or applied only intermittently, inconsistently and violently, there are few direct and immediate checks on the emergence of dominance hierarchies of this kind. Indeed, to the extent that adult controls involve the use of physical (and verbal) violence, such hierarchies will tend to be reinforced.

The relatively low levels of formal education that members of the lower working classes typically achieve are conducive to a greater degree of violence and aggressiveness, too. For most of them, school is an alien environment and relatively few learn in that setting to defer gratification and to strive continuously in order to reach long-term educational and occupational goals. Their values tend to be inimical to education and characterized by what one might call a 'present-centred fatalism'. As a result, they experience formal organizations such as schools as threatening and hostile. The contrast between the relative freedom of the streets and the restrictive controls and regulations of the school is particularly significant in this regard. They also react against schools on account of the educational stress on the abstract and intellectual as opposed to the immediate, the concrete and the physical, regarding the former as 'effeminate' and only the latter as in strict conformity with the ideas of masculinity which they espouse.

Assuming they are able to find work, such tendencies are reinforced by the *macho* cultures of the workplaces where lower working class males tend to be employed.<sup>36</sup> In fact, the physical strength of their males as workers and fighters is one of the few power resources available to the lower working class. Their *macho* tendencies are also further reinforced by the pattern of male-female segregation and of general male dominance in all areas except the immediate family which tends to characterize lower working class communities. Under such conditions, males are not systematically subject to

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'softening' female pressure. Indeed, to the extent that lower working class females grow up to be relatively violent themselves and to expect such behaviour from their men, the violent tendencies of the latter will tend to be reinforced. Further reinforcement comes from the relative frequency of feuds and vendettas between families, neighborhoods and, above all, streetcorner gangs.

The people who grow up in communities of this sort tend to have close and narrow bonds of identification with kin, neighbours and their gangs. They also tend to be intolerant of people who are different from themselves, ie, they tend to be extremely racist, sexist and nationalistic in a chauvinistic sort of way. However, their rigidities in these regards tend to go hand in hand with a degree of flexibility as far as bonding in fight situations is concerned. Here, they tend to form temporary *ad hoc* allegiances according to what anthropologists call 'the Bedouin syndrome'. This is based on the four following principles: a friend of a friend is a friend; the enemy of a friend is an enemy; the enemy of an enemy is a friend; and the friend of an enemy is an enemy. As a result of bonding in terms of these principles, lower working class males are able, like the Bedouins, to put quite large 'armies' in the field with little or no formal organization and central control.<sup>37</sup> Let me illustrate how this tends to work in a football context.

In the Leicester working class estate where our fieldwork was carried out, there were in the early 1980s, three readily discernible gangs or all-male groups each of which corresponded to a territorial segment of the wider community. These gangs regularly fought each other but they tended to unite if any of them was challenged or came into conflict with a group from a neighbouring community. On a Saturday, however, groups from all over Leicester and its environs united under the banner of Leicester City FC to 'see off' the challenge represented by the 'invasion' of the city by visiting fans, coming over time to call themselves 'the Baby Squad'. Similarly, fans from the North of England united in the face of an 'invasion' by fans supporting a Southern team and, *vice versa*, Southern fans united in the face of an 'invasion' from the North. This sort of fluid pattern of unification in conflict, operating through a series of levels, is characteristic of 'ordered segmentation' as described by Gerald Suttles. At the highest level of segmentation as far as English football is concerned, fans from all over the country unite in opposition to some common 'foreign foe'. In a sense, of course, this sort of unifying pattern where club and regional ties are sunk momentarily through identification with the national team is typical of football fans more generally and perhaps of non-sports-related patterns of national identification, too. As far as the core football hooligans are concerned, however, their central interest lies in inflicting physical defeat on the common enemy, establishing momentary control over *their* territories or repulsing them from one's own, and not simply in securing vicarious pleasure from watching their team win the 'mock battle' on the field of play.

Writing of soccer hooliganism among Protestant working-class males in Northern Ireland and making it clear that not all such males engage in violence, Alan Bairner (1995, p.17) has written that:

It is clear that many Protestant working-class communities in Northern Ireland, particularly in Belfast are characterized by segmental bonding. This may help to explain why young men from these communities, when faced with problems emanating from the outside world, react with displays of aggressive behaviour, for example at soccer matches.

This provides support for the Leicester hypothesis. It is important, though, to note that this hypothesis is figurational and thus does not involve reference to a crude 'segmental - non-segmental dichotomy' but rather to the idea of *degrees* of segmentation which range from the sort of tightly-knit

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forms of sectarian-based community found in Belfast and perhaps in cities such as Glasgow to the more fluid, open and impersonal forms of bonding which, although these cities contain highly segmented pockets, predominate in larger cities such as London. Nor does the Leicester hypothesis involve the idea that the sort of estate and other locale-based pattern of hooliganism which we discovered in Leicester in the early 1980s was either set in stone or universal. In fact, in the course of the 1980s, the primarily estate-based pattern in Leicester gave way to a more city-centre based formation which, as I noted earlier, called itself 'the Baby Squad' and whose members mainly met initially in pubs, clubs and at the football ground itself.

Nor does the Leicester hypothesis involve the idea that, in some simple, direct and immediate sense, 'ordered segmentation' or 'segmental bonding' is a 'cause' and certainly not *the* 'cause' of football hooliganism. The contention is rather that such structures appear to play a part in the sociogenesis and reproduction of male adolescent street gangs and a 'violent masculine style', but that, in patriarchal societies, such a style can be generated, reinforced and reproduced in other contexts, too, e.g., the military, the police and some branches of sport, e.g., boxing and Rugby League. Of course, not all males who grow up in highly segmented communities become violent only the dominant ones and their followers. And some of these violent males express their violence in contexts other than football. Furthermore, the presence in an area of a community or communities which approximate closely to ordered segmentation, will have effects which radiate out from its (their) immediate vicinity, affecting the culture of local schools, for example, and local youth culture more generally, leading even males from middle class backgrounds, e.g., for defensive reasons in schools, pubs, clubs and other public spaces, to take on some of the characteristics of a 'violent masculine style'.

Starting in the 1960s when football hooliganism in England first began to be defined as a serious 'social problem' in relation to which remedial action was urgently required, the football authorities and the state responded primarily *via* 'law and order' measures, that is, by means of a variety of punishments and controls. Such an approach received a substantial measure of media support. However, the consequences of these policies have not been to eradicate football hooliganism as intended but mainly unintended in at least four ways. More particularly, such policies have tended: (i) to displace the more serious forms of hooligan behaviour outside grounds; (ii) to increase the solidarity of hooligan fans; (iii) to increase the recruitment into watching football of 'hard men' who want to fight; and (iv) to increase the organization and sophistication of these violent males as far as fighting in football related contexts is concerned.

The displacement of football hooliganism away from grounds has been neither a simple nor a unilinear process. Each phase of the displacement which has taken place so far has been followed by a widening of controls, firstly to the immediate vicinities of grounds and then to the major points of entry into the towns and cities where matches are played, ie, to motorway exits, railway and bus stations. Around the beginning of the 1980s, the core football hooligans caught the authorities 'on the hop'. Up until that point, the controls inside grounds had been focused primarily on the terraced, ie, the standing areas. Starting in about 1980, however, groups such as West Ham United's ICF and 'the Headhunters' at Chelsea began to occupy the stands, ie, the seated areas of the grounds, engaging in hooligan behaviour in parts of football grounds where the authorities least expected it. The authorities responded to this by means of the introduction of membership schemes of various kinds, leading, once more, to the displacement of hooliganism outside grounds. Expressing it sociologically, one can say that, in the absence of attempts to tackle football hooliganism at its social roots, that is, attempting to

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transform the forms of masculinity that are involved, the principal consequence of the imposition and reposition of punishments and controls was to displace the problem into areas where the controls were, or were perceived by the hooligans as being, weak or nonexistent.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that it was largely in conjunction with the end of the first phase of this cycle of displacement, ie, in the early and middle 1970s, that the English hooligans first began to 'export' their behaviour to continental countries. At that stage, the relative laxity of controls in football-related contexts in continental Europe contrasted markedly with the tight and extensive mesh of controls that had been established in the domestic English context. So did the ready availability of alcohol which was, in most cases, by English standards, cheap. This served to consolidate the English hooligans in their pattern of engaging in football hooliganism abroad. However, this 'export' was double-edged in the sense that growing numbers of youths in continental countries, perhaps motivated in part by a desire for revenge for defeats inflicted earlier by the English hooligans, began to adopt the latter as role models for their behaviour in football contexts. In this way, football hooliganism 'English-style' began to be added to the various domestic products of continental countries coming to form a problem that is increasingly Europe-wide.

The suggestion that, during the 1980s, the English football hooligans began to act as role models for their counterparts in continental countries, should not be taken to imply that the process of modelling was an entirely one-way process. There is reason, for example, to believe that the fashion-switch on the English terraces in the 1980s from the 'skinhead' to the 'casual' style was partly based on an attempt to imitate continental, perhaps particularly Italian, fashions, a process in which the fans of English - and Scottish - clubs whose teams played most frequently in Europe probably took the lead, ie, in England, clubs such as Arsenal, Manchester United, Tottenham and Liverpool, and in Scotland, clubs such as Glasgow Rangers, Celtic and Aberdeen. Ironically, that the wearing of Barbour jackets seems to be *de rigueur* for the latest wave of Italian hooligans is indicative of Italian fans modelling their behaviour on an English style.<sup>38</sup> Let me conclude this chapter by examining the degree to which the body of theory and evidence which I have presented on English football hooliganism in this chapter can serve as a model on the basis of which a more general, internationally applicable theory of football hooliganism can be constructed.

### iii

In order to develop a cross-nationally adequate theory of football hooliganism what would ideally be required would be a systematic and in-depth cross-national study carried out by an international team of sociologists in terms of a standardized set of concepts and methods and directed towards testing an agreed-on theory or set of theoretical propositions. Such a study would be difficult to set up and administer, expensive to carry out and, given the currently existing lack of paradigmatic unity in the social sciences generally and in sociology in particular, probably difficult if not impossible to arrange in the first place. In the absence of any such study, the following hypotheses derived from the Leicester research are offered as a preliminary contribution.

The first thing worthy of note is that much of what I have said in this paper about football hooliganism in England is itself based on a set of generalizations. That is to say there are local variations within the general pattern of English football hooliganism which I have not taken into account and which are produced *inter alia* by such temporally and spatially variable structural sources as: the relative prosperity of particular towns and cities; changes over time in this regard; the peculiar

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occupational structures of different towns and cities; and their particular traditions and histories including their particular traditions and Histories as far as football is concerned. Such local particularities constitute an area which is rich in possibilities for research by social historians and anthropologists who are idiographically inclined. However, and this is a crucial point, a body of studies of that kind will be mainly descriptive and will constitute an addition to knowledge merely in a low-level, aggregative sense. More particularly, such studies will not make a higher level contribution to knowledge unless they are tied to a body of explanatory theory.

The need for a combination of theory and observation in order to advance explanatory understanding was recognized by August Comte as early as the 1830s.<sup>39</sup> Norbert Elias, too, stressed the need for the constant cross-fertilization of the theoretical and empirical in scientific, including sociological, research.<sup>40</sup> Of course, what is true of the need for a balance between particularizing and generalizing studies in a single country is multiply compounded when the focus of attention is turned to the world-wide aspects of a phenomenon such as football hooliganism. That is to say, an aggregate or collection of merely descriptive studies of hooliganism in particular countries will not constitute much of an increment to knowledge unless and until such studies are related explicitly to a general theory. It is in the hope of contributing to a debate focused towards the production of an agreed-on set of theoretical propositions about football hooliganism as an international social phenomenon that my concluding remarks in this Chapter are addressed. I shall start by concerning myself with what I take to be two dimensions of the problem which one can say with a fair degree of confidence are likely to be internationally shared.

The first of these dimensions of football hooliganism which are probably internationally shared is connected with the fact that football everywhere, whilst it is work for professional players and those otherwise occupationally involved in the game is, for spectators, a leisure-event, one of the principal *raison d'être* of which is the generation of excitement.<sup>41</sup> (See Chapter 1). Whenever a large crowd turns up to watch an exciting leisure-event the probability is high that some of its members will abandon their self-controls and behave in a variety of disorderly and sometimes violent ways. Ignoring for present purposes the question of the specific situational 'triggers' which spark violence off, it can be said that the seriousness of the violence which takes place is likely to vary between countries and between their constituent classes and other sub-groups according to their specific trajectories and levels of civilization and de-civilization. The probability of spectator violence in football contexts is also likely to be exacerbated by the degree to which spectators identify with the contending teams and by the strength of their emotional investment in and commitment to the victory of the teams which they support.<sup>42</sup> In turn, the strength of spectators' emotional investment in the victory of their sides is liable to be a function of the centrality and significance of football in their lives, that is to say, of whether it is one among a number of sources of meaning and satisfaction for them or just the only one. Spectators for whom identification and emotional involvement with a football team are the central source of meaning in their lives are, it is reasonable to suppose, likely, *ceteris paribus*, to be among those most likely to lose their self-control and to behave in a disorderly manner in football contexts. Further to this, the centrality of football in people's lives is likely to differ, *inter alia*, in terms of such variables as their degrees of sexual satisfaction, whether they are married and, if so, how happily, their levels of education, the degrees to which they are able to obtain satisfaction from their occupational work, and, indeed, whether they are able to find employment at all.

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The second dimension of football hooliganism which is probably internationally shared relates more directly to the fighting dimensions of the phenomenon. It is the fact that, although there are differences between and within countries in this regard, e.g. between social classes, regional and ethnic groups, and although feminists in some countries have succeeded in denting it to a greater or lesser extent, all societies in the world today are characterized by general forms of male dominance, especially in the public sphere, and hence are permeated by patriarchal values and institutions. A general characteristic of patriarchy is the expectation that males will be aggressive and fight, that an ability and willingness to fight in specific situations, e.g. for one's country in a war or for one's wife and children if they are attacked, constitutes a key mark of what it means to be a 'man'. Football is a context which is conducive to the eliciting of patriarchal fighting behaviour because the game itself is a mock-fight and because, despite the success of women's football around the world in recent years, the game originated as a male-preserve and continues to this day to be permeated by patriarchal values. Of course, this is true not just of football but of sport in general. Indeed, it is more true of sports such as boxing. But let me return to football. Assuming it to be adequate, what my general argument means is that, whenever large numbers of males, especially males who are divided by their passionate support of rival teams, assemble in the context of an exciting leisure-event such as a football match, fighting among some of them is a probable outcome.

So far in these concluding remarks, I have focused on the regular, *ad hoc* generation of disorderliness and violence in football-match contexts which results from the character and structure of top-level, professional football as a type of leisure event. Forms of football hooliganism, however, are also generated through the way in which football is embedded in wider social contexts. One of the consequences which follow from this is that more or less organized groups of fans - 'firms', 'ultras', 'tifosi', 'torcidas' - sometimes attend matches with the intention of fighting other fans and perhaps also the police. It has even been suggested that, in some countries, e.g., Portugal, club owners even pay and incite their fans to fight opposing fans. In all these cases, the violence is pre-meditated. The Leicester research suggests that, in England, fans who go to matches intending to fight, i.e. those who are not satisfied simply with vicariously experiencing moderate 'battle-excitement' by watching the 'mock-fight' on the field of play, first began to be drawn to the game in substantial numbers in the 1960s. The Leicester research also suggests that the unintentional advertising of the game by the media as a context where exciting and above all, violent action regularly takes place, played an important part in attracting fans of this kind to football. This suggests that the forms and extent of media coverage of football in particular countries will be one of the influences on their patterns of football hooliganism. Highly publicized fighting in football contexts also means that football becomes a context which is attractive to extreme right wing groups as a place for recruiting street fighters and for engaging in a kind of terrorist activity to gain publicity for their cause. Evidence points to a group called 'Combat 18' combat on behalf of Adolf Hitler (I=A, 8=H) - as being involved in the disturbances sparked off by English fans in Dublin and Bruges in 1995. There is also evidence of extreme right involvement in football hooliganism in Belgium, Germany, Italy and Spain.

The Danish, and to some extent, the Scottish experiences in relation to football hooliganism provide an instructive contrast to what happened in England between the 1960s and the 1990s. In Denmark towards the end of the 1970s, concern began to be expressed about a growing problem of football hooliganism. However, in direct contradistinction to the punitive 'law-and-order' approach which was dominant in England during the 1970s and 80s, the Danish authorities responded mainly by means of what one might call a strategy of incorporation. More particularly, the hooligans were

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embraced by officialdom and the media and defined as 'roligans', a Danish term which translates as 'friendly hooligans'.<sup>43</sup> The Danish roligans tend to drink very heavily, sometimes to excess, but they are proud of their reputation as 'friendly' and have developed mechanisms of self-policing in order to maintain it. The work of Richard Giulianotti indicates that something similar operates with Scottish fans abroad, though not in domestic contexts.<sup>44</sup> More particularly, Scottish fans who follow their national side abroad are shown by Giulianotti to be proud of their reputation as boisterous, heavy-drinking and peaceful, particularly the fact that it contrasts with the hooligan image of the English. In its turn, this Janus-headed character of Scottish fans, that is the violence-differential between their behaviour in domestic and international contexts, suggests that one of the preconditions for the relative success of the 'roligan strategy' in Denmark may have been the relative unity of Danish society, the lack of divisions there of a kind that are liable to be productive of variants of or approximations to 'ordered segmentation'.<sup>45</sup> I am referring in this context to the ordered segmentation involved in the divisions in Scotland, particularly Glasgow, between Protestants and Catholics, and those in Great Britain between the Scots and the English.

I have shown how the Leicester research suggests that a majority, if by no means all, English football hooligans are drawn from around the bottom of the social scale. Research in Scotland, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy points in the same direction as far as hooligans in those countries are concerned. More particularly, a study of Scottish football 'casual' found that 'all the evidence points to the fact that "football casuals" come predominantly from the lower levels of the social scale and are basically working class youths (In the Edinburgh survey, 75 per cent of the "casuals" arrested fell into the "unskilled manual" or "unemployed" category. None of them came within the "managerial-professional" category.)<sup>46</sup> Similarly, a study of football hooliganism in Leuven concluded that 'most of (Belgium's) "hard core" football hooligans ... had a short and frustrating school career. Most of them come from unstable working-class families. Almost none of them have a regular job ... Their material situation is poor, the casuals get their expensive clothes by theft'.<sup>47</sup> According to the research of Hans van der Brug in Holland, typical Dutch hooligans tend to resent and resist formal education; are more likely than non-hooligans to be unemployed; have parents who display a relatively tolerant attitude towards the use of violence and aggression; and gain prestige and status from fighting and generally displaying macho characteristics.<sup>48</sup> Finally, on the basis of a survey of Bologna 'ultras', Antonio Roversi concluded that:

... the majority of the young 'ultras' are from the working class. The group in employment contains 169 males and 46 females. In this group the skilled and unskilled blue-collar workers visibly predominate, both compared to workers of other kinds and within the sample as a whole; they represent 80.3% and 51.9% respectively. They are warehousemen, porters, shop-assistants, bricklayers, carpenters but above all shop-floor workers... It must be emphasized that only 3.9% of the entire sample admitted to being unemployed.<sup>49</sup>

Despite the differences in the categories used and, more generally, of theoretical orientation, there is a substantial consistency between these Scottish, Belgian, Dutch and Italian findings and those of the Leicester research. It would be interesting to discover whether research into football hooliganism in other countries reports similar findings.

It is important by way of conclusion to stress that it is unlikely that the phenomenon of football hooliganism will be identical and derive from identical social roots in every country. As a basis for further research, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the problem will be fuelled and contoured, *ceteris paribus*, by what one might call the major 'fault-lines' of particular countries. In England that means

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social class and regional inequalities; in Scotland (at least in Glasgow) and Northern Ireland, religious sectarianism; in Spain, the linguistic sub-nationalism of the Catalans, Castilians, Gallegos and Basques; in Italy city-based particularism; and in Germany, the relations between East and West and between the generations, especially the distrust of many younger Germans of older people who lived in the Nazi era (Elias, 1996). Arguably, a shared characteristic of all these 'fault-lines', though, - and, of course, each can overlap and interact with others in a variety of complex ways, - is that they are liable to produce structural approximations to 'ordered segmentation' or better, to express it in Elias's terms, 'established-outsider' figurations in which intense 'we-group' bonds and correspondingly intense antagonism towards 'theygroups' or 'outsiders' are liable to develop.<sup>50</sup> However, let me make myself perfectly clear. I do not consider this as having the status of anything other than a first working hypothesis. It needs to be subjected to public discussion and above all to be tested by means of systematic, theory-guided cross-national empirical research and doubtless in that context it will need to be modified, revised and expanded in numerous ways and perhaps even rejected altogether.

