

Social forms, communication and typifications of affection in a soccer crowd

Formas sociais, comunicação e tipificações do afeto numa torcida de futebol

ALINE MERIANE DO CARMO DE FREITAS^a

Universidade Federal do Pará. Programa de Pós-graduação em Antropologia. Belém – PA, Brazil

FÁBIO FONSECA DE CASTRO^b

Universidade Federal do Pará. Programas de Pós-graduação em Desenvolvimento Sustentável do Trópico Úmido e Comunicação, Cultura e Amazônia. Belém – PA, Brazil

ABSTRACT

The article presents the results of an ethnography of the communication processes present in a soccer crowd, the *barra brava Camisa 33*, from *Clube do Remo*, in Belém-PA. Based on a proposition of dialogue between Anthropology and Communication, we sought to understand the intersubjective processes (Schutz, 1978, 2012) expressed by the affections and sensibilities experienced by the fans and shown in social forms (Simmel, 1999, 2006). We sought to carry out an analysis of the sociocultural communicative processes in order to understand the social construction of sensibilities and the production of sensitive meanings that involve team fans.

Keywords: Soccer, barra brava, Clube do Remo, sociality, sensitivity

RESUMO

O artigo apresenta os resultados de uma etnografia dos processos comunicacionais presentes numa torcida de futebol, a *barra brava Camisa 33*, do *Clube do Remo*, de Belém-PA. A partir de uma proposição de diálogo entre Antropologia e Comunicação, baseando-se nos estudos de Alfred Schutz e Georg Simmel, buscou-se compreender os processos intersubjetivos manifestos por meio dos afetos e sensibilidades experienciados pela torcida e expressos por meio de formas sociais. Buscou-se realizar uma análise dos processos socioculturais comunicativos com o objetivo de compreender a construção social das sensibilidades e a produção de sentidos sensíveis que envolvem os torcedores da equipe.

Palavras-chave: Futebol, barra brava, Clube do Remo, socialidade, sensibilidade

^aPhD student in Anthropology at the Postgraduate Program in Anthropology; Master in Communication Sciences at the Postgraduate Program in Communication, Culture and the Amazon at the Universidade Federal do Pará. Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6892-5013>. Email: linefreit@gmail.com

^bProfessor of Postgraduate Programs in Sustainable Development of the Humid Tropic, the Nucleus of High Amazonian Studies and Communication, Culture and Amazonia, at the Universidade Federal do Pará. Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9880-213X>. Email: [fabio.fonsecadecastro@gmail.com](mailto:fonsecadecastro@gmail.com)

INTRODUCTION

THIS ARTICLE IS in the field of dialogue between Anthropology and Communication, from which it proposes to make, on the basis of an ethnography carried out with a soccer crowd for fifteen months, a reflection on intersubjectivity in general and on the social forms of affectivity in particular.

We seek to understand the communicative experience as a sociocultural, intersubjective experience of sharing and typification of affections. For this, we start from the notion of intersubjectivity (Schutz, 1978, 2012), making it dialogue with Simmelian thought, particularly with the notion of social form (Simmel, 1999, 2006). In addition, we also seek to understand the intersubjective processes manifested in the affections and sensitivities experienced by a soccer crowd of the *barra brava* type, the *Camisa 33* (C33) – linked to a soccer team in the state of Pará, the *Clube do Remo* (Rowing Club) – through its typification and in its dynamics of sociability, in other words, of activation of socialization ties. In this sense, we try to understand intersubjective processes through the relationship between communication and sensitivities present in the bonds of affection established between the fans of *Clube do Remo*, in the observed social group.

The affectivity of *azulinos* (allusion to the blue color associated with the team) fans can be present in what is apparently not affective. The cheering together, for example, in its conflicting dimension. Negative feelings, such as hate for *Paysandu*, envy of the opponent's titles and disappointment with the negative results generate, in Simmel's (1983) propositions, social cohesion. In this way, we verify the relevance of the conflict in the consolidation of soccer fan interest groups. For the author, conflict, regardless of the phenomenon that results or accompanies it, is in itself a form of sociability.