#### Notes

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- 8 For an interesting discussion of this phenomenon, see Geoffrey Pearson, *Hooligan: a History of Respectable Fears*, London, Macmillan, 1983.
- 9 This pattern is discussed in greater detail later in this paper. For a full exposition, see Eric Dunning, Patrick Murphy and John Williams, *The Roots of Football Hooliganism*, London, Routledge, 1988.
- 10 *ibid*, esp. chapters 2, 3 and 4.
- 11 C. Armstrong and R. Harris, "Football Hooligans: Theory and Evidence", *Sociological Review*, 39, 3, 1991, pp.427-58.
- 12 Ian Taylor, "Football Mad: a Speculative Sociology of Football Hooliganism" in Eric Dunning (ed.), *The Sociology of Sport: a Collections of Readings*, London, Cass, 1971; John Clarke, "Football and Working Class Fans: Tradition and Change" in Roger Ingham (ed.), *Football Hooliganism: the Wider Context*, London, Inter-Action Imprint.
- 13 Peter Marsh, Elizabeth Rosser and Rom Harré, *The Rules of Disorder*, London, Routledge, 1978; Peter Marsh, *Aggro: the Illusion of Violence*, London, Dent, 1979.
- 14 Elias, *What Is Sociology*, 1978, *op.cit*.
- 15 Quoted from Norbert Elias's Introduction to *Quest for Excitement*, 1986, 1993, *op.cit.*, p.20.

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- 16 These historical parts of our work were carried out by Eric Dunning, Patrick Murphy and Joseph Maguire.
- 17 Gerald Suttles, *The Social Order of the Slum*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- 18 Richard Holt, *Sport and Society in France*, London, Macmillan, 1981.
- 19 See "Why Are There No Equivalents of Soccer Hooliganism in the United States?", chapter 8 of Murphy, Williams and Dunning, 1990, *op.cit.*
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- 22 See *The Roots of Football Hooliganism* for a fuller discussion of the continuities and discontinuities in this regard. See also, Eric Dunning, "The Social Roots of Football Hooliganism: a Reply to the Critics of the 'Leicester School'", in Richard Giulianotti, Norman Bonney and Mike Hepworth (eds.), *Football, Violence and Social Identity*, London, Routledge, 1994.
- 23 *The Sun*, 8 November 1965.
- 24 *The sun*, 27 September 1966. It took *The Sun* almost a year to report on the fighting at the 1965 match.
- 25 *The Sun*, 21 April, 1966.
- 26 E. Taylor, "I was a Soccer Hooligan, class of '64", *The Guardian*, 28 March 1984.
- 27 Paul Harrison, "Soccer's Tribal Wars", *New Society*, No.29,1974, pp.602-4.
- 28 The Thames TV programme, "Hooligan", was directed by Ian Stuttard. It was based on the Leicester research and produced in close collaboration with the Leicester team.
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- 30 Jay Allan, *Bloody Casuals: Diary of a Football Hooligan*, Glasgow, Famedram, 1989.
- 31 See Elias and Dunning, *Quest for Excitement*, *op.cit.*
- 32 John Harrington, *Soccer Hooligan*, Bristol, John Wright, 1968.
- 33 Eugene Trivizas, "Offences and Offenders in Football Crowd Disorders", *British journal of Criminology*, Vol.20,1980, pp.276-88.
- 34 For a hypothetical discussion of this issue, see Eric Dunning *et al*, *The Roots of Football Hooliganism*, *op.cit.*; and Eric Dunning, "The Social Roots of Football Hooliganism: a Reply to the Critics of the 'Leicester School'" in Giulianotti *et al*, *Football, Violence and Social Identity*, *op.cit.*
- 35 Cerald Suttles, *The Social Order of the Slum*, *op.cit.* The analysis presented here involves a modification and development in some respects of Suttles's original model.

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- 39 Quoted in S. Andreski, *The Essential Comte*, London, Croom Helm, 1974, pp.21-22.
- 40 See e.g., N.Elias, *Involvement and Detachment*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1987.
- 41 Elias and Dunning, 1986,1992, *op.cit.*
- 42 For a discussion of this, see the introduction to Patrick Murphy, John Williams and Eric Dunning, *Football on Trial*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1990. Translated into Portuguese as *O Futebol No Batico Dos Reus: Violencia Dos Espectadores Num Desporto Em Mudança*, Oeiras, Celta Editora, 1994.
- 43 Murphy *et al*, 1990, *op.cit.* pp.168-9.
- 44 Richard Giulianotti, Scotland's Tartan Army in Italy: the Case for Carnavalesque", *Sociological Review* August 1991, Vol. 39, No.3, pp.503-527.
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- 47 K. van Limbergen, C. Colaers and L. Walgrave, *Research on the Societal Psycho-Sociological Background of Football Hooliganism*, Leuven, Catholic University of Leuven, 1987, p.8.
- 48 Hans van der Brug, *Voetbalvandalisne: een speurtocht naar Verklarende Factoren*, Harlem, de Vrieseborch, 1986.
- 49 Antonio Roversi, "The Birth of the 'Ultras': the Rise of Football Hooliganism in Italy" in R. Giulianotti and J. Williams, (eds), *Game Without Frontiers: Football, Identity and Modernity* Aldershot, Arena, 1994, pp. 359-381.
- 50 Norbert Elias and John L. Scotson, *The Established and the Outsiders*, London, Sage, 1994.

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## COMPARATIVE EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES ON FOOTBALL SPECTATORSHIP

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"... but without the noise and movement of the fans football would be nothing, it's about passion. They'll never change that. Without passion football's dead. Just twenty-two grown men running round a patch of grass kicking a ball about. Fucking daft really. It's the people that make it an occasion. When they get going it takes off if you get any kind of passion it spills over. That's what can happen with football. That's what makes it for me. It's all connected. All part of the same thing. They can't separate football from what goes on elsewhere."

(Tom Johnson, a seasoned "Chelsea hooligan" from The football factory by John King)

It all started in England. The special football atmosphere and the related violence named hooliganism.

For the latter part the English fans got copied by the continentals and starting in the 1970s and 1980s there was a steady export of major lessons in the nuances of abuse and combat inside and outside European football stadiums (Williams 1991). The English-inspired hooliganism shaped the European counterparts and many incidents on the continent became the yardstick against which their own performance could be measured.

Another supporter behaviour was also identified in the mid-1980s: the roligan.

A carnival clad, happy fan took shape in Denmark. Fond of beer, but peaceful and with a family mood. The face is painted with the red and white colours of Denmark, which also is dominant for the scarf, T-shirt and the cap. On top of the head is the *klalzhut*, a grotesque red and white hat with moveable cloth hands attached for applause. The special dress-up of that type of fan has spread to a few other countries (Sweden, Ireland, Holland) and especially to smaller nations with hitherto no special role in European football except Holland.

Seen in a contemporary European perspective football in its current organisational format provides a forum for the expression of affirmed collective identities and local or regional antagonisms. It is certainly in this ability to mobilise and display loyalties that one must seek an explanation for the remarkable popularity of this team sport which relies on physical contact and open competitiveness. Every match between rival towns, regions, and countries takes form of a ritualised war complete with anthems, military fanfares, and banners wielded by fans who form the support divisions and who even call themselves "Brigades", "Commandos", "Ultras", "Terrorszene" etc.

### A. European fan behaviour

Today, you find the main trends in European fan behaviour as having entirely the same manifestations, dimensions and causes. In this seminar I will concentrate on the more celebratory function of being an ardent fan at any European top club.

The main reason for this development towards an "European fan profile", which is of recent date, lies in an incremental process of "mediatisation".

The inauguration of satellite TV in Britain and other European countries around 1990, is indicative of two important and interrelated trends: globalisation and, in the context of globalisation, the growth of the multinational TV-conglomerates.

Television football became a global phenomenon and TV coverage of an increasingly number of European matches started the on-going transformation in crowd behaviour. Beginning in the 1970s and still continuing, the extensive TV coverage to many European countries of English league football and of fan atmosphere in English stadiums provided ample scope for imitation on the European continent.

This kind of one-way transmission is in the past and contemporary football fan behaviour throughout Europe has become an illustrative example of this process

#### Three types of supporters

In a German examination of German supporters (Heitmeyer 1988) one can differentiate between consumer orientated, football orientated, and experience orientated motives. Despite of the objective of the German project as an analysis of the processes in the supporters' general identity formation, the applied analytical methodologies frame a model that may help in analyzing a crowd of football supporters (see diagram 1)

**1. The consumer orientated supporter.** The consumer orientated supporter is the supporter, who specifically goes to those matches where he expects a "condensed" and exciting match. He prefers to attend these matches where there is something special going on. Therefore, football is parallel with other leisure time activities that he indulges in, and his choice is ad hoc and not necessarily attached to one particular club. The social implication of an attachment is important therefore, and he does not **join** a regular group, similarly his place at the stadium will more often be in the grandstand, than among the loyal fans. If his team loses 3-4, he could easily express himself thus - "It was a shame, but it was a good match".

**2. The Football Centered Fan.** For the football centered fan there is a close connection between the thrilling experience and the end result of the event. His comment to a beating would be "That wasn't fair, dammit. And to such a wet team! Now the rest of the weekend is spoilt". But he would be at his place again at the next match, because the feeling of conviviality with his group of mates is most intense in connection with the matches. The football matches are that social point around which everything revolves and is the decisive achievement platform for both individuals and the

entire group. Among other things it is generally expected that one take the initiative to create a little atmosphere, and a little heightened anticipation. The group has its regular place in a certain section of the terraces which it considered hallowed territory.

3. **The Experience Orientated Spectator.** For the experience orientated spectator there are two views of the sporting importance of the football match. They are inspired by the search for the whole scenario surrounding the event which motivates the attachment, than the game itself. Therefore this type of supporter is very aware of a change of atmosphere, and they will quickly prefer places and activities where they assume " something happens! ".

The grouping described here, of the mass of supporters, should not be regarded as an unequivocal, uniform, type casting, but as the main tendency of the motives amongst the supporters. Therefore, there will be a great deal of fluctuation within as well as between groups.

#### The European struggle to combat hooliganism

Before moving on to the description of the celebratory function of fan behaviour in Europe I will refer to the latest political move for a common European struggle to combat hooliganism. March this year, the European Parliament in Strasbourg passed a resolution on football related violence.

The resolution notes that there is a widespread problem of hooliganism and violence at and around football matches, particularly international fixtures, and believes that this is a crossfrontier problem which should be tackled at Community level. In the general points of the resolution the parliament notes that involvement in sport, whether as a participant or spectator, is a significant social and cultural activity, and that sporting events are cultural events, access to which should be facilitated for all sections of society. There is an expectation that a policy on hooliganism which is both preventive and punitive will contain the phenomenon and reduce it to manageable proportions. Additionally, the members are hoping for increased European Union cooperation to help control crossfrontier incidents of football-related violence and racism. The resolution brings in the German typology mentioned above and draws a distinction between peaceful supporters, potentially violent supporters and violent supporters (hooligans); whereas among the latter, persons committing offences of a racist, anti-Semitic or xenophobic nature should be distinguished from the rest.

The resolution calls on the public authorities, sports organisations and clubs to implement the measures laid down in the Convention and measures going beyond these, and to provide in particular for:

- stadiums to be designed so as to ensure spectator safety, with numerous separate exits, enabling security and emergency services to intervene,
- rival supporter groups to be separated,
- the sale of tickets to be controlled,
- loudspeakers to be installed at stadiums to facilitate communication with spectators,
- a ban on the introduction into stadiums of alcoholic drinks and items that are dangerous or likely to be used for acts of violence,

- a ban on the introduction into stadiums of any symbols (on banners or streamers) of a racist or xenophobic nature, such as swastikas etc.,
- installation of scanners at stadium entrances;

Too, the text holds the view that the absolute requirement to provide all-seater stadiums is excessive and that the installation of 'cages' is dangerous and degrading and may give rise to violence. Then, the resolution addresses a social and preventive policy and sees in the increase in the number of 'fan projects' an excellent means of preventing violence at sports events. Such initiatives are encouraged. That includes a call on all clubs to ensure total transparency in their financial transactions and to devote part of their resources to the integration of supporters into the life of the club, in particular by involving them in important decisions.

## B. The celebratory function

When you sit TV-zapping on a European football night and if you only had the fans in view and no sound, you may find it hard to tell in which countries the matches took place. That would not have been the case ten years ago. At that time, the various national fan groups all had a distinct characteristics of being an Italian football fan, a Spanish football fan, a West German football fan and so on.

Today, the celebratory way of being a football fan in any European league consists of an array of activities. Some of them can clearly be traced back to an English heritage. Through references mainly to the English, Italian, Dutch, German and Danish fanscenes this paper will describe various fan activities with a common characteristic.

### a. Songs

No one will argue that the English fans for decades have been the absolute leaders in creating a cracking atmosphere. They sing their hearts out and their enthusiasm have inspired fans all over Europe. Today in non-English speaking countries, you find many fansongs with English text. In the leading Danish fan group, Brøndby Support, some of the favorite chants published in their fanzine have an English text. As an example:

Mighty Colours

(mel.: Rule Britannia)

Why are we singing,	Mighty Colours
what make us jump and shout	The Yellow and the Blue
while we clap in our hands	We will forever, ever, ever,
so proudly and loud ?	follow you!

A remarkably decline in the vocal atmosphere at the majority of English league grounds has been noticed the last few years. Critics blame the introduction of all-seater stadia, which means that there is a dispersal of fans and that it is harder for fans to sing when they are sitting. With many clubs having reserved seating areas, season ticket holders spread out over the ground, it is difficult for fans to naturally come together as they would in the days of terracing. To prove this point, away matches are found to create a better atmosphere because the unreserved seating means the whole fan group are being shoved in together.

The normal fan chant is aimed at the team and the rival supporters, who over and over again are ridiculed. During an ordinary 1989 1. division match (Millwall vs Crystal Palace) you could recognise at least 10 different songs and chants among which you find:

"We all follow the Millwall - over land and sea

(incl.: Land of Hope and Glory)

"You're gonna get your fucking heads kicked in"

From the international football scene you often hear

"If you hate the fucking Germans, clap your hands"

Occasionally, a political chant will dominate a game. A major incident was the abandoned England football friendly in Dublin in February 1995, when about 80 English hooligans started a riot 27 minutes into the first half of the game. Before kick-off time and throughout the game, a special part of the English fan section repeatedly sang the anti-IRA chant: "No surrender, no surrender to the IRA". Examination of the scene afterwards found a large amount of literature and brochures associated with racist and extreme Right-wing groups.

#### b. Banners

The Italians are famous for their banners and their huge flags. The Lazio fans roll vast banners from the top of the "curva" (terrace) and most often in combination with other banners a commemorative text is to read. A huge silk flag in the colours of Lazio is unrolled down the rows. The members of the official fan clubs turn up hours before the game kicks off and are let in for free in order to set up their banners around the ground. Then just before kick off about a dozen of them parade banners round the running track to get the crowd going. Italian fans try also via the banners to establish a communication with both players and the club's management. A huge banner had the text: "Careca we want to see you dance". The call on the player to dance had the background in his behaviour after scoring a goal. Many club presidents have been told off by banners on the home stadium, too, and racial issues turn regularly up on the banners, which will be described later in the article. Other European club supporters have brought this feature in to their stadium and a lively activity takes place putting up the banners.

#### c. Fanzines

As part of the reaction among the English supporters after the Heysel disaster in 1985 a new and experimenting communication channel between fans came to light, the fanzines. These supporter-produced football magazines (fanzines) have added a new aspect into the supporter movement. In England you can register more than 200 titles. They have a typical circulation for an issue of between 200 and 2.000 copies (Jary, n.d) They are being produced by the fans for the fans on photocopiers or small presses and circulated by other means than through normal commercial channels. You can see the pamphlets as a "users' view and as the "voice" of the football fan. They reflect the commitment to the team and locale of ardent supporters. Content is often in a hardhitting and irreverent tone but with satirically humorous lines, too. They report on club issues and most often they have a critical stance:

"The new kit was a symbolic abandonment of principles and tradition, and an apocalyptic foretaste of what to come: the realisation that this was not our beloved football club, a part of our cockney heritage, but a failing business venture run by a bunch of impecunious wide boys and car salesmen with over-inflated ideas and egos"

(From the West Ham fanzine Fortune's Always Hiding, April 1992)

In an overview of all English fanzines in the more update Magazine "When Saturday comes" more than 200 hundred fanzine titles are listed. For a club like Arsenal you find six titles: An Imperfect Game - The Gooner - One nil Down Two One Up - Up The Arse - Highbury Wizard - Highbury High.

In other countries mostly all fanzines are semi-club attached; in Italy Ultras are organised in semi-formalised but independent club attachment e.g. Roma. One of their magazines written by the fans has the name Roma Mia and focus especially on what the players have to say to an actual game and how they react to the activities of the tifosis. As there are more than 5.000 fan clubs of Serie A teams, the production of fanzines is enormous. The top scorer of fan clubs is Juventus, who has 1100 clubs and 450.000 members registered. In a more humble way the Danish fan clubs try to engage their fellow fans. The two existing Danish fanzines have international fan features as a permanent section and more activity-descriptions from fellow fans in the southern part of Europe. This international theme is not of interest when you read through the German fanzines. They have a more distinct political aim and has a harsher tone.

#### d. Team entrance

Most continental teams and now English sides, too, have a more or less choreographed entry procedure in which the fans play a vital role. The Italians like to make a spectacle of the whole game setting. The various ultras of the different curva arrange their usual, dramatic dramatic pre-match display and other crowd activities. Ultras have been spear-heading that kind of pre-match atmosphere you now find in most countries. It all starts with a special popular piece of music for the team to run on to. Golden rock'n-roll tunes are in high demand. In Ajax the team run on to "We will, we will rock you" and in Brondby it's Jimmy Halen's "Jump". It's the aim to try to whip the crowd into a frenzy and the fans are very much eager to participate. A ticker-tape welcome of some sort is arranged inclusive some fire works, and glittered rolls of paper in the colour of the club are thrown from the stand. When the music dies out the announcement of the team line-up starts. For some teams the announcement of the players has been changed to a direct communication with the home supporters. The first player to be announced is the goalkeeper and when he leaves his warming-up routine and starts running towards the stand, he swings his arm from the back and at the same time the crowd start raising their voices and

coordinate the peak with the goalie's fully raised arm in front of the stand. The announcer then calls the goalies first name and the crowd yells out the surname. Not all players do the arm swing action but the crowd's unison call of the players' surnames is today a normal agenda for more continental teams.

#### e. Verbal and gestural expressions

Contrary to successful supporter initiatives in fan accessories, the organisers of the recent EURO 96 (The European Championships) in England failed in their attempt to tell fans what means they should rely on to create a festive temperature. They introduced a return of the outmoded rattle. It came in plastic, lightweight and, as a result virtually inaudible, even in full twirl. For the price of about 10 dollars. Not letting supporters bring in any offensive gear, the organisers promoted the rattle as the only weapon that conforms to European Championship safety standard.

#### f. Relationships between club and supporters

For some years clubs have taken initiatives to link the various supporter groups to the club. For clubs with occasional crowd trouble they have tried various approaches not to get too involved in any official linkage. In some countries (Germany and Belgium) social authorities have distributed grants to clubs who wanted to establish programmes, fan projects, which aimed at changing the status of fans. In Italy the clubs have allowed the 'Ultras' to develop unchecked. They have helped them with travel expenses to away games, offered free tickets, tolerated offensive or racist banners and chanting, in short they have as reported turned a blind eye to the growth of a monster, and now they don't know what to do. They have even been subjected to blackmail by their fans to the effect that supporters will provoke incidents that could cause the closure of the stadium if clubs don't accede to their demands.

One controversial issue in the relation between fans and clubs is the existence of right-wing elements. In England, there is nothing new in fascists targeting football grounds for potential recruits. In the 1970s, the National Front set up supporters' cells at many football grounds up and down the country. Their magazine, *Bulldog*, ran a regular football section which contained a 'League of Lions', displaying the top ten clubs with the most racist supporters in the country. The rallying call was "White Youth Unite and Fight".

These days it is the British National Party, in part, and, to a much greater extent, Combat 18 who are trying to call the shots among violent football gangs. Manchester United anti-fascist fanzine, says that CI8 consciously planned to wreck the England v Ireland game: "CI8 were almost totally responsible for the riot at Lansdowne Road. We have information that suggests it was planned months in advance. There was a big CI8 meeting in Derbyshire about three weeks beforehand at which we believe the final preparations for the riot were made. With their support of Loyalism, the match in Dublin presented them with an ideal opportunity to put across their politics forcefully."

The Everton fanzine, *When Skies Are Grey*, has set a great example in sponsoring a local youth club to wear shirts carrying the logo 'Sport Against Racism', organized in conjunction with a local campaign on Merseyside. The Italian scene show the same patterns as the English. During the match Inter-Napoli the crowd could read a banner: "Hitler: con gli ebrei anche i napoletani" (Hitler: Neapolitians are Jews, too.)

In Germany one of the fan groups of Hamburg SV, "Die Möven", is openly a neo-nazist cell and their club house is decorated by swastikas and photos of Hitler. "Savage Army" A few 200 young fascists have found their platform with the Parisian top club, Paris St.Germain. They call themselves Les hooligans du Kop de Boulogne.

The European Parliament's effort to combat racism lies with the clubs and it seems a heavy task is on hand.

### C. Conclusion.

During the hooligan period the dominant strategy for combatting the behaviour has relied almost exclusively on policies of punishment and control (Williams 91). Hooliganism play fortunately a much smaller role today on the football scene. The football supporters have taken over and their activities binds together and stimulate the more enjoyable moments of games of football. To ensure the drive in the supporters' movement, locally, nationally and internationally it is important that authorities within football and security accept top football games and tournaments more as a part of popular culture than an isolated football event. Or as stated by Fiske (1989) who differentiates between mass culture - the cultural "products" put out by an industrialised capitalist society - and popular culture - the ways in which people use, abuse, and subvert these products to create their own meanings and messages. Rather than focusing on mass culture's attempts to dominate and homogenise, Fiske prefers to look at (and revel in) popular culture's evasions and manipulations of these attempts. In the same way one should analyse the present situation in relation to the former ongoing process of "killing" the people's game by enforcing even stricter safety regulations and even going beyond the civil liberties.

Fiske continues: "The economic needs of the cultural industries are thus perfectly in line with the disciplinary and ideological requirements of the existing social order, and all cultural commodities must therefore, to a greater or lesser extent, bear the forces that we can call centralising, disciplinary, hegemonic, massifying, commodifying."

Opposing these forces, however, are the cultural needs of the people, this shifting matrix of social allegiances that transgress categories of the individual, or class or gender or race or any category that is stable within the social order. These popular forces transform the cultural commodity into a cultural resource, pluralize the meanings and pleasures it offers, evade or resist its disciplinary efforts, fracture its homogeneity and coherence, raid or poach upon its terrain. All popular culture is a process of struggle, of struggle over the meanings of social experience, of one's personhood and its relations to the social order and of the texts and commodities of that order". So it's the belief that people can turn cultural commodities to their own interests and find pleasure in using them to make their own meanings of their social identities and social relations.

One form of resistance are those of evasion, of getting around social control of dodging the discipline over self and others that those with power attempt so insistently to exert. In this light and perspective the contemporary development of a common European fan behaviour integrates a dynamic youth culture across the frontiers.

As from this month, every single French first division match will be shown live on television. A new interactive satellite channel will allow viewers to choose from one of nine matches played

simultaneously. In the long term you have to wonder what the effect will be on clubs and supporters. If young football fans are attracted to big name clubs in preference to their local club today, what will be the effect when they can see all of the big clubs' matches live every week?

One of the main concerns about showing all the matches live is that nobody will bother going to grounds any more. To avoid this each club can decide which postal code cannot receive their home match. There will be a growing trend for watching matches on television.

The criticism is directed towards the clubs and their ideas for raking in more and more money for their matches. The acceptance of interactive and "pay-per-view" television is an inevitable consequence of television's quest for audiences and football's ever increasing thirst for money. The worry is that football relies too much on money from television and someday the television public could turn away from the game in a way that today's supporters never would.

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## YOUTH POLICY CHANGES IN EUROPE, Clubs and Players.

### - The Bosman ruling. A turning point in European football organisation

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The judgement delivered by the European Court of Justice on 15 December 1995 marked a new era in European professional sport in general and football in particular. The Belgian professional football player Jean-Marc Bosman raised a legal battle against the existing transfer system and the nationality clause as imposed by the Belgian Football Association and the European and international federations, UEFA and FIFA. Bosman won his case and both the transfer system and the nationality clause are null and void as being in violation of European County law.

The Bosman judgment is applicable to all professional sportsmen who are nationals of a member state and engage in their activity within the European Union (15 countries) and also covers others of the European nations like Norway etc. This paper will examine the implications of the ruling for the clubs and the players and with special focus on youth football.

Some background information is needed to allow a proper understanding of the issue.

#### A. The Bosman case seen from the side of the football federations and UEFA.

In an information leaflet UEFA draws up the positions. In the introduction UEFA states that although media attention always focuses on the elite professional clubs and the "star" players, it has to be remembered that many more people play the game at much lower levels. And often their interest is inspired more by pleasure than profit.

At present, the Union des Associations Européennes de Football ("UEFA") brings together 49 European nations. At amateur and professional level, the 49 national football associations represent over 170,000 clubs, 600,000 teams (including youth teams) and over 20 million players. It goes without saying that the vast majority of these clubs, teams, and players participate at a relatively modest level. However, their contribution is no less important for that: they represent the future (and also the spirit) of the game of football. Underlying this huge sporting movement is a structure of rules. The rules have been shaped over the years and are designed to safeguard and develop.

#### The Bosman case

The Bosman case has called into question the legality of two key elements in the regulatory structure of football: the player transfer system and the rules on non-national players (the so-called

"3+2" rule). The implications of this case are of enormous concern to football, because each rule is designed to perform an absolutely essential function for the sport.

#### The transfer system:

- Is a mechanism to ensure that clubs have an incentive to take on, train and develop players. The system functions to reward clubs (particularly the smaller clubs) for the investment which they make in the training of players.
- Unlike the, (very few) teams at the top end of the game, the small clubs get very little money from television, gate receipts or marketing. Instead, they must rely on income from the transfer market to survive. For many small teams, transfer income is, quite simply, the difference between survival and bankruptcy;
- All research confirms that it is the large professional clubs who are the net "spenders" on the transfer market and the smaller teams who are the net "recipients" of transfer income. This is exactly as might be expected: young players are trained at the lower levels, they develop and then (if they are lucky) move on to the top divisions;
- At the same time, the transfer rules are designed to ensure fair protection for players. To this end, the rules explicitly provide that a player is always free to move from one club to another once his contract has expired. If the clubs cannot agree on a fee, the matter is decided by an independent tribunal. It is central to the system that a player cannot be held once his contract has expired; how then did the system fail in the case of Mr. Bosman? The sad fact is not that the system failed, but rather it was not applied. In this case, the club involved failed to observe the rules and prevented the player from leaving before the fee was paid. This was a clear breach of the rules and should never have happened;

#### The "3+2" rule

this rule was adopted following discussions between UEFA and the European Commission back in 1991. It provides that the number of foreign players who may play in a football team may not be limited to less than five. Putting the matter differently, the rule aims to ensure that a minimum number of players, (six out of a team of eleven) come from the same country as the team itself. The five players mean 3 foreign players and 2 "assimilated" foreign players. A player has assimilated status if he has played for 5 years in the country in question including 3 years in junior teams.

#### Consequences of the Bosman-case

The Advocate-General has already given his opinion and has said, that both the transfer system and the "3.+2" rule should be condemned as illegal. This has heightened concern. If the Court of Justice follows this recommendation, the consequences will be as follows:

1. An even larger gap will develop between rich and poor in the world of football; in particular, without transfer income many small football clubs will go out of business;

2. Whilst some star players and agents might benefit there will be reduced opportunities for the vast majority of players: with fewer clubs around, there will be less chance to get a professional training in the first place;
3. These are not only the opinions of the national associations. Players are saying the same thing themselves. For example, the head of the international players union (Gordon Taylor) states, that the consequences of the Bosman case are "a contraction in the number of clubs around opportunities.... Without protection for national talent, clubs will look abroad for cheaper players and have no encouragement to invest in youth training."
4. Furthermore, if this case results in the end of the transfer system, players could well end up with less freedom of movement than before. If they can, clubs will try to have promising players on long term contracts to ensure they get a return on their investment when the player moves on.
5. If the small clubs go out of business there will be a negative affect for football, but there will also be a negative affect for local communities. In many towns the local football team performs an important social function. The chance to get involved in the game provides a real extra dimension to everyday life, for both young and old. If you remove that chance you do a great disservice to the people!

#### Conclusion

It is to be hoped that the European Court will think long and hard before delivering judgment in this case. Everything which can be done should be done to avoid the adverse consequences which have been described.

In the seminar I will assess the validity of the main argument of the football authorities and look at the implications on the situation for clubs and players. I will focus on three themes: 1. The football authorities claim that the transfer system is a vital part of the economy of professional football 2. The claim that the ruling means a stop to non-league clubs efforts to develop player talent and 3. The reorientation of the clubs' youth policies.

#### **B. The youth football scene in Europe.**

In Europe, the background and organisation of youth football vary enormously in a national and regional perspective. Differences occur with age, sex and socio-economic status, too.

##### **a. Scandinavian football**

Nowadays it makes sense to separate elite sport, amateur club sport and do-it-yourself sport. The Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Norway and Denmark) have a special sociocultural sport setting. Leisure time sport is grounded in amateurism, and extracurricular sport activities are almost nonexistent in schools. The local sport club forms the basis of the Scandinavian sports structure.

In Denmark approximately 85 % of children between nine and twelve years of age are members of a sports club (Forchammer et al., 1980). In Sweden sports clubs participation by fifteen-years-old boys and girls reaches 70% and 50%, respectively (Engstrom, 1990). Football is the most popular club

sport in both Denmark and Sweden. Among the 9-12 year olds in Denmark 31% prefer football, while the percentage in Sweden for the same agegroup is 26%.

Due to the prominent position of voluntary sport in the Scandinavian culture and football clubs especially, it is a natural feature to regard the sports clubs as part of the formation of sporting habits of young people and their outward sport behaviour. The voluntary sport sector is regarded as a private non-profit organisation, which are supported by governmental money to fulfil a task with societal relevance. The sport organisations and accordingly the clubs depend heavily on the government for financial support.

In the organised sector, competitive sport is the main characteristic of the activity, and systematic training is utilised. The 1400 amateur football clubs in Denmark are the feeders of the players for the professional sides. Denmark introduced professional football very late (1978) and as one of regulations in the transition was a legal obligation for any professional club to maintain a youth section and to pay a fee to a signed player's amateur club.

#### b. Other European models

You can find the analogue sport setting in Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium although it is less organised. In some countries like United Kingdom and Portugal you find well organised extracurricular sport activities which, because of their competitive and selective nature, correspond to sports club activity. In England the English schools' Football Association work very closely with the English FA. Some managers criticise this involvement of the schools, but as the chief executive of the schools' association puts it: "If you want to promote the national game, it's no good taking it out of the schools. The belief that you could let the professionals have the boys and all will be OK is nonsense. We cooperate with them." The biggest problem in England in this perspective is the growing interest in Sunday football, which is out of the hands of both the schools and the clubs. In addition, sport in many countries is organised by other organisations than sport organisations. In these countries the professional clubs play a more active role in finding young talented players and their scouting system is extensive as the existence of youth football clubs are scarce.

#### c. Select teams

Normally, the link between non-league youth players and a later professional career goes via various regional select teams. The way the national federations in Europe select their national youth teams gives an overview of how the talent football is organised. The first European national team competition starts with the Under 15 (U 15) and a regular European title exists for the Under 16 (U 16). In Scandinavia, Germany and Holland the youth section is divided into regions and each region runs their own select team. Players from all clubs in the region can be registered for a trial session. These teams are picked after several training sessions. A national regional tournament is established and from match observations a squad talent is picked and put through various training camps etc. In the end the national team is selected and will participate in the European tournaments. This system is running for each agegroup-categories in the youth section. Another organisation of the select teams is found in France and Italy. In France the federation and the professional clubs run boarding schools for the talented players, while Italian select and national youth teams are picked among players from the professional teams in Serie A and B after the clubs each have put in maximum three candidates. The

scouting system is more decentralised in the Mediterranean countries and solely based on the club scouting organisation.

#### C. Football schools.

An increasingly growing feature in the European football establishment is various forms for football schools. Two types of schools exist. One type is federation or club based schools, and the second type is private and commercial institutions.

The Ajax football school has caught the attention of the medias because of the success of the first team: Winner of the Toyota Cup 1996 (World Champion for club teams), Winners of Champions League 1995 and runners-up in 1996 and celebrated for the teams exhilarating performance and attacking football. However, The Ajax youth school concept can now be found in many European countries. In Holland, PSV Eindhoven is the national rivals of Ajax and their school is organised along the same principles. The key element in the schools is a balanced weight on both education and football development. Great emphasis is placed on the personal development of their youngsters, supervising their education, ensuring their domestic life is not disrupted and preparing them for dealing with the media. The scouting system is centered around an annual talent day, when 1,500 kids come for trials at the club. The eight-to ten-year olds train for an hour and a half, three days a week. Very seldom Ajax take on a boy form outside the Amsterdam area. Travelling long distances several times a week can put considerable pressure on families, and disrupt the boy's schooling and lifestyle.

Several professional clubs in France, Spain and Italy have in various ways, too, organised links between young talented kids and their football upbringing. The lack of well-organised youth football clubs including a lack of educated coaches has left it to the clubs themselves to look after the future players. The best players are around the age of fourteen or fifteen offered an apprentice contract and eventually leading to a full professional career.

Some European federations and sometimes with the cooperation with the clubs have organised their youth development on basis of boarding schools spread in the regions. A team of coaches will normally be assigned to these schools and all football activities are directed by the federation.

As part of the educational choices in Denmark for the fifteen-sixteens years old pupils, who for one reason or the other are fed up with the normal schools, they can take their last year of primary school at a boarding school with special lines of interest. Schools offering sport is the most popular ones and football are offered at many places as the main interest line.

After leaving school more players find it difficult to cut down on their football activities as the demands for further education or vocational training rise. Within the last five years more sports colleges have started, in which you can combine football and studies (vocational and business). All schools have strong links to a professional club nearby.

## D. Implications and reactions to the Bosman ruling

For the football authorities it was hard to come to terms with the new situation. Even more this could be said about the clubs as there was an immediate effect on their assets and their total financial situation. As an example Chelsea had to cut their assets in their books by almost a third.

### a. The financial consequences of the Bosman case.

In Great Britain the football authorities have always argued (Miller 1993) that the system:

- I. ensures the economic viability of smaller clubs who earn money by selling players to big clubs - money circulates or trickles down the league structures, redistributing income from rich to poor within football
- II. encourages all clubs to seek and develop "talent" as transfer fees represent the reward for such enterprise and training

As it has been shown (Moorhouse 1993) as far as professional football in Britain is concerned:

- I. very little evidence has ever been presented about the economic effects of the transfer system
- II. such evidence as has been produced has not always, or even often, supported the "commonsense" version of the benefits the system is supposed to provide for "football as a whole"

As a documentation for this evidence only 6% was paid to the English 3. and 4. division clubs in 1988 - 1989.

In Scotland much of the transfer system has little to do with effecting any redistribution of income between indigenous clubs (Moorhouse 1993). Large amounts of cash do not trickle down the hierarchy of clubs but get stuck quite near the top of the structure. Moreover, the evidence points to the diversity of clubs' relation to the transfer system and the money that flows round it. Some clubs certainly do gain from the system but not that many clubs make a good deal of money. There are clubs who specialize in selling talent but the results for others, similar, clubs seem to show that the transfer system does not have to be used in this way. As some small and medium sized clubs are now net losers in the transfer market, they would be more financially secure if it were swept away. All in all, concludes Moorhouse, the best that can be said is that the transfer system is only one means, not an absolute necessity, by which football clubs and jobs can survive.

### b. Effect on a club

If we look at one specific club, Ajax, the situation, of course, influences all sectors of the club. The club's finances are based upon production and sale of their own breed of players. And it has been a very successful strategy. Within the last 4-5 years players have been sold for about 30 mill. dollars. Will the club now be penalised? The financial manager of Ajax says: "It is a catastrophe for us. We have the best educational football system in the world. We produce more young talented players than

any other club." In the past, no sooner did new stars emerge, than they would be snapped up by foreign clubs. The list of players sold by Ajax is a roll call of international superstars. Ajax's current resurgence is the result of ten years of careful planning and a far-sighted appreciation of the changing social and economic structure of European football. The new strategy of club is to stress for the players the importance of being part of the team for a longer time and the club works hard to keep the players happy in their own self-interest. First of all by continuously playing a major role in the championship competition in Holland and in Europe, and playing a kind of football that appeals to people. Additionally, the no-success departure of Bergkamp and Jonk, who went to Inter, have helped Ajax's cause. As the spokesman for Ajax, David Endt says: "Both starplayers went to a great team in name and had problems with a system they could not adapt to. They made a lot of money, but money isn't everything." Among football experts there is a belief, that players doing extremely well in Ajax, do well because of the Ajax system. Because of the intrinsic fostered football behaviour, some of the players will suffer football-wise leaving the club. Besides examples of individual players one can refer to the mediocre EURO 96 performance of Holland. A team consisting of 7 players from Ajax.

It is only Ajax and a few other European superclubs, who can maintain a squad on the "we are a champion club" combined with a sort of family-like atmosphere. For most other clubs the buying and selling will still be essential for their financial and sporting situation. Will there be a change in this behaviour because of the abolition of the transfer rules? The football authorities claim that the transfer market provides financial compensation to the smaller clubs as feeders of player talent to the bigger clubs and that this feeding in the future will be limited as more smaller clubs will go out of business.

The small clubs are, indeed, net sellers of player talent and thereby enables them to survive financially. Economists have already demonstrated convincingly that player talent will still end up in the large clubs, whether or not there is a transfer market (Késenne 1995). They show, too, that the abolition of the transfer market has no harmful effect on the financial position of the smaller clubs. The loss of transfer income experienced by the smaller clubs will be compensated by a lowering of the salaries which they pay their players at present. The concern expressed by the federations is that the training of young players will suffer as a result of the abolition of the transfer market, because young talented players will be able to leave the club that nurtured them without any fee being paid.

The concern is too one-sided. First of all the issue has nothing to do with the abolition of the transfer market. The discussion is about the introduction of a fair compensation for the training of young players. It looks like that several European federations will introduce a system providing a compensation fee for the training of young players. The system will be based upon a central pool of money. The professional clubs and the federations should contribute out of their TV income and governmental subsidies respectively.

When a young player signs his first contract and he becomes an interesting player for another club, they can during his contact still put in an offer for a transfer. So the most talented players will always be an asset for any club. For the very young players the club activities will continue as always.

### The reorientation of the clubs' policies.

The continent's top clubs are now busy fortifying themselves to fend off attacks from neighbouring countries. The only obvious protective route available to them: long term contracts.

Examples: Raul, Real Madrid until 2005, Guerrero, Athletic Bilbao until 2007, Overmars, Ajax until 2000. While this seems like an excellent idea in theory, in practice the experiences indicate failure. Real Madrid did sign in the mid-1980s four of their absolute top players on decade-long contracts, but only one of them (Michel) has been able to last the contract as a top player.

Johan Cruyff takes a different approach as he finds that once players have signed long-term deals there is a negative influence on their performance. He prefers players on short-term contracts like two or three years at the very most so that they continually have to prove themselves in order to secure a new deal and better economic terms.