The excitement of emotions in Elias and Dunning's (1985) propositions – love, joy, pain and anger – were feelings shared affectionately by the fans and fundamental to give other meanings to practices of power. The phrase “love is what love does” is representative of *remismo* (a way of naming the fans' ‘philosophy of life,’ something like ‘remism,’ alluding to *Clube do Remo*) for the soccer fans: a native term that represents sacrificial love for a soccer team and that can be analyzed here as a discursive power device.

The research, by focusing on the interaction processes of the *Clube do Remo*'s fans, made it possible to analyze the interpretative description of the affections that involved the *remistas* from the understanding of the way in which the social interaction processes between fans are produced.

With this perspective, we carry out an analysis of communicative sociocultural processes in order to understand the social construction of sensibilities and the production of “sensitive” senses that involve the fans of the *Clube do Remo* soccer team, from an affective and collective dimension. Love, joy, pain, excitement, anger and, in some moments, disappointment are some of the feelings shared, affectionately, by the soccer crowd and fundamental for the understanding of the social processes that involve them.

The research was made from a dialogue between ethnography and phenomenology. The ethnographic perspective was supported by the proposition of interpretative ethnography (Geertz, 1989), by which we seek to understand the relationship between intersubjectivities and socialities as the social practice of living emotion collectively. This methodology permitted greater freedom among researchers and interlocutors by allowing experience, observation and interaction. The perception of a look, a gesture, a smile helped the intended understanding and, thus, everything became relevant during the research. The phenomenological dimension of the research was structured in the work of Alfred Schutz (1967), which allowed the categorization of the typifications engendered by the soccer fans, aiming to understand experiences lived by them in their daily lives and, therefore, social practices that reflect the communicational dimension of the intersubjective process, focusing on the sensitive dimension of social interaction. The notion of intersubjectivity is useful for the analysis of daily life and the sharing of sensibilities, considering, in agreement with Schutz (1967), that intersubjective typification is a basic and structuring experience of life in society. It is equivalent to social practice and reflects the communicational dimension of the intersubjective process with a focus on the sensitive experience of social interaction.

On the horizon of this dialogue between ethnography and phenomenology, we seek to understand how affection, taste, ethos and empathy are typified and made present in the daily social life of the *remistas* fans. To do so, we dialogue with a theoretical-methodological reference with focus on the perspective of intersubjectivity.

The article is structured in four topics: after this Introduction, we describe the ethnographic path of the observed social group. Later, we explained and discussed the theoretical-methodological aspects of the research, believing that this debate constitutes a collaboration for reflection on the interdisciplinary dialogue between communication, anthropology and phenomenology. Finally, we summarized our discussion, presenting the central results of the research regarding the social and intersubjective forms of affection in the observed soccer crowd.



DESCRIPTION OF THE SOCIAL GROUP OBSERVED AND THE ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Soccer arrived in Pará at the end of the 19th century, in the context of the Amazon rubber boom, a period of intensified cultural and economic exchanges with England. In this context, numerous sports clubs emerged, like rowing, horseback riding, tennis and cycling, and soon soccer. Since that first moment, two teams were constituted as the strongest in the state, *Club do Remo*, which emerged in 1905, and *Paysandu Sport Club*, founded in 1913. The dispute between them constitutes the most disputed classic in the country. Since 1914 there have been 737 games, with 256 wins for *Clube do Remo*, 231 for *Paysandu* and 250 draws. The two clubs, together, have ninety titles of Pará champions, 46 trophies for *Paysandu* and 44 for *Remo*.

Costa (2007) reports that Pará organized its first soccer championship in 1908, thus becoming the fourth Brazilian state to have such a dispute. Therefore, it is a place with an important and traditional soccer culture, which penetrates the social life of the state, particularly in its capital, Belém.

However, despite this importance and the culture of soccer impregnate the social life of Belém, these two teams do not present good results in the recent history of Brazilian soccer. In fact, neither of them managed to make the transition from a traditional soccer culture to a business dynamic, centered on planning financed by big capital, focused on marketing and practical results.

In this process, the results obtained by *Clube do Remo* have even been less satisfactory than those of the opposing team. Between 2000 and 2018, the team moved from 27th to 57th place in the ranking of the Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF – *Confederação Brasileira de Futebol*), and it should be noted that, in previous decades, it was considered one of the fifteen best teams in the country. After the particularly favorable decade of the 1990s, *Remo* entered a declining phase marked by financial and management problems, but above all, with poor results in soccer. It was relegated successively until it reached the last place in the Third Division in 2007, being forced, for this reason, to compete for the then newly created Fourth Division of the Brazilian championship. With the self-esteem damaged, not even this the team got, staying out of the championship.

In the following years, until nowadays, the team obtained little results. It managed to return to the Third Division and obtained the state title in 2019, but the economic and managerial crisis seems to continue determining the team's results.

It is in this context of difficulties that emerged the soccer crowd ethnographed in this work, the *Camisa 33*, a *brava* type crowd – a model that emerged in Argentina¹, characterized by fierce determination in defending the team and

¹The first *barra brava*, *La Doce* – that is, “the 12,” in reference to the idea of a 12th player – of *Boca Juniors*, a well-known soccer team from Buenos Aires, was formed in the 1960s. Its main competitors are *Los Borrachos Del Tablón*, of River Plate, which appeared at the same time; *La Barra Del Rojo*, of *Independiente* and *La Guardia Imperial*, of Racing Club.

good mood. Alabarces (2005) proposes a first comparative approach between associations of soccer fans and *hinchadas*. For the author, both groups are strongly identified with their clubs and unite by cheering, differentiating themselves in terms of institutional issues. In agreement with Palhares, Cabrera and Schwartz (2014), we consider that the supporters categorized as *barra brava*, as is the case of the *Camisa 33*, do not constitute an institution, since they do not have a statute, being therefore an informal organization. The C33 is a soccer crowd of free admission, and that means it does not have a uniform. The club's shirt, preferably in navy blue, is what standardizes this group. The associations of soccer fans, in turn, are legally recognized institutions.

The *barras* accompany the games always standing, singing during the 90 minutes of the match, even when the team is losing. Its members propose to represent the soul of the team and describe themselves as a 12th player. In addition, the *barras* are characterized by encouraging their teams with their own repertoire of songs and by bringing large flags and small flags to the bleachers. Nowadays the *barras bravas* are common in all Latin America and become part of the soccer culture of other countries. In Brazil, the *barras* gained space at the beginning of the 21st century. The precursor of the model in the country was *Geral do Grêmio* and, from it, several other *barras* were formed.

The *Camisa 33*, or C33 as it is known by the *remistas* fans, was founded in 2009. Its name is a reference to the period of 33 games in which *Remo* remained undefeated in the face of its great opponent, *Paysandu*, and which constitutes one of the great taboos of Pará soccer. About 120 young people form the group. Its members are between 17 and 30 years old, with a clear predominance of the range between 18 and 24 years old. Most of them belong to the local middle classes, although some have higher purchasing power, are university students or already have a college degree. It is also worth mentioning that there is an important amount of C33 supporters, who watch the games and participate in group activities, but do not have a formalized commitment with this group.

The choice to make an ethnography using as object of study the fans of *Clube do Remo*, with focus on the *barra brava Camisa 33*, was due to the unique characteristics of this group. This soccer crowd has the premise of not having the bureaucracy of the associations of soccer fans, has a strong presence on the Internet and accompanies *Remo* in any modality in which it is participating, including amateur sport. In addition, there is strong age and socioeconomic cohesion, producing useful affinity markers for the established scope.

Our proposal is to think about soccer from the centrality of emotions and affective bonds that the *Clube do Remo* fans establish with their team, aiming to analyze contemporary communicative social phenomena.