All Internal transfer restrictions are now scrapped in most countries (e.g. Holland, Germany, Denmark) as France for many years have done. England, by contrast is to fight to maintain the Internal transfer market intact. This has to do with the role the television and sponsorship play. In Holland and Germany, for example, where TV income is centrally negotiated and distributed, the federation does have the luxury of being able to syphon off necessary amounts to subsidise the small clubs. In England, TV deals are negotiated league-by-league. The FA has no such financial stranglehold; thus it is imperative for small clubs in England that the transfer fee system be maintained. Some of the clubs are faced with the nightmare prospect of seeing their all-conquering side systematically dismantled by Italian and Spanish clubs, with little by way of recompense to soothe the blow and help with the rebuilding.

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## SONHAR DE OLHOS ABERTOS

(Publicado no Livro: "A violência no Esporte"  
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No calor da hora, como era mesmo inevitável, surgiram mil causas, quinhentas soluções, não faltou nem mesmo quem propusesse aumentar o preço dos ingressos e nunca mais se fazer jogos com portões abertos. Por acaso, tão insólita idéia partiu do autor deste artigo. Artigo que, por sinal, contrariando o que era de se esperar, não defenderia a proposta feita no programa Cartão Verde da Rede Cultura, de Televisão, no domingo dos acontecimentos, e, no dia seguinte, na Folha de S. Paulo. E não defenderá pelo simples fato de que a sociedade politicamente correta nem quer ouvir falar nela. Contra fatos não há argumentos gostava de repetir meu saudoso pai, um Procurador de justiça que morreu vítima de um tiro desfechado por um pobre coitado que quis assaltar, minha mãe na porta da casa deles, ao meio dia, na frente de dois de meus filhos. Então, a sociedade politicamente correta quis que o jornalista conhecido engrossasse o coro dos que lutavam pela aprovação da pena de morte. Em vão. O trauma inesquecível não turvara a razão de de quem sabe que a pena de morte não é solução, entre outros motivos porque não inibe o crime.

O autor da proposta insólita, aliás, dois anos antes dos acontecimentos no Pacaembu entre as torcidas organizadas de São Paulo e Palmeiras, escreveu outro artigo publicado em O Estado de S. Paulo, tendo como tema, e não por coincidência, a final da mesma Taça São Paulo de juniores, disputada no mesmo estádio do Pacaembu, também com portões abertos, entre São Paulo e Corinthians. Título do texto que, em negrito, será transcrito entre um e outro parágrafo desta pensata: **Impressões sobre a Belíndia.**

Estádio Municipal do Pacaembu, dia 25 de janeiro, aniversário de São Paulo: portões abertos, entrada franca, os juniores de São Paulo e Corinthians decidem a Copa de futebol.

Os torcedores que normalmente frequentam, quando podem frequentar, as gerais do estádio, estão por todas as partes. Mais de 60 mil lá dentro, outros 20 mil em torno. Olhos fundos, costelas à mostra, um forte odor de suor, vocabulário de poucas, pouquíssimas palavras. A índia brasileira diz presente. Idade média entre 16 e 20 anos, o futuro do País. Uma festa trágica, uma força estranha no ar. Tensão.

Enfim, se há alguém que não pode brigar com os fatos esse alguém é o jornalista, e está óbvio que a proposta pegou mal, muito mal, embora, cá entre nós, o autor tenha ouvido ainda mais adesões particulares que as muitas críticas públicas - apesar de não ter ouvido nenhuma crítica particular nem muito menos alguma adesão pública. Coisas da hipocrisia que caracteriza nossa sociedade, até porque a pergunta é uma só: se os ingressos custassem mais caro haveria tanta violência nos estádios? A resposta é não, todo o mundo sabe mas finge não saber. E finge com os seguintes argumentos: "os pobres não são os responsáveis pela violência", "em disputas universitárias também têm brigas", "riquinhos vivem quebrando boates", tudo verdade, tudo meias verdades.

O time da maioria perde. Os deserdados foram novamente vencidos. É hora da vingança. Os poucos carros estacionadas poucos demais para tanta gente -, são riscados, chutados, amassados. Vidros das mansões que dão a graça do Pacaembu são alvejados. A malta destrói o que vê pela frente. Estações de metro, ônibus, vidraças do Memorial da América Latina, a ordem que ninguém deu, mas que todos obedecem, é destruir. A cidade faz anos. Não há velas para apagar. Melhor quebrar as luzes. Viva Bombaim!

É claro que os pobres não são os responsáveis pela violência. Ao contrária, são as maiores vítimas dela. A violência de uma sociedade injusta, a violência da fome, da falta de moradia, da falta de educação. Mas, queiramos ou não, a esmagadora maioria dos marginais brasileiros que se envolvem na violência dos estádios são pobres, embora haja marginais ricos também. Estamos, portanto, tratando de marginais, pobres ou ricos. E se os ingressos custassem mais caro os marginais pobres não frequentariam os estádios e deixariam de ser estimuladores da minoria abastada. De mais a mais, o torcedor trabalhador pobre há muito não vai aos estádios, porque o único espaço que poderia abrigá-lo é ocupado pelos marginais que vão a campo para brigar, marginais organizados - a maioria, outra vez - ou não. Negar isso é também negar os fatos, mais, é tapar o sol com a peneira, desvio tão a gosto dos discursos populistas e demagógicos.

Avenida Cidade Jardim, poucos dias depois, dia do aniversário de um amigo, num bar da moda: portas fechadas, entrada cara a título de consumação mínima, os jovens de São Paulo curtem seus últimos dias de férias. Cerca de 600 pessoas lá dentro, umas 200 fora. Olhos brilhantes, roupas de grife, mistura dos melhores perfumes, vocabulário que não chega a ser nenhuma Brastemp.

A Bélgica brasileira também diz presente. Idade média entre 18 e 22 anos, o futuro do País. Um ritual cômico, uma fraqueza óbvia no ar. Tesão.

Estamos de acordo que aumentar o preço dos ingressos não traria resultados na Inglaterra, por exemplo, aonde a violência dos holligans tem poder aquisitivo. Mas no Brasil não tem. A violência rica no país é a dos colarinhos brancos, da corrupção política, dos cartolas do futebol, e só essa última tem a ver, diretamente, com a selvageria nos estádios. Lembremos: é disso que estamos tratando, da violência nos estádios. Quanto às brigas nas MacMeds, PauliPollis e por aí a fora, uma constatarão e uma pergunta: elas têm a idade dessas competições, irresponsabilidades típicas de uma fase da vida, eis a constatação. Agora a pergunta: quantas pessoas já morreram em tais conflitos?

Não há carro nacional entre os quase 40 estacionados na porta. Rehzentes Mercedes, BMWs, Nissans, como não se vêem tão brilhantes nem nos restaurantes de Bruxelas.

Que país estamos construindo? A Índia ou a Bélgica, a Bélgica ou a Índia? Nenhum dos dois, ou melhor, ambos. Inconciliáveis. A Tal BelÍndia é cada vez mais seus extremos que, como tais, se locam, se chocam, se matam.

Em resumo, o autor lamenta que seja assim e não foi ele que inventou que 99% dos litigantes no triste domingo do Pacaembu ganhavam menos que um salário mínimo por mês, quando ganhavam. Ele apenas argumenta que se os ingressos fossem mais caros aquela gente toda não estaria lá. Tão simples como isso. Aliás, (épa!, o espaço para o artigo começa a acabar e para quem havia prometido não defender a proposta estapafúrdia nascida no calor da hora ...) é preciso lembrar que quem escreveu sobre o terrível papel do lumpesinato na sociedade moderna foi um alemão chamado Karl Marx, um pensador que anda meio por baixo mas que é sempre o preferido para justificar certos discursos particularmente revolucionários. E, em sua maioria, os vândalos do futebol, no Brasil, são lúmpens, queiramos ou não, gostemos ou não - e o autor, particularmente, repete uma sociedade que os fabrica cada vez mais. Mas, chato insistir, se eles não forem aos estádios a violência volta a ser coisa pequena, inútil negar.

No estádio não estavam os pais daqueles pobres famintos. Há muito eles perderam o hábito que fazia mais feliz os domingos brasileiros até 20, 30 anos atrás. Também não estavam no bar os pais da juventude dourada, tão ignorante como a presente ao estádio, insensível ao encontro que se dará senão na próxima, na outra esquina. Um Rolex de ouro, um milhão de dólares pelo seu filho de volta, uma vida não é nada quando nada mais se parece com uma vida.

Do resto, felizmente a sociedade se imobilizou e medidas estão sendo adotadas em defesa da cidadania, quase todas corretas. 1) desnecessário será dizer que a primeira tarefa dos que lutam pela cidadania no Brasil é acabar com a miséria, o que não significa esquecer dos direitos do cidadão não miserável.

Morar, comer, vestir, educar, trabalhar. Tão simples de falar, 500 anos de dificuldades em fazer. Pouca vontade política e competência em fazer.

Quanto ao futebol, implodir a estrutura arbitrária, corrupta e incompetente que teima em prevalecer por aqui, mantendo até o instrumento escravagista da Lei do Passe, é fundamental para que o torcedor, violento ou não, se dê conta que a impunidade está acabando no Brasil.

Os meios de comunicação também têm papel fundamental, seja moderando o lingajar I-) ético com que costumam tratar os jogos de futebol, seja se polícia (- na dosagem de violência que costumam transmitir e, ainda mais importante, desempenhando fielmente seu papel de revelar o que se passa nos bastidores da cartolagem nacional, normalmente acumpliciada com esses mesmos meios de comunicação.

A favela vai descer, já desceu. A pena de morte resolve. Não resolveu. Rouba mas faz. Roubou e não fez. Ame-o ou deixe-o. Não amaram e não deixaram. O Estado tudo pode. Não pode. As leis do mercado resolvem. Foram revogados, as da oferta, da procura e, o que é pior, a da gravidade. A da gravidade. Nenhuma novidade, nada original, impressões, apenas, de um simples mortal, pleno de rimas, parco em soluções.

A Bélgica dorme. A Índia pega fogo. O que é que nós estamos fazendo aqui?

O sonho não acabou. Mas é preciso sonhá-lo de olhos bem abertos.

## DREAMING WITH YOUR EYES OPEN

*Juca Kfour, Sports commentator for the Folha de Sao Paulo and TV Cultura*

In the heat of the day, inevitably, many things happen, five-hundred solutions, even including someone who proposes raising the price of the tickets and never more having games free of charge. As a matter of fact, this unusual idea came from the author of this article. This article, by the way, to the contrary of what you would expect, did not defend the proposal of the program Cartao Verde of the Cultura Television Network the Sunday that things happened and the day following in the Folha de Sao Paulo. It did not defend this simply because of the fact that politically correct society does not want to hear about it. Faced with the facts, there are no arguments, as my dear father used to say, a District Attorney who died, victim of a bullet shot by a poor guy who wanted to hold-up my mother at the door, at noontime in front of my two children. At that time, the politically correct society wanted the said journalist to tan the hide of those who were fighting for approval of the death penalty. In vain. The unforgettable drama did not perturb the conscience of those who know that the death penalty is not the solution, for reasons like, it does not inhibit crime.

The author of the unusual proposal, alas, two years before the events in Pacaembu involving the organized fans of Sao Paulo against those of Palmeiras, wrote an article published in O Estado de Sao Paulo with the theme, and not by coincidence, the final game of the very same Taça Sao Paulo for juniors, disputed in the same stadium of Pacaembu, also free of charge, between Sao Paulo and Corinthians. Title of the text in bold type would be transcribed between one and the other paragraph of this pondering: **Impression about the "Belinda"**

Pacaembu Municipal Stadium, January 25th, anniversary of the founding of Sao Paulo: gates open, free of charge, the Juniors of Sao Paulo and Corinthians decide the Soccer Championship. The fans who normally show up, when they can, the general admissions, are all over the place. More than 60 thousand inside there, another 20 thousand outside. Deep eyes, ribs showing, pungent smell of sweat, very, very limited vocabulary. The Brazilian Indian is showing. Average age 16 to 20 years old. A tragic party, a strange force in the air. Tension.

In the final analysis, if there is anyone who can not fight against the facts, it is the newspaperman. And it is obvious that the idea was not well received, badly received, although, just between you and me, the author had heard even more private concordance than the many public criticisms — even though not hearing any private criticism, nor even less, any public concordance. Things that are characteristic of our society, even because the question is one only: if the tickets cost more, would there be so much violence in the stadiums? The answer is no, everybody knows, but pretends not to. And pretends with these arguments: "the poor are not responsible for the violence", "in university games there also are fights", "rich kids are always breaking up nightclubs", all true, all half truths.

The team of the majority loses. The deserted were once again conquered. It is time for vengeance. The few parked cars - very few for so many people - , are scratched, kicked, smashed. Windows in the mansions that grace Pacaembu are pelted. The mob destroys what is in the way. Subway stations, buses, windows of the Latin American Memorial, the order that no one gave, but all obey, is destroyed. The city's birthday. No candles to blow out. Better to break lights. Long live "Bombaim"!

It's clear that the poor are not responsible for the violence. To the contrary, they are its greatest victims. The violence of an unjust society, the violence of hunger, of the lack of housing, of the lack of education. But, whether or not we admit it, the overwhelming majority of the Brazilian outlaws who get involved in the violence of the stadiums are poor, although there also are rich outlaws. Nevertheless, we are dealing with outlaws, poor or rich. If the tickets cost more, the poor outlaws would not go to the games and would not provoke the well-off minority. More and more, the poor workingman fan does not go to the games, because the only place he could use is occupied by the outlaws who go to fight, organized outlaws - the majority of times, at other times not. To deny this is also to deny the facts, but it's like blocking the sunlight with a sieve, a dodge so frequent in the talk of populists and demagogues.

Avenida Cidade Jardim, a few days later, birthday of a friend in a fashionable bar: doors closed, expensive cover charge, Sao Paulo youngsters enjoying the last days of vacation. Around 600 persons inside, 200 outside. Bright eyes, brand name clothes, mixture of the best perfumes, vocabulary very banal. The Brazilian Belgium is also present. Average age between 18 and 22, the future of the Country. A comical ritual, an obvious weakness in the air. Tedium.

We agree that increasing the price of the tickets would not be productive in England, for example, where violence of the hooligans has purchasing power. But in Brazil it does not. Violence of the rich in the country is that of the white collars, of political corruption, of the soccer bigshots, and this latter one alone has, directly, to do with the savagery in the stadiums. Remember: this is what we are dealing with, violence in the stadiums.

Regarding the fights in the MacMeds, PauliPolis and so forth, one fact and one question: they have the age for these competitions, typically irresponsible for a phase of life, this is the fact. Now the question: how many persons have already died in such conflicts?

There is no single nationally made car among the 40 parked at the door. Resilient Mercedes, BMWs, Nissans, more brilliant than any seen in the restaurants of Brussels.

What kind of a country are we building? India or Belgium, Belgium or India? Neither one of the two, or, better, both. Irreconcilables. This "Belindia" is more and more its extremes that, as such, touch each other, smash into each other, kill each other.

In summary, the author laments that it is this way and it was not him who invented the fact that 99% of the litigants on that sad Sunday in Pacaembu made less than a minimum salary per month, when they worked. He only argues that if the tickets were more expensive, that mob of people would not be there. As easy as that. Furthermore, (Oh! Oh! space for the article is running out and for the guy who had promised not to defend that proposal stupendously born in the heat of the day...) it is necessary that the one who wrote about the terrible role of "lumpesinato" in modern society was a German called Karl Marx, a thinker with little credit these days, but who is always preferred to justify certain pseudo revolutionary discourses. And in their greater majority, the soccer vandals are "lumpens", whether we like it or not, want it or not, - and the author, in particular, repels a society that makes more and more of them. But, it is unpleasant to insist, if they did not go to the stadiums, violence would return to being a small thing, it is useless to deny.

The parents of those hungry poor souls were not in the stadium. A long time ago they lost the habit that made Brazilian Sundays happier up to 20, 30 years back. Also, the parents of the golden age youngsters were not at the bar, as ignorant as those present in the stadium, unaware of the encounter that would happen if not on the next corner, then the other. A gold Rolex, one million dollars for the return of their son, a life is worth nothing when nothing more looks like life.

In the aftermath, fortunately, society got mobilized and measures are being taken in defense of citizenship, almost all correct. It would be unnecessary to say that the first task of those who fight for citizenship in Brazil is to do away with misery, which does not mean forgetting the rights of the non miserable citizen.

Live in a house, eat, clothes, education, work. So easy to say, 500 years of difficulty to do. Very little political will and competence to do it.

As far as soccer is concerned, implode its arbitrary, corrupt and incompetent structure which stubbornly prevails around here, even maintaining the slave instrument of the Pass Law, it is fundamental that the fan, violent or not, realize that impunity is dying in Brazil.

The media also has a fundamental role to play, whether it is in moderating the bellicose language it customarily uses for soccer games, or policing itself in the dosage of violence which it has the habit of transmitting and, even more important, faithfully performing its duty of revealing what is happening in the backroom manipulations of the national bigshots, normally in complicity with the very same media.

The slums are coming down. They already have. The death penalty is the solution. It did not work. He steals but he does. He stole and did not do. Love him or leave him. They did not love and did not leave. The State can do everything. It can do nothing. The laws of the marketplace are the solution. They were revoked, those of supply, of demand and, what is worse, that of gravity. That of gravity. Nothing new, nothing original. Only impressions of a humble mortal, full of rhymes, no solutions. Belgium sleeps. India catches fire. What are we doing here?

The dream is not over. But it must be dreamt with eyes open.

## HISTÓRIA E LAZER NO BRASIL : O PROCESSO CIVILIZATÓRIO

Dr. Ademir Gebara

Unicamp

As civilizações antigas não tinham um nome para o lazer e o esporte no sentido que o entendemos hoje. É verdade que o jogo e o brinquedo são fatos tão ou mais antigos do que o homem, a esse respeito um livro antológico é *Homo Ludens*,<sup>2</sup> escrito por um historiador cultural holandês Johan Huizinga em 1964, neste texto Huizinga refere-se claramente a esta questão afirmando: "O jogo é fato mais antigo que a cultura" afinal, os animais brincam antes mesmo dos homens os ensinarem a tanto.

Segundo Pronovost<sup>3</sup> existem duas grandes vertentes que explicam a gênese e a formação do lazer moderno. A primeira, e a mais conhecida, consiste em buscar no passado os fatores históricos, sociais, econômicos entre outros que produziram, de alguma maneira o lazer nas diferentes sociedades. É o caso por exemplo de autores como Dumazedier<sup>4</sup> com o que ele chama de "a dinâmica produtiva do lazer", ou seja: o progresso científico e técnico leva ao aumento do tempo livre, bem como as mudanças socio-culturais conduzem a uma regressão dos controles institucionais e a emergência de um novo desafio social do indivíduo de dispor de si próprio. A segunda tendência a retratar a formação do lazer, busca verificar o momento histórico, particularmente no ocidente, em que uma concepção ideológica estruturada se manifestou com relação ao lazer. Tal fenômeno se articulava então a três movimentos históricos; 1- a ideologia do lazer racional na Inglaterra a partir de meados do século passado, 2- ao pensamento social americano do início deste século, 3- as concepções do movimento trabalhista tendo em vista a redução da jornada de trabalho ocorrida entre o final do século passado e meados deste século. Não seria exagerado afirmar que, guardadas as devidas proporções, o surgimento do esporte no Brasil, fenômeno que se verificaria no final do século XIX, se explicaria também a partir deste argumento relativo ao contato de diferentes civilizações.

Do brinquedo, do jogo ao lazer e esporte modernos um longo processo ocorreu, para melhor entendê-lo torna-se necessário compreender as formas pelas quais os homens viveram seus múltiplos tempos, em especial o tempo de trabalho e o tempo de não trabalho. Mais do que isso, torna-se necessário entender como e quando os homens passaram a separar, no seu cotidiano estes diferentes tempos. Vale alertar que essa "transição" é relativa, de um lado tanto o brinquedo e as brincadeiras

<sup>2</sup>- Seu livro clássico foi traduzido para o português com o título *Homo Ludens: o jogo como elemento da cultura*; tradução de João Paulo Monteiro, São Paulo, Editora Perspectiva, 1980, 2ed.

<sup>3</sup>- Gilles Pronovost, professor da Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières no Canadá, proferiu uma conferência de abertura por ocasião da V Encontro Nacional de Recreação e Lazer realizado no SESC em Bertoga, em 19 de outubro de 1993, nesta conferência não publicada sobre *Lazer, Cultura e Sociedade*, o autor formulou as idéias nas quais estou me baseando. Cabe registrar o agradecimento ao Prof. Pronovost por ter cedido uma cópia de sua conferência. Entre os trabalhos publicados do autor ver *Temps, culture et société*, Québec, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1983.

<sup>4</sup>- Joffre Dumazedier é, no Brasil, um dos mais influentes autores sobre o lazer, dentre seus livros destacam-se *Sociologia Empírica do Lazer*. São Paulo, Editora Perspectiva, 1979. Este livro foi primeiramente editado na França em 1974; podem ser encontrados inúmeros textos do autor em português, fruto de trabalhos desenvolvidos no SESC.

continuam existindo em sua especificidade, como também o jogo; de outro lado formas relacionadas a indústria do turismo e do entretenimento, colocam dimensões novas e peculiares ao lazer de nossos dias.

O tempo é uma dimensão fundamental que articula nossos sistemas físicos, sociais e biológicos. Diferentes culturas vivenciam diferentes formas de marcar e considerar o tempo; do mesmo modo, historicamente tem variado a duração de tempo necessário para a execução de tarefas similares.

Mede-se o tempo em suas múltiplas facetas, o relógio universaliza e uniformiza o controle e a medição do tempo, o calendário, senhor do macro tempo, torna-se emblema do poder, é o organizador do quadro temporal, organizador da vida pública e cotidiana, tem uma história na qual se constitui como objeto social. No calendário, os detentores do poder intervêm a nível social. Tanto na instituição como na reforma de um calendário intervêm - a par de questões técnicas, das quais os astrônomos cuidam com seus conhecimentos específicos - aspectos relevantes de natureza política e religiosa. Atuam neste processo um conjunto de relações sociais muito importantes: ritmo do trabalho, tempo livre, festividades, eventos esportivos; sem dizer que o calendário facilita a manipulação de dois elementos essenciais ao poder, os impostos e os processos eleitorais. É importante reter, no desenvolvimento deste argumento que uma das funções fundamentais do calendário esta em articular os tempos de trabalho e de não trabalho, ou ainda, articular o tempo linear - regular do trabalho com o tempo cíclico da festa, do jogo e, do mesmo modo, do esporte. Faltaria, para manter a fidelidade ao pensamento de Jacques Le Goff<sup>5</sup>, rompida apenas na inserção dos objetos de estudo propostos, concluir que, para ele o calendário seria o resultado complexo de um diálogo entre a natureza e o homem; diálogo este não estranho ao lazer, ao esporte e ao jogo.

Não é difícil, a partir deste percurso bibliográfico, estabelecer algumas conexões entre o tempo, o esporte e o lazer. É no interior destas relações que nos deteremos agora, para indicar e aprofundar algumas possibilidades teóricas no enfoque de ações motrizes que se efetivam a partir de parcerias, antagonismos, parcerias e antagonismos, bem como do contato com o meio ambiente, quer seja doméstico quer seja selvagem, pleno de novas informações e inesperadas alternativas, tal como as ondas do mar<sup>6</sup>.

Vejamos então alguns ângulos possíveis de análise, a partir da relação entre a forma pela qual o tempo é percebido, e vivido, e a possibilidade de se construir uma História dos esportes e do lazer no Brasil.

As atividades lúdicas, ou de luta corporal que se estabelecem na antiguidade, são todas elas dimensionadas pelo que estamos convencionando chamar de ritmo natural, são basicamente articuladas a festas agrícolas, ou religiosas. A dimensão assumida pela ação motriz humana nestas atividades, tem no ritmo corporal sua amplitude. Ainda que pudéssemos falar das lutas e mesmo das batalhas, onde

<sup>5</sup> -Este trecho é baseado em Jacques Le Goff *História e Memória*, Campinas, Editora da Unicamp, 1992. Ver especialmente o capítulo *O Calendário*, pp. 485-535.

<sup>6</sup> -Esta referência pode ser melhor desenvolvida a partir do texto de Pierre Parlebas *Contribution à un Lexique commenté en Science de l'Action Motrice*, Publications I.N.S.E.P., Paris, 1981. As proposições centrais deste trabalho, que se referem a possibilidade de classificar todas as ações motrizes, tendo em vista as relações indicadas no texto, podem ser encontradas em uma conferência do autor, publicada, ver: P. Parlebas *Perspectivas para uma educação física moderna*, Espanha, Unisport Andalucía, Junta de Andalucía, 1987.

evidentemente um maior adestramento se impõe na preservação da própria vida, é a dimensão motriz do oponente a referência para compreender a ação motriz do opositor; ainda que contraditórios no limite, como nas lutas entre gladiadores, o ser humano definia seu próprio ritmo. Evidente que tanto com os exércitos quanto com gladiadores, o treinamento tinha um papel significativo. Não obstante, nunca é demais repetir, o processo de construção da habilidade motriz específica, definia-se no âmbito da capacidade muscular humana. Weber<sup>7</sup> estabelece com propriedade as relações entre a disciplina para a guerra e a técnica bélica. A introdução do cavalo no oriente próximo e médio, bem como o início do predomínio do ferro no armamento tiveram papéis decisivos. O cavalo trouxe o carro de guerra e o "herói".

"Foi a disciplina, e não a pólvora, que iniciou a transformação...A disciplina do exército deu origem a toda a disciplina...Nenhuma prova especial é necessária para mostrar que a disciplina militar é o modelo ideal para a moderna fábrica capitalista, tal como o foi para a plantação antiga. Em contraste com esta, a disciplina orgânica na fábrica estrutura-se em bases completamente racionais. Com a ajuda de métodos de mensuração adequados, a lucratividade ótima do trabalhador individual é calculada como a de qualquer meio material de produção" (pp.206-301).

Mesmo com um modelo de análise distinto, Weber estabelece as bases para se pensar historicamente a ação motriz, da mesma maneira como vínhamos argumentando, a partir de referências bibliográficas distintas. Não há dúvida sobre a disciplina militar e a necessidade vital de superar seu oponente, como componentes decisivos nas performances de gladiadores, samurais, cavaleiros medievais. Contudo, estas performances, articulavam-se na medida em que o processo disciplinarizador, imbricado em suas organizações sociais, o permitiam. O significado da luta é a própria vida, e freqüentemente a morte, não a competição esportiva.

Novas relações sociais e uma nova sociedade alteraram significativamente as máquinas e a medição do tempo. A máquina e o relógio transformam o universo das ações motoras, os homens não mais definem seu potencial e habilidade muscular. Instrumentos externos são introduzidos no sentido de avaliar mais racionalmente, ou mais produtivamente, a atividade física do trabalhador. Esta aí a chave para compreendermos a constituição dos esportes modernos. Não se trata de dizer que os jogos se esportivizaram e deixaram de existir; os jogos, tanto como comunidades indígenas primitivas, continuam existindo e se reproduzindo. O que se está argumentando é que com a existência de mecanismos externos de controle, e de treinamento muscular, se tornou possível tanto a invenção de modalidades esportivas, quanto a esportivização de jogos já existentes. Não é admissível, desta maneira, pensar a História do Esporte no Brasil, a partir das atividades motrizes componentes do cotidiano indígena<sup>8</sup>. O remar e o pescar, bem como o uso do arco e flecha, estão determinados por ritmos musculares autônomos. Os remadores olímpicos de hoje, pelo contrário tem seu treinamento planejado a partir de ritmos cronométricos. A História do esporte, lazer e Educação Física no Brasil, a par das questões teóricas apontadas, implica ainda um processo de colonização, no qual valores e atitudes foram aqui estruturadas, tendo em vista, em muitos casos a iniciativa de colonizadores, e mais freqüentemente de imigrantes, ou seja, os padrões, e os processos que permearam a introdução do cricket na Índia ou no Paquistão, diferem dos processos históricos de introdução do futebol ou do judô

<sup>7</sup> -Max Weber, *Ensaio de Sociologia*, pp. 206-301.

<sup>8</sup> -Esta postura é ainda muito comum entre os professores da disciplina de História da Educação Física no Brasil, isto porque toda uma historiografia mais tradicional tem proposto a questão desta maneira, onde o aspecto formal da ação motriz é tomado por modalidade esportiva, sem considerar os processos mais complexos que levaram a esportivização de atividades já existentes. Esta postura fundamenta-se em Inezil Penna Marinho *História da Educação Física e esportes no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, DEF-MES, 1952-1953, 4vol.

no Brasil. Existe um História que explica a esportivização de jogos e práticas corporais, existe uma outra História no que se refere a localização dessas práticas em espaços culturais e socio-econômicos distintos.

A marcação do tempo, seu controle, sua evidência presente, determinaram um momento bastante significativo na História dos Esportes. Não estamos ainda falando do tempo da televisão; trata-se do tempo controlado pelo árbitro, trata-se do tempo que delimita as fronteiras entre o mundo lúdico do esportista, espectador, torcedor, amador, e o tempo do mundo do trabalho do atleta profissional.

Obviamente, o jogo sempre foi possível sem o controle do tempo (mesmo alguns esportes marcam seu tempo contando pontos). Não obstante, o tempo do jogo quando esportivizado é um tempo característico: o tempo na condução dos modernos métodos de treinamento é fundamental para a obtenção de performances televisivas. O tempo cronométrico sendo para o esporte fator fundamental no controle da performance, define uma concepção de tempo similar, ou igual, ao tempo da produção. Parece legítimo afirmar que o tempo do atleta profissional é, como o tempo do trabalhador, um tempo marcado por um ritmo não natural, no sentido de não se referir a um conjunto de tarefas articuladas pelo cotidiano. Mais ainda, é um tempo marcado pelo artificialismo, senão de esteiras industriais, mas de máquinas de lançar bolas, de esteiras computadorizadas, e outras inovações tecnológicas para permitir melhor aproveitamento do potencial genético e do treinamento. Treinar forte, mais do que buscar a adequação dos gestos técnicos e da abordagem tática é também um processo de construção de novas possibilidades de tempo para o movimento humano. Existem jogadas em inúmeros tempos, só realizáveis a partir de treinamento adequado.

Por outro lado, o tempo de jogo, interrompido pelo intervalo e ao seu final, demarca claramente o tempo no qual os atletas apresentam suas performances, criando gestos e ritmos mais eficientes para sobrepor-se aos obstáculos previstos, ou mesmo construídos pelos adversários. É importante reter que, diferente de um processo de produção fabril, onde os "obstáculos" são previsíveis, tal qual na área de prestação de serviços, nos esportes coletivos, os adversários podem criar novos surpreendentes obstáculos para interpor-se à ação motriz do atacante.

Para concluir estas reflexões no sentido de perceber as dimensões do tempo enquanto referências para pensarmos as ações motrizes, falta retomar a dimensão social do tempo: o tempo disponível. Ao propormos o tempo disponível como um conceito, que nos permite entender existência de um tempo socialmente construído, que é excedente ao tempo de trabalho necessário para a produção, tempo este crescente em relação à aceleração do desenvolvimento técnico e científico, estamos propondo pensar o esporte, e todas as possibilidades de espetáculos, enquanto um componente estrutural na lógica do mercado. Neste caso, trata-se de um mercado onde o consumo se define pelo tempo socialmente disponível, preponderantemente comercializado pela mídia, no atual nível de desenvolvimento tecnológico, já apontando contudo para outras possibilidades interativas e virtuais.

Acompanhamos o raciocínio que nos conduziu à primeira transição na ação motora do homem, do natural, do jogo para o esporte, para o ritmo cronométrico. Agora, o fenômeno se localiza na apropriação do tempo socialmente disponível, trata-se de aproveitar a existência tanto deste tempo, como de um enorme contingente de praticantes amadores, para construir um mercado voltado para

grandes públicos com grande potencial de consumo de imagens espetaculares, imagens, ou gestos, que de resto articulam-se com os gestos do dia a dia, integrantes do mundo do trabalho.

Observemos atentamente os componentes de um jogo de basquetebol da NBA. De um lado temos um calendário que submete jogadores, público, dirigentes e árbitros; calendário crescentemente controlado pela mídia. Não está longe o tempo das proibições de televisionamento direto dos jogos de futebol; está muito próximo o tempo dos jogos de futebol ao meio-dia para possibilitar uma audiência maior. No interior do jogo temos um controle milésimal do tempo no qual a performance, da equipe e dos jogadores, é aferida. Súmulas e "escaltes", avaliam diferentes níveis de produtividade atlética, presença de público, audiência, etc. etc. e mais alguma coisa, tudo isso apropriado por um sistema de produção de imagens comercializadas em um tempo disponível crescente.

Enquanto referência teórica para possibilitar uma abordagem histórica do esporte, do lazer e da Educação Física, o tempo é mais do que um componente de análise; é um conceito que deve ser necessariamente trabalhado, no sentido de permitir a explicitação do que entendemos por esporte e lazer. Esta afirmação, para as histórias dos povos colonizados, oferece um grau de dificuldade mais acentuado. Muitas modalidades esportivas foram, de fato, introduzidas, ou por colonizadores, ou por imigrantes europeus. Isto equivale a dizer que, além da atenção que deve ser dada ao processo cultural e econômico que envolve as múltiplas formas de viver o tempo, bem como as questões relativas a universalização das medidas de tempo, temos que atentar para os aspectos específicos de nossa formação social<sup>9</sup>, e um destes aspectos é também a exposição permanente que tivemos a diferentes influências culturais.

Os conceitos de tempo livre, lazer, ócio e diversão tem significados diferentes para o europeu, os indígenas, escravos negros e homens livres. Como compreender esta multiplicidade de visões? Com a descoberta do Brasil em 1500, na conhecida carta de Caminha<sup>10</sup>, encontramos duas passagens interessantes referindo-se a este tema:

"...E além do rio andavam muitos deles dançando e folgando, uns diante os outros, sem se tomarem pelas mãos. E faziam-no bem. Passou-se então para a outra banda do rio Diogo Dias, que fôra alcazar de Sacavém, o qual é homem gracioso e de prazer. E levou consigo um gaiteiro nosso com sua gaita. E meteu-se a dançar com eles, tomando-os pelas mãos; e eles folgavam e riem e andavam com êle muito bem ao som da gaita. Depois de dançarem fêz-lhes ali muitas voltas ligeiras, andando no chão, e salto real, de que se eles espantavam e riem e folgavam muito. E conquanto com aquilo os seguros e afaço muito, tomavam logo uma esquivada como de animais montezes, e foram-se para cima...."

"...Bastará (isso para vossa alteza ver) que até aqui, como quer que se lhes em alguma parte amansassem, logo de uma mão para outra se esquivavam, como pardais (com medo) do cevadouro. Ninguém não lhes ousa falar de rijo para não se esquivarem mais. E tudo se passa como eles querem - para os bem amansarmos!" (p.49)

"...Nesse dia, enquanto ali andavam, dançaram e bailaram sempre com os nossos, ao som de um tamboril nosso, como se fossemos mais amigos nossos do que nós seus. Se lhes a gente acenava, se queriam vir às naus, aprontavam-se logo para isso, de modo tal, que se os convidáramos a todos, todos vieram. Porém não levamos esta noite às naus senão quatro ou cinco..... Os que o Capitão trazia, era um deles

<sup>9</sup> Ver a respeito desta questão a conferência de abertura do V Encontro Nacional de Recreação e Lazer, de Gilles Pronovost. Para uma orientação e introdução sobre jogos tradicionais na América do Sul, ver: Veerle van Mele e Roland Renson *Traditional Games in South America* (Sports Science Studies, Vol. 4) Alemanha, ICSSPE/UNESCO, 1992.

<sup>10</sup> Refiro-me aqui a *Carta a El Rei D. Manuel de Pero Vaz de Caminha*. Para uma consulta em português moderno, com divisão de tópicos, glossário e índice remissivo pode ser utilizada a edição preparada por Leonardo Arroyo. São Paulo, Editora Dominus, 1963

um dos seus hóspedes que lhe haviam trazido a primeira vez quando aqui chegamos - o qual vejo hoje aqui vestido na sua camisa, e com ele um seu irmão; e foram esta noite mui bem agasalhados tanto de comida como de cama, de coleções e lençóis, para os mais amansar." (p. 61)

Estes dois trechos da carta de Caminha, tem inúmeras referências que introduzem questões relativas ao tempo dos homens, especialmente dos homens de diferentes culturas. Inicialmente temos a descrição de uma festa, interrompida pela 'esquiveza' dos nativos; posteriormente, dois parágrafos abaixo, após descrever a caminhada do capitão 'com todos nós', passando pelo rio, Caminha conclui, referindo-se duas vezes, no mesmo parágrafo, ao verbo amansar.

No primeiro trecho, os portugueses e os índios, embora participassem das mesmas atividades relatadas, não tem uma mesma percepção do que está ocorrendo, a participação dos portugueses na dança, não obstante a alegria dos índios, aponta para uma 'esquiveza' não compatível com o clima descrito. Esta 'esquiveza' relaciona-se ao medo (como pardais) 'do cevadouro'. A conclusão, acompanhada do sinal de exclamação, não deixa dúvidas sobre o caráter premeditado e utilitário da ação tal como foi vista pelos portugueses. A expressão 'para os bem amansarmos!' é inequívoca.

Esta argumentação torna-se mais explícita na citação seguinte, que se refere à noite passada pelos nativos nas naus. Amansar torna-se então um conceito capaz de, senão explicar, ao menos identificar um forte componente do comportamento dos portugueses, em situações vividas nos contatos com os índios brasileiros. Notemos que estas situações estão permeadas por atividades objetivamente vinculadas ao prazer, para não dizer lazer, enfocados na perspectiva de sobrepor a vontade e a dimensão dos contatos posteriores.

Seria o utilitarismo, tanto quanto o uso 'ideológico' do lazer um mecanismo de dominação política mais antigo do que imaginamos? Não estamos aqui falando dos circos romanos, estamos falando de uma comunidade primitiva em contato com uma população cristã, européia e civilizada. O que significa amansar?

Caminha teria avaliado melhor estes episódios, se soubesse que, para os índios, a música e o canto não se separavam da dança. Segundo Cardim<sup>11</sup>: "e assim bailão cantando juntamente, porque não fazem uma cousa sem outra". Na mesma direção, temos a descrição do capuchinho Claude D'Abbeville: "Para danças usam apenas a cantoria. Seu instrumento é somente a voz... Para observar a cadência e marcar o compasso, usam um instrumento ou chocalho chamado maracá"<sup>12</sup>. Estas anotações, permitem, com razoável margem de certeza, afirmar que os indígenas viam o episódio descrito por Caminha a partir de suas experiências cotidianas, sem premeditar a direção futura dos contatos com os portugueses. Mais ainda, são inúmeros os documentos de jesuítas, destacando o encantamento e a magia da música em relação aos índios:

<sup>6</sup>...assim que os primeiros padres perceberam a possibilidade de se poder cativar este povo bárbaro pelas harmonias do canto, e que a maior parte deles ficava como que embevecida.

<sup>11</sup> - Fernão Cardim nasceu em 1540, tendo vivido até 1625. Viajou pelo Brasil como visitador da Cia de Jesus de 1583 a 1590, tendo então escrito seu *Tratado da terra e gente do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1925. Para um tratamento mais sistemático sobre a atuação jesuíta na educação indígena, ver: Fátima Maria Neves *Educação Jesuítica no Brasil Colônia: a coerência da forma e do conteúdo*. Tese de Mestrado, Universidade Metodista de Piracicaba, 1993.

<sup>12</sup> Claude de Abbeville, viveu no Maranhão nos primeiros anos do século XVII, tendo falecido em 1632 escreveu *História da missão dos padres capuchinhos na Ilha do Maranhão*. Belo Horizonte, Ed. Itatiaia, São Paulo, EDUSP, 1975.

convencionaram entre si que haviam de condescender à inclinação natural dos bugres, isto é, haviam de arrebanha-los no grêmio da Santa Madre Igreja, haviam de reuni-los em Reduções e os haviam de amansar pouco a pouco por meio da música."<sup>13</sup>

Certamente os portugueses da esquadra de Cabral, descobridores da terra, não poderiam ter a argúcia dos jesuítas para compreender mais amplamente o fenômeno da dança e da música para os indígenas; não obstante, fica evidente a existência de percepções diferentes na forma de viver os episódios relatados. De um lado viver com os valores do cotidiano, no seu próprio ritmo, ainda que com participação externa. De outro lado **amansar**. Para Caminha o sentido embora vago, implica necessariamente uma visão utilitária, com objetivos definidos que situam-se entre tornar-se amigo, manso, dependente, subordinado. Para os jesuítas, amansar seria torná-los membros do rebanho. Sem dúvida a percepção utilitária da dança e do canto estão presentes em ambos os casos.