The ethnography was carried out, as we said, for fifteen months between the years 2016 and 2017. The social condition of *Remo*'s fans although not active and much less fierce, as the members of C33 facilitated our entry into the group and allowed us a position of coherence in the process of participant observation. It also required an important effort of bias control and self-assessment of the ethnographic path. We participate in the group by clearly informing the members of our intention to carry out a comprehensive research and we regularly participate in the activities of the group during this time: training, performance in matches, barbecues, meetings, birthday parties, elections of the fans' council, interactions in social networks and apps, making of materials, etc. In all this process, we proceeded using the structuring protocols of participant observation and in search of an ethnography. Our fundamental objective was to understand the communicative procedures present in social interaction, as we specify below.

THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL PROVISIONS

In order to verify how affection, taste, ethos and empathy are typified and are present in the daily social life of the *remistas* fans, we seek to understand the intersubjective processes of the fans, in order to consider the patterns and regularities in the sociality processes present in the group. This decision allowed us to perceive the concept as a dialogic process, always in progress, and as a useful instrument for the analysis of intersubjective practices in an urban environment.

The fundamental theoretical framework of the study were the concepts of intersubjectivity and typification, present in the phenomenological sociology of Alfred Schutz (1978, 2012). The methodological framework was based on Clifford (1998), Clifford and Marcus (1986), Geertz (1989) and Peirano (1995) and in line with the standards of an interpretative anthropology – in our view contemporaneous with the phenomenological reference of Schutz and Maffesoli and with the comprehensive provisions of Simmel.

We also dialogues with the thought of Maffesoli (1998, 2003, 2010) about the notion of *being together* and the ethical sharing of aesthetic ideals, aiming at discussing the emotions and affections that involve the fans, which are felt and shared collectively, and with the discussion about soccer as a social phenomenon that constitutes the ethos of collective identities, in the Brazilian social experience, a theme present in DaMatta (1975, 1982), Gastaldo (2014) and Damo (2005).

Through this theoretical contribution and the ethnographic method, we proposed to think about the sport, relating, in an interdisciplinary way, communication, anthropology and phenomenology, in order to understand the emotional charge that the fans establish with *Remo*.

Schutz (1978) indicates the impossibility of doing research in social sciences without considering the intersubjectivity of people and the environment in which they are inserted. In this sense, the choice for ethnography occurred because this method allows greater freedom between researcher and interlocutors, contributing significantly to the perception of intersubjective processes and to the observation of the experience and interactions of the *remistas*. It is fundamental to accomplish what Geertz (1989) considers as an interpretative description, which consists in analyzing what is behind and within the smallest human gesture, in the case of this study, the attitudes, behaviors and affectivity formed between the fans and the *Clube do Remo*.

During the research, it mattered not only what was said verbally, but also the way they expressed themselves and behaved collectively. We observed, in the ethnographic horizon of research, that the way of feeling and experiencing the same emotion, by belonging to a group, reflects the set of intersubjective dispositions produced from an ethic of belonging to the group or responsibility towards the group. Thus, gestures, signs, emotions during games, daily conversations on social networks, pre-game barbecues, soccer games between them on weekends, meetings at the *Seu Menino's* bar – a meeting place for *remistas* – constituted privileged spaces for observation and understanding.

Soon we were disposed to make an ethnography of the intersubjective (and therefore communicational) processes present in the observed group. For DaMatta (1978), there is a fear in social research of “not assuming the human and phenomenological side of the subject” (p. 27), that is, to show the intersubjective charge that involves field research and their results. According to Hanks (2013), to do an ethnography of intersubjectivity would be to make a careful description of the body, cognitive and affective dimensions of co-involvement between individuals. For DaMatta (1978), the emotional charge in field research is important to understand the social phenomenon:

The elements insinuated in the fieldwork are the feeling and the emotion. These would be, to paraphrase Lévi-Strauss, the uninvited guests of the ethnographic situation. Everything indicates that such an intrusion of subjectivity and the emotional charge that comes with it, within the intellectualized routine of anthropological research, is a systematic data of the situation. (p. 6)

What would it mean to make an ethnography of intersubjectivity – or of intersubjective sociocultural processes? Understanding intersubjectivity as the underlying phenomenon that enables sociability and thus the very reproduction of social life – many would be the paths to develop this ethnography. One of



them, the one we chose, is in the understanding of the social forms of affectivity in the group studied. Thus, along with the above question, we also raise some others, perhaps similar: how can we understand the processes of sensitivity and production of *sensitive* senses in the *Clube do Remo*'s fans? What is the communicational dimension of the bonds of affection that involve the fans and how can we ethnograph it? How are the bonds of affection between the fans of *Clube do Remo* typified?

The perception of *remismo* made it possible to draw a parallel with the concept of external groups proposed by Schutz (2012), which explains the lack of understanding about the attitudes of a certain social group by those outside it. In the case of the research, being outside the observed group is equivalent to the social role of those who are not fans of the club or emotionally engaged and, therefore, cannot understand the sacrifices that fans make for the team. During the field research, we also verified that the "love for *Remo*" is equivalent to a moral propensity not to deviate from the processes experienced in the context of club disputes. There is a typification to this process: it is necessary to *love* as it was socially established that one should love. And this typification takes varied social forms, as the *remismo* is also disseminated in processes experienced by fans in their families, circles of friendship, circles of religiousness, and also in this substrate that aggregates the fans linked to C33 to the broader set of *remistas* fans, the idealized *Nação Azul* (Blue Nation).

DISCUSSION: SOCIAL FORMS AND TYPIIFICATION OF AFFECTION IN A SOCCER FAN

Going to a soccer game means establishing strong and weak connections, building social ties that vary, in terms of strength, from the interaction established between the subjects. These connections preserve similarities with Granovetter's (1973) definition of strong and weak ties, which discusses the level of social cohesion of a group from the bonds established between them.

Granovetter (1973) first discussed the dichotomy between strong and weak ties in his reflection on social capital formation. According to this author, fragile social ties play a fundamental role in the shaping of communicative networks, forming a structuring social dynamic for specific association processes. The *weak* are named this way because there would be fewer social and cultural barriers among communicating individuals, which would allow circular communication with less noise and interruptions. *Strong* ties presuppose social cohesion, group identity, political and economic stability, which implies the formation of barriers to the free flow of social capital. On this perspective, the most fragile social ties,

according to Granovetter, make up a social network that is more propitious to the formation of social capital.

The *Camisa 33* fans, for example, establish, among its more than 120 members, what would be a strong bond, because they often have family ties, love relationships – given the existence of fifteen couples in the group at the time of the research – and long-lasting consolidated friendships – almost all of them with at least eight years of duration. We realize that there is an affective relationship established between them, characterized by a high level of trust and reciprocity. C33 also establishes weak ties – in the sense of Granovetter (1973) – with the other *remistas* fans, the “*fenômeno azul*” (blue phenomenon) or “*nação azul*” (blue nation) as a whole. This means that when a fan attends a soccer match next to unknown people whom he may never meet again, a superficial relationship is produced, a bond that does not demand intimacy to be maintained. The goal is to watch *Remo*’s game on the field, and therefore it is an ephemeral relationship, not needing contact to occur.

We seek to understand the social experience typified by supporting a soccer team as a sensitive social experience. This social experience brings together the most diverse people, conforming social and communicative patterns. For example, the conjectural aggregation of these fans in stadium bleachers, on match day, stages, more than a given form of spectacle, processes of communicative thickening of social relations. The bleachers become, in these moments, agglutinating spaces of subjects from the most varied social classes, ethnicities, age groups, professions and levels of education interconnected by an ideal that, in the case of observation, is to support the *Clube do Remo*.