Como evoluem estas concepções? Como situar, nos séculos XVIII e XIX, face a presença de escravos oriundos da África, e posteriormente dos imigrantes europeus, esta mesma questão de viver um tempo de 'diversão'?

Os traços gerais da colonização e ocupação do território podem sintetizar-se da seguinte maneira, em 1822, quando o Brasil tornou-se independente, a população estava perto de quatro milhões de pessoas, um terço das quais eram escravos. Se nossas fronteiras não eram as atuais, muito pouco território tendo em vista a dimensão continental do país, foi posteriormente incorporado, como no caso do Acre e das fronteiras meridionais. Em 1888, quando a escravidão foi abolida, a população do país estava beirando os catorze milhões de habitantes. O crescimento populacional foi irregular, particularmente porque houve, nos finais da escravidão, migrações internas de escravos face ao já não mais existente tráfico africano; além dessa movimentação interna da população em direção às plantações de café do sudeste, um formidável processo migratório proveniente da Europa concentrou-se, também no sudeste e no sul.

A escravidão "simplificou" a questão do trabalho no Brasil. Não havia o que discutir; a lógica do sistema era o trabalho compulsório. Evidentemente, não se coloca a questão do lazer e do esporte nesse contexto. Esporadicamente, espetáculos acrobáticos e circenses ocupavam, como o teatro e os serões algum espaço na vida das pessoas; nada contudo que implicasse na existência de uma organização temporal diferenciada, ao nível do cotidiano e das tarefas às quais as pessoas se entregavam. Evidente que os setores de mais alta renda, poderiam, se desejassem, encontrar situações e oportunidades de lazer.

Até meados do século passado, referências a atividades ludoesportivas, limitavam-se ao nível do brincar infantil, do caçar e pescar. Nestes casos, face a dificuldades técnicas de conservação e de existência de variedade alimentar, tais atividades poderiam ser atribuídas mais a busca de derivativos alimentares; o que no caso das populações mais pobres implicou sempre em mecanismos de subsistência retratados na imprensa periódica de inúmeras localidades<sup>14</sup>. A questão essencial é que, ao

<sup>13</sup> - Anton Sepp (1655 - 1733) *Viagem às Missões Jesuíticas e trabalhos apostólicos*. Tradução A. Raymundo Schneider. Belo Horizonte, Itatiaia; São Paulo, EDUSP, Brasília, N 117, 1971.

<sup>14</sup> Esta referência é feita a partir de exaustiva pesquisa realizada na imprensa periódica de Campinas, especialmente nos jornais *A gazeta de Campinas* e o *Constitucional*, tal pesquisa foi levada a cabo tendo em vista o trabalho *Campinas 1869-1975: Republicanismo, Imprensa e Sociedade*, Tese de Mestrado, Departamento de História, Universidade de São Paulo, 1975.

propormos essa temática, na dimensão das ações motrizes<sup>15</sup>, estamos pensando em uma História que se constrói tendo por centro de análise não apenas o tempo de trabalho, mas também o tempo de não trabalho.

Nas regiões sul e sudeste, onde houve aumento real do número de escravos, houve também o maior índice de crescimento da população livre, através da imigração européia. O censo de 1890 demonstrou que 22% dos 1.200.000 habitantes de São Paulo era constituída de pessoas nascidas no exterior. Estas informações sobre o Brasil na segunda metade do século XIX, do ponto de vista do nosso tema, permitem algumas conclusões importantes. Excluindo-se algumas capitais, as regiões norte, nordeste e centro oeste mantiveram-se a margem desta onda de crescimento econômico e populacional, com menos escravos, pouquíssimos, ou nenhum imigrante europeu. Neste caso, é possível admitir ainda que hipoteticamente, que seu cotidiano, implicando aqui no folclore, nos hábitos de vida, no uso do tempo, mantiveram-se menos tencionados por processos de interação cultural do que os verificados nas outras regiões. Um relato sobre o nordeste de viajante do século XIX pode evidenciar este fato, e marcar um polo de contraste com o que viria a ocorrer no sudeste.

"'Feriados' no entender de muitos naturais do país são aqueles aos quais todos os outros dias estão subordinados. É pelo tempo das festas que a natureza produz as mais saborosas frutas e as mais lindas flores. Velhos e moços aguardam as festas com viva ansiedade. humildes e abastados gastam, então, livremente. Os ricos estadeiam sua opulência e os pobres chegam, às vezes, a vender seu último escravo - que aí se considera o mais indispensável de todos os haveres- para comprar roupa nova, adornos e doces para as festas. Conquanto tais festas ocorram, freqüentemente em meio do ano, as do Natal são as mais animadas, sendo que por essa época todas as atividades se paralisam por várias semanas. A coincidência dos feriados de Natal com o auge da estação cálida satisfaz tanto aos brasileiros, quanto os naturais do hemisfério setentrional se agradam em tê-los justamente nos dias curtos do ano, passando-os junto à lareira ou entregando-se aos esportes de inverno. No Brasil, ao contrário, tudo na natureza parece convidar à inatividade e ao descanso. O povo aproveita, então, a oportunidade para fazer passeios e excursões ao campo."<sup>16</sup>

As regiões sul e sudeste foram abruptamente 'invadidas' por populações de diferentes culturas; o elo unificador deste processo foi a expansão da fronteira agrária, com a criação de novas cidades no interior, bem como uma evidente necessidade de lidar com as questões postas pela organização do mercado de trabalho, acesso a posse da terra e controle social desta população em crescimento acelerado. Vejamos algumas evidências que, neste caso, além do controle da disciplina do trabalho, implicam estas condições históricas, também no controle do lazer das populações trabalhadoras.

20 - Quem permitir em sua casa reunião para dança, batuque ou jogos em que entrem escravos sem licença de seus senhores, será punido...<sup>17</sup>

Trata-se de um exemplo entre inúmeros, bastante comuns em todos os municípios da então Província de São Paulo. Existem evidências de que essas posturas são interpenetradas por tensões que

<sup>15</sup> - Entendemos por ações motrizes os aspectos objetivos e subjetivos da atividade motora, freqüentemente chamada atividade física. Para uma abordagem específica do tema, ver: Parlebas, Pierre - *Contribution a un lexique commenté en science de l'action motrice*. Paris, Publication I.N.S.E.P., 1981.

<sup>16</sup> - Daniel Parish Kidder nasceu em 18 de outubro de 1815, em Darien no estado de New York. Por conta de suas atividades religiosas, veio ao Brasil difundir a Bíblia. De volta aos Estados Unidos escreveu as *Reminiscências de Viagens e Permanências no Brasil*, São Paulo, Martins, Ed. da Universidade de São Paulo, 1972, 2vol. Usaremos, para contrastar com os trechos anteriores, o segundo volume que se refere às Províncias do Norte, p.81.

<sup>17</sup> Coleção de Leis da Província de São Paulo (C.L.P.S.P.). Posturas Municipais de Pirassununga m(São Paulo, 1866, p. 90).

denotam alguma resistência das populações mais pobres. No caso de Campinas<sup>18</sup>, por exemplo, um dos jornais locais, em dois números consecutivos explicitam essa tensão. No primeiro número<sup>19</sup>, alguns fazendeiros pediram ao redator do jornal que fizesse "ver a polícia o inconveniente de se permitirem as chamadas congadas dos pretos". No número seguinte do jornal temos a resposta dos membros da Sociedade Cayapó, se contrapondo e esclarecendo suas atividades.

Com relação ao lazer das populações mais pobres e escravizadas que viviam no Brasil do século XIX, onde temos a proibição doméstica de danças, batuques ou jogos quando neles participassem escravos, é possível dizer que o direito de propriedade (do imóvel) tem um limite claramente delimitado pela presença ou não de escravos. Certamente que, na casa de algum fazendeiro, seria possível sempre a cantoria, o batuque ou qualquer outra forma de lazer, ainda que nestes casos o escravo participasse. É bastante clara a afirmação das posturas, a posse do escravo é sem dúvida precedente sobre a propriedade de um imóvel.

No segundo exemplo verifica-se, a par de uma evidente formulação preconceituosa em relação "as chamadas congadas dos pretos", que mesmo cidadãos livres pretos, tem suas alternativas de lazer delimitadas pela polícia, que é chamada a intervir, tanto quanto pelo julgamento genérico do que possa ser inconveniência ou não. De fato estas manifestações<sup>20</sup> indicam também que torna-se bastante problemático o controle das populações mais pobres, isto porque a observância de uma norma legal passa, explicitamente pelo julgamento de consciência de um homem comum, dono do bar, botequim ou armazém de secos e molhados que pode ou não vender uma dose de pinga no canto do balcão.

As atividades onde melhor se observa esse processo de resistência são justamente aquelas articuladas ao lazer, tais como a música e a dança; nestes casos as proibições eram colocadas da seguinte forma:

'Art. 29- Toda pessoa que na casa de sua moradia consentir ajuntamentos para danças ou batuques em que entrem escravos, será multada em 15\$000 e punida com 3 dias de prisão.'<sup>21</sup>

'Art. 41 - Ficam os escravos proibidos de fazer batuques dentro da vila. Os infratores sofrerão um dia de prisão.'<sup>22</sup>

Não se deve argumentar que essas proibições visavam apenas impedir que o escravo perdesse a concentração do trabalho. Para esses casos haviam posturas específicas que previam multas e até mesmo prisão para as pessoas que permitissem ou induzissem o escravo a alguma atividade que o distraísse do trabalho. Algumas vilas articulavam a esse tópico, os outros referentes à dança e à música, estes colocados dentro do capítulo "sobre obscenidades contra a moral pública"<sup>23</sup>; tal colocação caracteriza a natureza do "delito". É possível admitir que o lazer das populações pobres

<sup>18</sup> Este trecho do artigo, especialmente nas referências ao caso de Campinas, foi detalhadamente estudado em minha dissertação de mestrado *Campinas, 1869-1875: Republicanismo, Imprensa e Sociedade*, apresentado junto ao Departamento de História da Universidade de São Paulo em 1975.

<sup>19</sup> *Gazeta de Campinas*. Campinas, 22 de dezembro de 1870, no. 116. A Coleção completa deste jornal, cujo fundação data de 1869 encontra-se na Biblioteca do Centro de Ciências Letras e Artes de Campinas.

<sup>20</sup> - Para outros exemplos relativos as Posturas Municipais, ver A. Gebara *Escravidão: Fugas e Controle Social in Revista de Estudos Econômicos*, São Paulo V. 18, N° Especial, p.103-146, 1988.

<sup>21</sup> - C.L.P.S.P. - P. M. de Mogi das Cruzes, São Paulo, 1862.

<sup>22</sup> - C.L.P.S.P. - P. M. de Iadaiatuba, São Paulo, 1863.

<sup>23</sup> - C.L.P.S.P. - P. M. de Sorocaba, São Paulo, 1865, p. 117.

poderia tornar-se delituoso pelo simples fato de existir. Tais fenômenos, embora integrados pela lógica do mundo do trabalho, não podem ser compreendidos apenas nesta ótica.

Leis como as que estamos apresentando interferem no interior da residência de pessoas livres, sendo sua operacionalidade diretamente vinculada à vigilância da comunidade; em última análise pode-se afirmar que, no interior das residências, o executor da lei é o proprietário da casa. Nessa medida, a não aplicação da lei implica na penalização do proprietário, não do escravo.

Os casos distintos da legislação, nesses aspectos, permitem depreender que houve, senão impossibilidade, pelo menos um tipo de resistência baseada na dissimulação, no acobertamento, que tornou impraticável a manutenção dessas proibições. Vejamos algumas evidências para melhor ilustrar essa situação:

'Art. 230 - É proibido, depois do toque de recolher, a assistência de escravos em funções de danças, qualquer que ela seja, sob as penas já estabelecidas neste código'

'Art. 231 - Os moradores das casas onde se derem tais bailes ou funções frequentadas por escravos, depois daquela hora, sofrerão a multa de 30\$ e 8 dias de prisão'<sup>24</sup>

'Art. 199 - Ficam proibidos dentro da cidade e chácaras próximas a cidade, batuques, cantorias e danças de pretos ou escravos que possam incomodar a vizinhança e o público. Multa 20\$000'<sup>25</sup>

'Art. 46 - São proibidos na cidade os bailes (de qualquer natureza) de pretos, salvo com licença da autoridade policial: multa 10\$ e 3 dias de prisão.'<sup>26</sup>

No primeiro exemplo, o limite da permissão vai até o horário estipulado; nos outros dois, a referência passa de escravos para pretos, ao mesmo tempo que assume a existência de autorização prévia. O uso do termo genérico 'preto' ao invés de escravo, supõe, de um lado que o processo de controle da mão de obra está sendo mais liberal, e de outro está também ampliando seu raio de ação na direção da população livre. Não é de todo improvável que o livre pobre possa ser também, neste caso, objeto de controle mais estrito. Um outro exemplo significativo, demonstra formas rudimentares de mercantilização do tempo de lazer dos escravos e da população livre:

'Art. 67 - São proibidas as cantorias e danças de pretos, se não pagarem os chefes de tais divertimentos o imposto de 10\$, se em tais reuniões consentir a polícia'<sup>27</sup>

A explicação dessas proibições vai desde o controle do contato entre escravos, e pôr extensão entre estes e a população livre, passando pelo controle da mobilidade do escravo, como se justificava com mais frequência, para garantir a produtividade do trabalho no dia seguinte. De qualquer maneira, esta referência na qual a taxa de "tais divertimentos", explicitamente colocada como impostos, denota que dentre as múltiplas formas de articular o controle sobre o tempo de lazer de um escravo e/ou preto, impõe-se parâmetros não exclusivamente vinculados ao tempo de trabalho. Esta afirmação pode ser melhor substantiada se lembrarmos o elevado número de Posturas Municipais que proíbem a circulação nos limites das cidades de pessoas sujas e mal vestidas.

O que acontecia fora das áreas urbanas sob controle? De acordo com George L. Hunt, um cônsul britânico com larga experiência no Brasil, onde viveu desde 1862, em depoimento de 1876 a Comissão Real de Escravos foragidos de Londres ocorria o seguinte:

<sup>24</sup> - C.L.P.S.P. - P.M. São Paulo, São Paulo, 1875, p. 119.

<sup>25</sup> - C.L.P.S.P. - P.M. Campinas, São Paulo, 1876, p. 88.

<sup>26</sup> - C.L.P.S.P. - P.M. de Amparo, São Paulo, 1883, p. 265.

<sup>27</sup> - C.L.P.S.P. - P.M. de Itapetininga, São Paulo, 1883, p. 210.

"...ele não tem uma concepção de liberdade mais correta do que isso, ele ocuparia um pedaço de terra, cultivaria algumas bananas, pescaria nos rios, e pouco mais do que isso. Um escravo livre não é útil para coisa alguma parecida com trabalho sistemático."<sup>28</sup>

Este depoimento mostra claramente a conexão entre o controle da mão de obra e a questão do meio ambiente, exuberante no caso brasileiro. É muito importante notar que no século passado, quando a organização do mercado de trabalho ocorria, o maior problema era conseguir uma transição da escravidão para o trabalho livre, pacífica e consensual, no sentido de evitar a desorganização da produção, bem como de introduzir uma conduta ética no trabalhador, compatível com os valores empresariais. Para atingir este objetivo, em um país com uma enorme, e aberta fronteira agrícola, sem falar na abundância permanente de terras e rios, a população precisava ser não apenas confinada dentro da área ocupada, sem acesso às terras virgens e inexploradas, mas também contida "em seu devido lugar" nas áreas urbanas sob controle das elites locais. Eis aí a razão do controle do lazer estar intimamente ligado ao controle do trabalhador, tanto no uso de seu tempo, quanto na sua mobilidade espacial.

Um outro conjunto de documentos, os relatos de viajantes que estiveram no Brasil em fins do século XVIII e inícios do século XIX agrega novos elementos à discussão. Iniciemos por Vilhena<sup>29</sup>, que nos oferece a vantagem adicional de já ter sido referenciado e trabalhado em relação ao tema<sup>30</sup>:

"...É digno de reflexão que sendo tal a natureza e propriedade desta Região seja ela a morada da pobreza, o berço da preguiça, o teatro dos vícios... Para tudo, há terras e comodidades... e o que unicamente falta é a deliberação, a indústria e a vontade...."

Ao analisar este trecho de Vilhena, M.C. de S.Oliveira chama a atenção para a existência de inúmeros documentos de fins do século XVIII e início do século XIX apontando para a presença de 'vadios' e 'mendigos', na *Coleção de Leis do Brasil*<sup>31</sup> uma grande quantidade de leis e decretos se refere a repressão aos 'vadios'. Estes homens livres e desocupados, no dizer da autora, sempre apoiada em inúmeras evidências, preocupavam mais os senhores e o poder do que os escravos... "o cerne da questão estava, portanto, na autonomia com a qual lavradores, artífices e trabalhadores livres geriam o próprio tempo e força de trabalho." Vejamos textos de outros viajantes no sentido de corroborar o que esta sendo afirmado:

"Pareceu-me que em Sorocaba os homens eram mais adéptos dos jogos de baralho do que em qualquer outro lugar. Havia também ali um jogo de bola muito bem montado. Itú contava igualmente com um, sendo esses dois os primeiros que eu havia visto desde que chegara ao Brasil. É bem verdade que ninguém se dedicava a esses jogos quando eu me achava presente, mas não é de supor que tenham sido montados sem a finalidade prática. O simples fato de terem sido feitos prova que havia nessa região um pouco menos de indolência do que nas outras partes do Brasil que percorri. As pessoas muito preguiçosas só se mexem quando precisam trabalhar para a sua própria sobrevivência, e nunca se animam a fazer exercício apenas como diversão."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> - Accountant Reports, London Parliamentary Papers. General Correspondence and Reports, Brazil, 1876, LXV, p. 33.

<sup>29</sup> - Luis dos Santos Vilhena, era professor de grego, morador de Salvador seu livro *Recopilação de notícias soteropolitanas e brasílicas contidas em XX cartas* (1802). Bahia: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 1922, é um excelente relato dos hábitos e costumes brasileiros.

<sup>30</sup> - Trata-se do artigo de Cecília Helena L. de Salles Oliveira 'Imagens do Ócio na Construção da Disciplina de Trabalho' in *Revista Brasileira de Ciências do Esporte*, 12 (1,2,3) Setembro 1990.

<sup>31</sup> - *Coleção das Leis do Brasil* (1808-1824). Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1891.

<sup>32</sup> - Augustin François César Prouvençal de Saint-Hilaire nasceu em Orleans, em 1779, tendo falecido em 1853. Veio ao Brasil em 1816 com a missão de estudar a terra, ele era naturalista, ficou no país até 1822. Vamos utilizar dois de seus

Um aspecto muito interessante é o significado da passagem que finaliza o trecho citado: "...e nunca se animam a fazer exercício apenas como diversão." Certamente estamos diante de uma informação relevante, em Sorocaba e Itú "havia um pouco menos de indolência". O dado novo é Saint-Hilaire apresentar, em oposição a indolência o "exercício apenas como diversão". Outra passagem no segundo livro do autor, na página 89, justamente no início do Capítulo VI, quando ele se refere a semana da Páscoa em São Paulo, amplia estas observações:

"...Tinha muitas compras a fazer e trabalhosinhos a encomendar aos operários e ainda encontrei mais dificuldade do que na minha primeira viagem, por causa das festas de Páscoa de 1822 (7 de abril), pretexto que me era sempre invocado em resposta a qualquer pedido que eu fizesse. Estas festas para cá atraem grande número de pessoas do campo. Segui parte dos ofícios, e doue-me a falta de atenção dos fiéis. Ninguém se compenetra do espírito das festas, os homens mais distintos nelas tomam parte pela força do hábito e o povo como a um grande divertimento."