Schutz (1996a) proposes that the way to relate to others, to communicate, interact and share knowledge produces a process of type creation, a resource based on common sense. We structure the world “circumscribing the typical relations between goal systems and intermediate systems among and between themselves” (p. 102), establishing relationships between types and typical relationships between types.

Here we find an immediate reference to the Weberian notion of the ideal type (Weber, 2004), which refers to a mental and shared construction of reality, an abstract model that makes it possible to analyze the world of life in the way it presents itself in social experience. The ideal type constitutes the foundation of the notion of typification. As Schutz says (1976a),

man typifies to a certain extent his own situation within the social world and the various relations he has to his fellow-men and cultural objects. The knowledge of these typifications and of their appropriate use is an inseparable element of the



sociocultural heritage handed down to the child by his parents and his teachers and the parents of his parents and the teachers of his teachers; it is, thus, socially derived. The sum total of these various typifications constitutes a frame of reference in terms of which not only the sociocultural, but also the physical world has to be interpreted, a frame of reference that, in spite of its inconsistencies and its inherent opaqueness, is nonetheless sufficiently integrated and transparent to be for solving most of the practical problems at hand. (p. 233)

In agreement with Schutz (2012), we can say these are the typifications that make possible our relationship with reality through sensitive and communicative dimensions of daily life, considering that the type is created precisely because of the impossibility of knowing the other person completely. The typifications interpret social practices and interaction processes; they are made in middle of daily discussions, independently of the place, which can be the soccer stadium, the bank queue, the bus stop, the dining area, squares, bars, beauty salons or even after an informal soccer game in the weekend. The actuality of the subject, the polemic caused by the information, the interest it provokes in people, besides the degree of knowledge that each individual has about the subject are determining items for a subject to be, or not, pertinent to a social group.

The typifications are also transmitted among generations and strengthened by the collective-family memory as society is led to constantly resort to its “stocks of knowledge” to make choices and give opinions on the most varied subjects, even if this process does not occur consciously. Schutz (2012) believes that social life produces stocks and reserves of typified experience. This means that previous experiences, whether of the individual himself or of the group, are based on the social memory, constituting practical knowledge, to which the individual always resorts when confronted with new realities and events. On this horizon, individual experiences are produced as social experiences as they relate to stocks and reserves of analogous or nearby experiences, a process that constitutes itself as intersubjectivity, designed as a cultural and continuous phenomenon by Schutz. According to Schutz, individuals daily access to these stocks of knowledge in their practical lives on permanent way.

The respect for the experience of the other, the knowledge and life history of a person are relevant factors for the analysis of intersubjective processes. These stocks are made up of categories, originally applied to aspects of experience. For example, if someone comes to a group that is talking and starts a discussion about the violent performance of the *barras bravas*, there will probably be several opinions about the theme. Some will defend, others criticize, but regardless of the subjects' positioning, the argument will talk a lot about the experience and

the origins of each one, that is, the stocks and reserves of experience discussed by Schutz (1979):

The world of daily life will mean the intersubjective world that existed long before our birth, experienced and interpreted by others, our predecessors, as an organized world. It now gives itself to our experience and interpretation. Every interpretation of this world is based on a stock of previous experiences, our own experiences and those transmitted to us by our parents and teachers, which, in the form of *knowledge at hand*, function as a reference code (p. 72).

According to Schutz (2012), the subjects have a habit-memory of their experiences in the world of life and their knowledge of the world, the typical knowledges, are based on the reserves of relevant experience and structures. In this context, interpreting the consolidation process of an object transformed into social practice between groups is the foundation of the typification process.

To discuss daily processes it is necessary to understand the typifications from their methodological perspective as an essentially phenomenological instrument responsible for socially producing the *being together*. This process is centered on the elaboration of the meanings collectively generated and manufactured by the different social groups on the way in which the popular appropriation of an object, idea and value occurs, in order to make it common sense within a social group.