Já nesta outra citação de Saint-Hilaire, novos conceitos, e juízos emitidos, permitem outros questionamentos. Um grande divertimento é coisa tão séria e útil como o exercício apenas como diversão do texto anterior? Quais são as referências de um e de outro? No primeiro caso, o grande divertimento estava deformando uma participação adequado na festa religiosa; e no segundo caso o exercício estava ocupando o espaço da indolência. Qual a relação entre o tempo de trabalho e os múltiplos tempos, (ou seria apenas um tempo?) de não trabalho?

Nos contatos iniciais com os indígenas, amansar tem o significado de tornar dócil para os portugueses e membros do rebanho para os jesuítas. Quando se estabelece no país a lógica da escravidão, desenvolve-se um aparato legal (posturas municipais) para controlar a mobilidade e o tempo livre de escravos e/ou pretos; estas proibições referem-se também aos homens pobres, ainda que livres e proprietários, senão de dançar, ao menos de permitir, em sua propriedade (casa), que a propriedade de outro homem livre (o escravo) participe.

Já para os viajantes estrangeiros que aqui estiveram nos finais do século XVIII e inícios do século XIX, era evidente a preocupação com os cidadãos livres em relação ao controle de seu tempo de não trabalho. Em todos os casos, desde os primeiros contatos do Europeu com os habitantes da terra, percebemos nitidamente a existência de diferentes percepções relativas ao tempo vivido. O indígena, visto por portugueses ou pelos jesuítas, tinham em seu "lazer", uma atividade através da qual se possibilitaria a imposição de uma determinada visão de mundo e de uso do tempo, tratava-se de amansar. O escravo de origem africana, habitante e trabalhador compulsório do universo engendrado pelo processo civilizador europeu, tinha seu tempo livre delimitado por normas legais, e seu tempo de trabalho controlado pela imposição da vontade de seu dono.

Neste universo escravista, os viajantes europeus, antecipariam os mecanismos sociais de controle instaurados sobre o tempo de não trabalho dos homens livres. A preguiça necessita ser combatida; os jogos, antes mesmo do término da escravidão, são já apresentados como meio de combater a preguiça, fazer exercício como diversão é fundamental neste aspecto.

A afirmação de que a sociedade industrial disciplinou o trabalhador para viver o tempo das linhas de produção, em oposição ao tempo de ócio, deve ser mediatizada, na medida em que, a

inúmeros textos *Viagem à Província de São Paulo*, Editora Itatiaia, Belo Horizonte, 1976 e *Segunda Viagem do Rio de Janeiro a Minas Gerais e a São Paulo*, Editora Itatiaia, Belo Horizonte, 1974. O texto citado encontra-se no primeiro livro, p. 188.

disciplinarização do tempo de não trabalho parece ter sua própria história; sua lógica não pode ser encontrada em contraposição aos valores constituídos pela sociedade industrial e pelo tempo de trabalho.

## HISTORY AND LEISURE IN BRAZIL: A CIVILISING PROCESS

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Ancient civilisations had no concept of leisure or sports similar to what we are accustomed today. Games and toys are facts of life older than humankind itself, affirmed the Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga, author of *Homo Ludens*,<sup>33</sup> in 1964, "games are older than culture." After all, animals learned how to play long before humans taught them how.

According to Pronovost,<sup>34</sup> two prevailing views explain the genesis and the formation of modern leisure. The first, and probably the most popular view, emphasises the historical, social, and economic factors that contribute to leisure in diverse societies. For example, authors such as Dumazedier<sup>35</sup> refer to the "dynamic production of leisure"; that is, the scientific and technical progress that has resulted in an increase in free time, just as sociocultural changes have led to the loss of institutional control and the emergence of a new social challenge to the individual to occupy himself or herself. The second prevailing view of the formation of leisure—widely held in the West—tends to verify the historical moment in a structured ideological conception in relation to leisure. This phenomenon is articulated in three historical movements: (1) the ideology of rational leisure, prevalent in England at the end of the nineteenth century; (2) the beliefs of the U.S. social theorists at the end of the nineteenth century; and (3) the conception of the labour movement in respect to the reduction of the work day which occurred at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. It would not be an exaggeration to emphasise that in most cases the emergence of sports in Brazil is a phenomenon linked to the contact of different civilisations at the end of the nineteenth century.

To better understand the long process which occurred from the toy to the game to leisure and modern sports, it is necessary to document how humans lived in diverse moments, especially during working and non-working times. Moreover, it is necessary to understand when humans began to distinguish in their everyday lives between these times. It is worth noting that this transition is relative,

<sup>33</sup> This classical text was translated as *Homo Ludens: o jogo como elemento da cultura*, translated by Joao Paulo Monteiro, (Sao Paulo, Editora Perspectiva, 1980, 2d).

<sup>34</sup> This is based on the unpublished paper "Leisure, Culture, and Society" of Professor Gilles Pronovost from the Université du Québec a Trois-Rivières in Canada, chair of the V National Conference of Recreation and Leisure held at SESC in Bertoga on October 19, 1993. I wish to acknowledge the contribution of Dr. Pronovost in furnishing a copy of his unpublished paper. Among the many published works of Dr. Pronovost is *Temps, culture et société* (Québec, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1983).

<sup>35</sup> Joffre Dumazedier is well known in Brazil as one of the most influential authors of texts on leisure. Among his works are *Sociologia Empírica do Lazer* (Sao Paulo, Editora Perspectiva, 1979), first edited in France in 1974; other works of the author have appeared in Portuguese, published by SESC.

toys and games continue existing, just as games; at the same time forms related to the tourism industry and recreation provide a new dimension of leisure as we know of it today.

Time is the fundamental dimension that articulates our physical, social, and biological systems. Different cultures experience different forms to record and to consider time; on the other hand, the amount of time historically necessary to carry out similar tasks has also varied.

Time is measured in multiple ways. A clock universalises and uniformly controls the measurement of time, while the calendar—a sign of macro time—becomes an emblem of power. An organiser of temporal space and of our public and private lives, the calendar stands in history as a social object. Through the calendar, power holders interfere in our daily lives. Both in terms of the institution and in changes to the calendar, a host of technical questions outside of the realm of astrology becomes relevant to both political and religious matter. A set of social issues such as the work schedule, free time, festivities, and sport events relationships are very important in this process; nevertheless, the calendar facilitates the manipulation of the essential elements of power—tax collection and electoral processes. It is important to emphasise the development of the notion of productive times and non-productive times, or even still, the articulation of linear times—the balancing of productive times with the cyclical time of holidays, of games, and of sports. Along these lines, it is necessary to include the ideas of Jacques Le Goff,<sup>36</sup> who concludes that the calendar is the complex result of a dialogue between nature and humankind; a dialogue not unknown to leisure, to sport, and to games.

This bibliographic essay focuses on establishing general considerations concerning time, sport, and leisure. It is precisely within these relationships that we will proceed in order to deepen our theoretical understanding of the motor actions that are effected as a result of partnerships, antagonisms, partnerships and antagonisms, just as through contacts with the environment—domestic or savage—, complete with new information and unexpected alternatives.<sup>37</sup> The analysis will establish a range of possible angles with which to view the relationships established by the perception and experiences of time and the possibility of constructing a history of sports and leisure in Brazil.

Leisure activities, or the type of corporal activity that characterised ancient civilisations, are distinguished by what is called in standard usage "natural rhythm" activities, those most commonly found articulated in agricultural or religious celebrations. The dimension of the human motor action incorporated in these activities is best represented in corporal rhythm. Although singular fights and battles do not go unnoticed, where evidently a major component was the preservation of one's life, it is through the individual's effective motor control which we can best understand the opponent's finesse and ability—despite inherent contradictions, such as the gladiator's battles, in which the human being defined his own rhythm. Obviously, training played an important role for armies as well as gladiators. Nevertheless, it is worth repeating that the environment of human muscular capacity defines the process of constructing specific motor ability. Max Weber established the properties of relationships

<sup>36</sup> This is based on the work of Jacques Le Goff, *Historia e Memoria* (Campinas, Editora da Unicamp, 1992). See the chapter "O Calendário," pp. 485-535.

<sup>37</sup> See the work by Pierre Parlebas, *Contribution a un Lexique commenté en science de l'Action Motrice* (Publications I.N.S.E.P., Paris, 1981). The central tenets of this argument with respect to motor actions are from the conference proceedings of P. Parlebas, *Perspectivas para una educación física moderna* (España, Unisport Andalucía, Junta de Andalucía, 1987).

between war and warlike techniques. The introduction of the horse in the East as well as the dominance of iron in armament played important roles. The horse brought the war cart and the concept of hero.

Foi a disciplina, e não a pólvora, que iniciou a transformação... A disciplina do exército deu origem a toda a disciplina... Nenhuma prova especial é necessária para mostrar que a disciplina militar é o modelo ideal para a moderna fábrica capitalista, tal como o foi para a plantação antiga. Em contraste com esta, a disciplina orgânica na fábrica estrutura-se em bases completamente racionais. Com a ajuda de métodos de mensuração adequados, a lucratividade ótima do trabalhador individual é calculada como a de qualquer meio material de produção.<sup>38</sup>

It was discipline and not the people that started the transformation... Army discipline was the origin of all discipline... No special evidence is necessary to demonstrate that military discipline is the ideal model for the modern capitalist factory, just as it was for the plantation system. In contrast organic discipline in the factory is structured along completely rational lines. With the help of modern measurement methods, the optimum productivity of the individual worker is calculated just like any other means of production.

Although addressing distinct social issues, Weber established the bases with which to consider the historical development of motor actions and contributed to our knowledge in this area. No question remains over the military discipline and the vital necessity to win over one's opponent as the decisive factor of the performances of gladiators, samurai, and medieval knights. These performances were articulated in a manner in which the disciplinary process through social organisation permitted their existence. The significance of the fight--and the life and frequent death-- was not competitive sports.

Modern societal relations alter significantly the type of machines and the measurement of time. Mechanisation and the clock have transformed the universe of motor actions--man no longer defines his own potential and muscular ability. External instruments determine more rationally, or more productively, the physical activity of the worker. This is the key element to understand the constitution of modern sports. I do not intend to propose that games became more sport-like and ceased to exist; games in both primitive indigenous communities continue existing and reproducing. I argue that the existence of external control mechanisms and of muscular training have made possible not only the invention of sport modalities but the sportization of already existing games. Thus it becomes inadmissible to consider the history of sports in Brazil as stemming from the motor activities of indigenous community life.<sup>39</sup> In the past rowing and fishing, as well as archery, was determined by autonomous muscular rhythms. Today, Olympic rowers are trained with chronometric rhythms. The history of sports, leisure, and physical education in Brazil has led to a structured process of colonisation in accordance with the values and attitudes based on the initiatives of colonisers, and more frequently of immigrants. The introduction of cricket in India and Pakistan differs from the historical process associated with the introduction of soccer or judo in Brazil. First, there is a historical background that explains the sportification of games and corporal practices, as well as the existence of a distinct background associated with the geographic localisation of these practices in diverse cultural and socio-economic spaces.

<sup>38</sup> Max Weber, *Ensaio de Sociologia*, pp. 206-301.

<sup>39</sup> This position is still very common in the discipline of the history of physical education in Brazil, which is a more traditional interpretation of historiography in which the formal aspects of motor actions are taken from sport modalities without considering more complex processes that lead to the sportization of existing activities. This position is based on the work of Inezil Penna Marinho, *Historia da Educacao Fisica e esportes no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, DEF-MES, 1952-53, 4 vols.).

The history of sports has been significantly affected by time--the recording of it, its control, and its presence everywhere. We are still not referring to television time, but time controlled by an arbitrator, the breakdown in frontiers of time in the leisure world by sportists, spectators, fans, and the world of the athlete.

Obviously, games were always possible without a time element (even though time was needed to win point in some games). However, game time when it refers to sports is characterised: the time used in modern training methods is fundamental for television programming. Chronometric time in sports is a fundamental factor in the length of performances and defines a conception of similar or equal time during the play. It is valid to affirm that a professional athlete's time is, just as the time of a blue-collar worker, time counted by an unnatural rhythm in the sense that it is not determined by a series of articulated everyday tasks. In addition, it is artificial time counted, if not by industrial standards, by machines that throw balls, by computer standards, and other technological innovations which permit a greater realisation of the genetic potential of the training session. Intense training, more than just a balancing act of technical know-how and tactic, is also a process of constructing new possibilities of time in human movement. There exists certain games in undetermined time that are only possible with adequate training.

On the other hand, game time, interrupted by the interval and the finish, establishes clearly the time during which athletes may present their performances, creating moves and rhythms to oppose more efficiently whatever obstacle presented by their opponent. It is important to note that collective sports differ from factory processes when the obstacles are expected. In collective sports opponents may present unexpected obstacles to interrupt the motor actions of the attacker.

To conclude these reflections on the perception of time as both a dimension and motor action, we still need to consider the social dimension of time: available time. When we study available time as a concept to understand socially constructed time--that which is in excess of the necessary time for production, which continues to grow as a result of rapid technical and scientific development--we are proposing to consider sports, and all possibilities of spectacles, as a structural component of markets. In this case market refers to a space in which consumption is defined by available social time, overwhelmingly commercialised by the media and characterised by interactive and virtual levels of technological development.

Our reasoning follows the transition of humankind's motor actions from nature to sports games. Thus, the phenomena is found in the appropriation of socially available time. It refers to taking advantage of the existence of this time to construct a market oriented toward large public audiences with great consumption potential for spectaculars, shows, or plays, that sometimes resemble their day-to-day lives.

Let's observe closely basketball players in an NBA basketball game. On one side a calendar exists that includes players, the public, the teams and managers; a calendar that is under increasing control by the media. The time to prohibit televising live games is not far away; meanwhile, the viewing time of football games is close to the noon hour in order to attract the largest audience. During the game we have an almost unlimited control of time during which the performance of the team and the players is nevertheless measured. Simulations evaluate different levels of athletic

productivity, the presence of the public, the audience, and so on within a framework of commercialised images in a growing degree of leisure time.

In a theoretical framework that covers an historical summary of sports, leisure time, and physical education, time is more than just an element of analysis; it is a concept that should be necessarily taken into consideration to permit a more detailed explanation of what is defined as sport and leisure. This is a major challenge in colonised populations. Many sport modalities were introduced by colonisers or European immigrants. This is the same as affirming that we have to keep in mind specific aspects of our social formation,<sup>40</sup> such as the lingering influence of our different cultural influences, in addition to the cultural and economic processes that involve affect our life styles and uses of time, such as issues related to the universalization of the measurement of time.

The concepts of free time, leisure, laziness and recreation have different meanings for Europeans, indigenous communities, black slaves, and free men. Yet how can we interpret this multiplicity of views? The famous Letter of Caminha<sup>41</sup> has several interesting passages regarding this theme on the discovery of Brazil in 1500:

E alem do rio andavam muitos deles dançando e folgando, uns diante os outros, sem se tomarem pelas amos. E faziam-no bem. Passou-se então para a outra banda do rio Diogo Dias, que fora almoxarife de Sacavem, o qual e homem gracioso e de prazer. E levou consigo um galeiro nosso com sua gaita. E meteu-se a dançar com eles, tomando-os pelas mãos; e eles folgavam e riam e andavam com ele muito bem ao som da gaita. Depois de dançarem fez-lhes ali muitas voltas ligeiras, andando no chão, e salto real, de que se eles espantavam e riam e folgavam muito. E conquanto com aquilo os seguros e afagou muito, tomavam logo uma esquiviza como de animais monezes, e foram-se para cima...

...Bastara (isso para vossa alteza ver) que ate aqui, como quer que se lhes em alguma parte amansassem, logo de uma mao para outra se esquivavam, como pardais (com medo) do cevadouro. Ninguém não lhes ousa falar de riço para não se esquivarem mais. E tudo se passa como eles querem - para os bem amansarmos! (p. 49)

...Nesse dia, enquanto ali andavam, dançaram e bailaram sempre com os nossos, ao som de um tamboril nosso, como se fossem mais amigos nossos do que nos seus. Se lhes a gente acenava, se queriam vir as naus, aprontavam-se logo para isso, de modo tal, que se os convidáramos a todos, todos vieram. Porém não levamos esta noite as naus senão quatro ou cinco... Os que o Capitão trazia, era um deles um dos seus hospedes que lhe haviam trazido a primeira vez quando aqui chegamos-o qual veio hoje aqui vestido na sua camisa, e com ele um seu irmão; e foram esta noite mui bem agasalhados tanto de comida como de cama, de colchões e lençóis, para os mais amansar. (p. 61)

Along the river, many of them walked about dancing and frolicking, some ahead of others, without holding hands. And they did it well. Then they passed over to the other side of the Diogo Dias River, out of the jurisdiction of Sacavem, who is a gracious and lively individual. And one of our musicians with his flute went with them. And he started to dance with them, taking them by the hands; and they relaxed and laughed and went around with him very well with the sound of the flute. After they danced, he made them take many light turns, walking around and jumping, of which they became startled and laughed and enjoyed a lot. And with all that he made them feel safe and tired them a lot, and soon they followed him like tamed animals...

<sup>40</sup> See the opening conference proceedings of the V National Conference of Recreation and Leisure (V Encontro Nacional de Recreacao e Lazer) by Gilles Pronovost. For more detailed information of the orientation and introduction of traditional games in South America, consult *Traditional Games in South America*, by Veerle Van Mele and Roland Renon (Sports Science Studies, Vol. 4) Germany, ICSSPE/UNESCO, 1992.

<sup>41</sup> I am referring to the *Carta a El Rei D. Manuel de Pero Vaz de Caminha*. For a modern Portuguese version, with a subject breakdown, glossary, and index consult the edited volume by Leonardo Arroyo, (Sao Paulo, Editora Dominus, 1963).

This was enough (for your excellence to see) that until now, even when they are tamed, from one hand to another they want to flee, like blacks (afraid) of being fattened to die. None of them had the presence of will to stop fleeing. And all of this happens with their consent—for they own good, to tame them!

... On this day, while they were walking, they danced and frolicked with us or to the sound of our tambourines, as if they were more friends of ours than of their own. If we took notice of any of them, they wanted to see our boats soon after, in such a way that if we invited one, all of them came. However, this night we only took four or five to the boats... Among the ones that the Captain brought, was one of those who had been his guest when we first arrived, who came here today dressed in his shirt and with him, his brother, and they were treated well this evening to lots of food and beds with mattresses and sheets to tame them more.

These two paragraphs from the Letter of Caminha make several references that touch upon relative issues regarding the time and humankind, especially of people from different cultures. Initially, there is a description of a party, interrupted by the Indians' fleeing; Two paragraphs later, after describing the long walk of the Captain along the river, Caminha makes two references to the verb to tame.

In the first passage the Portuguese sailors and the Indians, although participating in the same activities, do not share the same interpretation of the events unfolding. The participation of the Portuguese during the dancing scenes, despite the wonder of the Indians, points toward a desire to flee not compatible without what is occurring. This desire to flee is related to slaves' fear of being fattened to die. The conclusion, accompanied by an exclamation sign, does not leave any doubts of the premeditated and utilitarian character of action as they were seen by the Portuguese. The expression "for they own good, to tame them," is undoubtedly clear.

This argument becomes even clearer in the subsequent quotation in the description of the night the natives spent aboard the boats. The concept of taming becomes, if not an explanation *en si*, a strong factor in the behaviour of the Portuguese in their contact with Brazilian Indian populations. Note that these situations are characterised by activities objectively linked to pleasure, without stating explicitly leisure, focused on the superimposition of the will and the dimension of later contacts.

Is it possible that utilitarianism, in what is referred to as the ideology of leisure, is a mechanism of political domination older than what we had originally envisioned? We are not addressing Roman circuses; we are considering a primitive community in contact with a Christian and civilised European population. What is the significance of the taming?

If Caminha had known that the Indians' would not distinguish the music and the song from the dance, he would have evaluated in more detail these episodes. According to Cardim, "e assim bailao cantando juntamente, porque nao fazem uma cousa sem outra" (this is how they dance and sing together, because they do not do one without the other. Similarly, we have the description of the Capuchin monk Claude D'Abbeville: "Para danças usam apenas a cantoria. Seu instrumento e somente a voz... Para observar a cadencia e marcar o compasso, usam um instrumento ou chocalho chamado maraca" (For dances they use only their voices. Their only instrument is their voice... To keep the rhythm and the step, they use an instrument called a rattle or maraca).<sup>42</sup> These quotations

<sup>42</sup> Claude D'Abbeville lived in Maranhao during the early part of the seventeenth century. Before passing away in 1632, he wrote *Historia da missao dos padres capuchinhos na Ilha do Maranhao* (Belo Horizonte, Ed. Itatiaia, Sao Paulo, EDUSP, 1975).

allow us to affirm within reason that the Indians interpreted the episode described by Caminha from their everyday experiences, without foreseeing the future direction of their contacts with the Portuguese. Furthermore, there are an infinite number of Jesuit documents emphasising the enchantment and the magic of the music in relation to the Indians:

Assim que os primeiros padres perceberam a possibilidade de se poder cativar povo bárbaro pelas harmonias do canto, e que a maior parte deles ficava como que embevecida, convencionaram entre si que haviam de condescender a inclinação natural dos bugres, isto é, haviam de arrebanha-los no grêmio da Santa madre igreja, haviam de reuni-los em Reduções e os haviam de amansar pouco a pouco por meio da musica.<sup>43</sup>

As soon as the first monks perceived the possibility of converting the barbarous people with harmonious song, and that the majority of them became ecstatic, they began to convince themselves that they would have to lower themselves to the natural inclination of the savage, that is they would have to gather them together in the church of Her Holiness, they would have to bring them together to tame them little by little with music.

Without a doubt, Cabral's Portuguese naval squadron, although discoverers of land, was not equipped with the same acuteness of the Jesuits to understand more broadly the, Different perceptions of how to live become evident in the related episodes. On one hand, the values of everyday living were recognised, according to one's own rhythm and with outside influences. On the other hand, the taming. From Caminha's point of view, to tame implies necessarily a well-defined utilitarian vision with objectives that range from friend to calm, dependent, and subordinate. For the Jesuits, to tame meant to transform the Indians into members of God's flock. Without a doubt, a utilitarian perception of dance and song remains present in both perspectives.

How did these perceptions evolve? How does the notion of leisure fit in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in view of the presence of African slaves and later European immigrants?

The general features of the colonisation of Brazil and the occupation of its territory can be summarised briefly. In 1822 when Brazil became independent, one third of its population of approximately four million were slaves. Although its current geopolitical borders were not yet established, hardly any additional territory has been added, except for the area of the State of Acre and of the meridian borders. In 1888, when slavery was abolished, Brazil's population was approaching fourteen million inhabitants. Population growth was irregular, particularly because by the end of the slavery period, the non-existent African slave traffic had led to the internal migration of slaves; in addition internal population movements toward coffee plantations in the Southwest, an impressive process of European immigration, was centred in the Southwest and the South.

Slavery simplified the labour question in Brazil. There was no need of a discussion; the logic of the system was found in compulsory work. Evidently, the issue of leisure and sports does not fit within this context. Occasionally, acrobatic spectaculars and circuses, as well as theatre and plays, occupied the time of those interested; there was nothing to indicate the existence of a differentiated temporal organisation in the everyday lives and tasks of the people who experienced them. Evidently, the upper classes could easily find leisurely activities and events.

<sup>43</sup> Anton Sepp (1655-1733), *Viagem as Missões Jesuíticas e trabalhos apostólicos*, translated by Raymundo Schneider (Belo Horizonte, Itatiaia; São Paulo, EDUSP, Brasileira, no. 117, 1971).

Until the 1850s references to leisure sport activities were limited to the level of infantile games, hunting, and fishing. In view of the fact that it was difficult to conserve and maintain a variety of foodstuffs, these activities were attributed more to the search of food sources; in the case of poor populations this implied subsistence strategies, which were recorded by the popular press in a number of places. In constructing a theory, the key issue is to document a historical period, taking into account in the analysis not only the period of working times but also non-working periods in the dimension of motor action.<sup>44</sup>

In the regions of the South and Southwest in which a real increase in the number of slaves took place, the highest population growth of free individuals linked to European immigration took place. The 1890 Census demonstrates that 22 percent of São Paulo's 1,200,000 inhabitants were foreign-born. From the point of view of our analysis, this information on Brazil during the 1850s, and afterwards, bring us to important conclusions. Except in some capital cities, the North, Northwest and Centre-West regions remained outside of this population and economic growth cycle largely because of the small number of slaves and almost non-existent European immigration. Hypothetically, it is possible to conclude that the everyday lives of people in these regions in terms of folklore, living habits, and the uses of time were less affected by the processes of cultural interaction than those living in other areas. The writings of a traveller in the Northwest during the nineteenth century supports this view, marking the contrast between the region and the Southwest.

Feriados ao entender de muitos naturais do país são aqueles aos quais todos os outros dias estão subordinados. E pelo tempo das festas que a natureza produz as mais saborosas frutas e as mais lindas flores. Velhos e mocos aguardam as festas com viva ansiedade. Humildes e abastados gastam, então, livremente. Os ricos ostentam sua opulência e os pobres chegam, as vezes, a vender seu último escravo que aí se considera o mais indispensável de todos os haveres—para comprar roupa nova, adornos e doces para as festas. Conquanto tais festas ocorram, freqüentemente em meio do ano, as do Natal são as mais animadas, sendo que por essa época todas as atividades se paralisam por várias semanas. A coincidência dos feriados de Natal com o auge da estação cálida satisfaz tanto aos brasileiros, quanto os naturais do hemisfério setentrional se agradam em tê-los justamente nos dias curtos do ano, passando-os junto a lareira ou entregando-se aos esportes de inverno. No Brasil, ao contrário, tudo na natureza parece convidar a inatividade e ao descanso. O povo aproveita, então, a oportunidade para fazer passeios e excursões ao campo.<sup>45</sup>

Holidays in terms of the natural beauty of the country are those days of which all other days are subordinated. It is for holiday times that nature produces the most tasty fruits and most beautiful flowers. Both the elderly and the young anxiously await holidays. Only slave—the humble and the rich alike spent lavishly. The rich show off their opulence and the poor even sell, at times, their most indispensable of their goods—to buy new clothes, decorations, and candy for the holiday festivities. In terms of the festivities that take place, frequently in the middle of the year, the ones during Christmas are the most fun, because it is during this period that everything else stops for several weeks. The coincidence of the Christmas holiday with the beginning of the warm season satisfies the Brazilians as much as those from the Western Hemisphere enjoy many short days in front of the fireplace or exercising

<sup>44</sup> I understand by motor action the objective and subjective aspects of motor activity, frequently called physical activity. For additional information, see *Contribuição a um lexique commenté en science de l'action motricité*, by Pierre Parlebas (Paris, L.N.S.E.P. Publication, 1981).

<sup>45</sup> Daniel Parish Kidder was born on October 18, 1815, in Darien, New York. He came to Brazil because of his religious beliefs and to spread the word of the Bible. Upon returning to the United States, he wrote *Reminiscências de Viagens e Permanências no Brasil* (São Paulo, Martins, Ed, Universidade de São Paulo, 1972, 2 vols.). The quote cited is from vol. 2, *Provincias do Norte*, p. 81 and is intended to provide a contrast of earlier citations.

during the winter. In Brazil, to the contrary, all of nature seems to invite inactivity and rest. The people take advantage, thus, to take trips and rides to the country.

The regions of the South and the Southwest were abruptly invaded by populations from different cultures. The underlying thread of this process was the expansion of the agrarian frontier toward the interior with the creation of new cities, the growth of a labour market, property ownership, and social control over a rapidly expanding population. We can find some evidence that besides the control over work habits, these historical conditions also exercised control over the leisure activities of the working populations.

20 - Quem permitir em sua casa reunião para dança, batuque ou jogos em que entrem escravos sem licença de seus senhores, será punido...<sup>46</sup> (Whoever permits meetings for dance, drumming, or games to take place in their house in which slaves are present without the permission of their owners, shall be punished.)

This became common practice in the majority of municipalities in the Province of São Paulo. Evidence exists that these policies caused tensions and some resistance from the poor populations. In the case of Campinas, for example, one of the local newspapers referred to this tension in two consecutive issues.<sup>47</sup> First, a group of ranchers asked the editor to "call attention to the police of how inconvenient it was to permit the so-called Congo celebrations of black people (*"ver a policia o inconveniente de se permitirem as chamadas congadas dos pretos"*).<sup>48</sup> The next issue was followed by an editorial by the members of the Cayapo Society, responding to the accusations and clarifying their activities.

In relation to the leisure time of the poorest populations and the slaves who lived in Brazil during the nineteenth century, dances, drumming, or games were banned whenever slaves participated. It is quite possible that the sense of ownership established clear limits on the presence of slaves. Clearly, at home on the ranch (*fazenda*) singing was possible, or even drumming or what ever form of leisure, even though in these cases the slave participated. The position of the slave and without a doubt the property rights over immobile piece of property were certainly clear by the positions.

It is possible to ascertain in the second example, based on the evident prejudice of the "so-called Congo celebration of the blacks," that even the leisure alternatives of free black citizens were limited by the police, who intervened because of the legality of being inconvenient or no.<sup>49</sup> In addition, these occurrences indicate that control over poor populations become extremely problematic because of the fact that the carrying out of legal norms depended on the conscience of the common man, the owner of bars, lunch counters, or dry stores who could choose arbitrarily or not to sell or a dose of aguardiente (*pinga*) at the end of the bar.

<sup>46</sup> *Coleção de Leis da Província de São Paulo (C.L.P.S.P.) Posturas Municipais de Pirassununga m* (São Paulo, 1866, p.90).

<sup>47</sup> This part of the article, especially in the references to the case of Campinas, was studied in great detail in my master's dissertation, *Campinas, 1869-1875: Republicanismo Imprensa e Sociedade*, presented jointly to the Department of History at the Universidade de São Paulo in 1975.

<sup>48</sup> *Gazeta de Campinas*, 22 December 1870, no. 116. The complete collection of this journal, which was established in 1869, can be found in the Biblioteca do Centro de Ciências Letras e Artes de Campinas.

<sup>49</sup> For other related examples of municipal policies, see "Excravação: Fugas e Controle Social" by A. Gebara in *Revista de Estudos Econômicos*, (São Paulo, vol. 18, no. especial, 1988), pp. 103-146.

The best examples of this process of resistance are precisely those related to leisure, such as music or dance; in these cases prohibitions were located in the following form:

Art. 29 - Toda pessoa que na casa de sua moradia consentir ajuntamentos para danças ou batuques em que entrem escravos, será multada em 15\$000 e punida com 3 dias de prisão.<sup>50</sup> (Anyone who permits dances or drumming in their homes in which slaves are permitted will be fined 15\$000 and punished with 3 days of imprisonment.)

Art. 41 - Ficam os escravos proibidos de fazer batuques dentro da vila. Os infratores sofrerão um dia de prisão.<sup>51</sup> (Slaves are prohibited from drumming at the villas. Those accused will suffer one day of imprisonment.)

It should not be argued that these bans were meant to prevent the slave from slacking off from work. Under these circumstances, there were specific laws that placed fines and even imprisonment on those persons who permitted or induced a slave to any kind of activity that affected the work ethic. While some villas had specific laws on this subject, and others banning dance and music, all were found in the chapter entitled "about obscenities against the public morale"<sup>52</sup>; this location characterised the nature of the offence. It is possible to conclude that the leisure of poor populations could become a major offence only for the simple fact of existing. These phenomenon, although part of the work ethic, cannot only be understood from this point of view.

Laws such as the ones present here entered the homes of free persons, in that the implementation of the law depended on the cooperation of the members of the community; the person who carried out the law at home was the head of household. In this sense, not to apply the law implied penalties against the property owner, not the slave.

Distinct cases of legislation permit us to conclude that there existed at least a kind of resistance based on the fact that many people ignored such laws or concealed their actions and which made the continuance of such bans impossible. The following examples illustrate this situation:

Art. 230-E proibido, depois do toque de recolher, a assistência de escravos em funções de danças, qualquer que ela seja, sob as penas já estabelecidas neste código. (The presence of slaves in dance functions, of whatever type, is prohibited after curfew under the penalties already established by this code.)

Art. 231-Os moradores das casas onde se derem tais bailes ou funções frequentadas por escravos, depois daquela hora, sofrerão a multa de 30\$ e 8 dias de prisão.<sup>53</sup> (The residents of homes where dances or functions are frequented by slaves, after than hour, will suffer a fine of 30\$ and 8 days of imprisonment.)

Art. 199-Ficam proibidos dentro da cidade e chacaras próximas a cidade, bauques, cantorias e danças de pretos ou escravos que possam incomodar a vizinhança e o publico. Multa 20\$000.<sup>54</sup> (Within the city limits and outskirts, drumming, singing, and dance os blacks or slaves are prohibited which could disturb the public. Fine 20\$000.)

Art. 46. São proibidos na cidade os bailes (de qualquer natureza) de pretos, salvo com licença da autoridade policial: multa 10\$ e 3 dias de prisão.<sup>55</sup> (Within the city limits, dances (of whatever kind) of blacks are prohibited except those authorised by the police: fine 10\$ and 3 days of imprisonment.)

<sup>50</sup> C.L.P.S.P.- P.M. de Mogi das Cruzes, São Paulo, 1862.

<sup>51</sup> C.L.P.S.P.- P.M. de Indaiatuba, São Paulo, 1863.

<sup>52</sup> C.L.P.S.P.- P.M. de Sorocaba, São Paulo, 1865, p. 117.

<sup>53</sup> C.L.P.S.P.- P.M. São Paulo, São Paulo, 1875, p. 119.

<sup>54</sup> C.L.P.S.P.- P.M. C.L.P.S.P.- P.M. Campinas, São Paulo, 1876, p. 88.

<sup>55</sup> C.L.P.S.P.- P.M. de Amparo, São Paulo, 1883, p. 265.

In the first example, permission is granted until a certain time; in the other two examples, the references includes slaves and blacks, and at the same time assumes previous authorisation. The use of the term "black" (*preto*) instead of slave implies that while the process of the labour supply is becoming less controlled, it is also widening the definition to include free populations. It is not entirely improbable that a poor freeman could also be the object of control in the strictest sense. Another significant example demonstrates the rudimentary forms the commercialisation of leisure time of slaves and the free population:

Art. 67 - São proibidas as cantoria e danças de pretos, se não pagarem os chefes de tais divertimentos o imposto de 10\$, se em tais reuniões consentir a policia.<sup>56</sup> (Singing and dances of blacks are prohibited if the organisers of these events do not pay a tax of 10\$, if these events are permitted by the police.)

These bans can be explained as efforts to control the social contacts among slaves, and by extension between slaves and the free population, in order to control the mobility of the slave, which is justified more frequently to guarantee labour productivity the following day. In any event, the reference to taxation of "those events," explicitly referred to as taxes, denotes that among the multiple forms of articulating the control over the leisure time and the slave or black person, parameters were placed that did not exclusively refer to work times. This affirmation is better understood if we remember the great number of municipal laws that prohibited the circulation of dirty and poorly dressed persons within the city limits.

What happened outside of the urban areas in terms of control? According to George L. Hunt, the British consul who had lived in Brazil since 1862, in a declaration before the Royal Commission of Runaway Slaves in London in 1876:<sup>57</sup>

Ele não tem uma concepção de liberdade mais correta do que isso, ele ocuparia um pedaço de terra, cultivaria algumas bananas, pescaria nos rios, e pouco mais do que isso. Um escravo livre não é útil para coisa alguma parçada com trabalho sistemático.

He does not have a concept of freedom better than this one, he would occupy a piece of land, plant some bananas, fish in the rivers, and do little more than this. A free slave is not good for anything that resembles systematic work.

This declaration demonstrates clearly the connection between the control over labour and the environment, exuberant in the Brazilian case. It is important to note that during the nineteenth century, the major obstacle in organising a free labour market was the peaceful and voluntary transition from slavery to free labour which would avoid disturbing production levels and promote a work ethic, compatible with capitalist motives. To achieve this goal in a country such as Brazil with great agrarian frontiers, without mentioning abundant forests and rivers, the population had to be confined within an occupied area, without access to virgin and unexplored forests and at the same time kept "in their right place" in urban areas under the control of local elites. Thus, control over leisure time is intimately linked to control over the worker, not only in the use of his or her time, but in spatial mobility.

Another set of documents, the accounts of travellers who were in Brazil at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginnings of the nineteenth century, adds a dimension to the overall discussion. I begin with Vilhena,<sup>58</sup> who offers the advantage of having studied the theme at length.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> C.L.P.S.P. - P.M.de Itapetinainga, Sao Paulo, 1883, p. 210.

<sup>57</sup> Accountant Reports, London Parliamentary Papers. General Correspondence and Reports, Brazil, 1876.

E digno de reflexão que sendo tal a natureza e propriedade desta região seja ela a morada da pobreza, o berço da preguiça, o teatro dos vícios... Para tudo, ha terra e comodidades... e o que unicamente falta e a deliberação, a industria e a vontade.

It is dignified to reflect that taking into account the essence and properties of this region, be them the slums of poverty, the cradle of laziness, or the theatre of bad habits... For all, there is land and commodities... and the only thing that is lacking is the deliberation, the industry, and the will.

Analysing Vilhena's quotation, M.S. de S. Oliveira calls attention to the existence of numerous documents at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century that emphasise the presence of vagrants (*vadios*) and beggars (*mendigos*). In *Colecao de Leis do Brasil*<sup>60</sup> a great quantity of laws and decrees referred to the repression of the vagrants. These free and unoccupied human beings, according to the author, preoccupied the rich and the power holders more than slaves: "o cerne da questao estava, portanto, na autonomia com a qual lavradores, artifices e trahadores livres geriam o proprio tempo e forca de trabalho" (the heart of the issue was, therefore, the autonomy with which free farmers, artisans and workers generated their own time and labour force). We will consider texts of other travellers in the sense of corroborating what is being affirmed.

Parceu-me que em Sorocaba os homens eram mais adeptos dos jogos de baralho do que em qualquer outro lugar. Havia também ali um jogo de bola muito bem montado. Iu contava igualmente com um, sendo esses dois os primeiros que eu havia visto desde que chegara ao Brasil. E bem verdade que ninguém se dedicava a esses jogos quando eu me achava presente, mas não e de supor que tenham sido montados sem a finalidade pratica. O simples fato de terem sido feitos prova que havia nessa região um pouco menos de indolência do que nas outras partes do Brasil que percorri. As pessoas muito preguiçosas só se mexem quando precisam trabalhar para a sua própria sobrevivência, e nunca se animam a fazer exercício apenas como diversão.<sup>61</sup>

It seemed to me that in Sorocaba the men were more adapt at playing card games than in any other place. There was also there a ball game that was put together really well. The Iu (tupi word for tree-trans.) counted as one, these were the first two that I had seen since I arrived in Brazil. It is true that no one played these games when I was present, yet we should not believe that they were put together without a practical purpose of playing. The mere fact that they existed proved that there was a little more indolence in this part of Brazil than in the other parts I had visited. Really lazy people do not even move when they need to work to live, and they never exercise just for fun.

One interesting view is found in the significance of the ending statement of the quotation, "and they never are excited about exercising just for fun" (*e nunca se animam a fazer exercício apenas como diversão*). Clearly, it is relevant that in Sorocaba and Itu "there was just a little less indolence" (*havia um pouco menos de indolência*). Saint-Hilaire presents new evidence of "exercise just for

<sup>58</sup> Luis dos Santo Vilhena was a Greek professor who lived in Salvador and the author of *Recopilacade noticias soteropolitanas e brasílicas contidas em XX cartas* (Bahia: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 1922 [1802]), an excellent account of Brazilian habits and customs.

<sup>59</sup> See the article by Cecília Helena L. de Salles Oliveira "Imagens do Ocio na Construcao da Disciplina de Trabalho," *Revista Brasileira de Ciencias do Esporte*, vol. 12, 1-3 (September 1990).

<sup>60</sup> *Colecao das Leis do Brasil (1808-1824)* (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1891).

<sup>61</sup> Augustin François Cesar Prouvençalde Saint-Hilaire was born in Orleans in 1779 and passed away in 1853. He came to Brazil in 1816 with a mission to study the land. A naturalist, he remained there until 1822. I am using two of his numerous texts *Viagem a Provincia de Sao Paulo* (Editora Itatiaia, Belo Horizonte, 1976) and *Segunda Viagem do Rio de Janeiro a Minas Gerais e a Sao Paulo* (Editora Itatiaia, Belo Horizonte, 1974). The citation is found in the first book on page 188.