To typify is to make a communion of horizons, that is, to participate in the understanding of the other. It is to place oneself inside an intersubjective process and produce, in a collective way, an affection that has a name, for example, the envy or hatred to *Paysandu* team, expressed by the *Camisa 33* through the typification of this feeling through phrases, concepts, gestures, looks and, for example, the song “*Mucura*, tell me what you feel,”² created by a fan and part of the fans’ songs repertoire.

The typifications are fundamental processes in continuous transformation; through them people know the world. To exist, it is necessary the reproduction of a consolidated thought that generates, as Maffesoli (2010) states, a social league. Thus, for example, both the feeling of “love for the team” that unites them and the feeling of “hate” for the rival team are intersubjective forms that typify reality and thus produce social cohesion.

Typifications are socio-cognitive systems in which everyday knowledge emerges in relationships between different individuals and has the function of transforming the unfamiliar into something familiar. This process varies according to the system of relevance that makes a typification necessary to social life. Schutz (2012) understands as systems of relevance those reserves

² *Mucura* is the popular name of Didelphis in Pará and is the nickname given to *Paysandu* by *Remo* fans, alluding mainly to the stinking liquid produced by the animal’s axillary glands. In 2016, the bicolours created the brand *Lobo* (Wolf), a reference to the club’s mascot, poorly worked by the team. Different from the rival that uses the *Lion* as symbol.



of experience that stand out affectively in social life, gaining a centrality in the individual's efforts to access stocks and reserves of typified experience. Affective relationships with soccer, *Remo* or the fans themselves, for example, are more significant in the value system of individuals than other spaces, practices and tasks of their social life. In this sense, they become systems of relevance, spaces of meaning to which the social subjects observed in this research dedicate more attention and care. This affectivity manifests itself, for example, through greater attention to the reserves of experience and the stocks of knowledge accumulated within the group regarding their common experience. At the same time, it emerges as an intensification of intersubjective bonds, through the intensification of communicative acts, interactions, the production of correlations and the establishment of a common horizon of interests and affections.

The notion of relevance system is central to Schutz's work, which considers that "the basic phenomenon of relevance . . . permeates our existing, our living and cognizing experience" (Schutz, 1996b, p. 3). The system of relevance shapes the way individuals experience objects and events around them, the way they perceive, recognize, interpret, know and act in daily life:

As far as he is interested in knowledge of his social world, he organizes this knowledge not in terms of a scientific system but in terms of relevance to his actions. He groups the world around himself (as the center) as a field of domination and is therefore especially interested in that segment which is within his actual or potential reach (Schutz, 1976b, p. 92-93).

This idea is the basis of Maffesoli's (1996) reflection on the ethics of aesthetics, on the sharing of sensitive taste in social groups or, better said, on how sensitive social experience is also produced from systems of relevance. The concept of aesthetic ethics is proposed by Maffesoli (1998) to refer to the process of sociability (Simmel, 2006) by which the action of experiencing something together with other people constitutes a socialization factor centered on an agreement (on an ethics) of building common sensitive horizons. In Maffesoli's discussion, to experience emotions together, to share similar values and to share sensitive experiences constitute social acts centered on an ethical relationship, on an agreement for the establishment of a common horizon of valuation of something and respect for the affection felt for the other.

Starting from Schutz, Maffesoli (2010) discusses how, in a trend that seems to characterize contemporaneity and from systems of relevance, emotions tend to be present in the actions and choices of individuals. This experience underlies that described by one of our informants in the research, when he says:

It is very difficult to exemplify feeling. To answer what is love for *Remo* is like trying to justify why I breathe. The love for my team goes beyond what can be illustrated. The love for *Remo* makes me forget sometimes that I am rational. Love for *Remo* unbalances us and puts us on the axis in fractions of a millisecond. Love for *Remo* certainly makes us complete. Without *Remo*, I would live the search for the completeness. If I had to define this, I would define love for *Remo* as what moves me. (V. M.)

When the fan is in the soccer stadium interacting with others, the individual sings, cries, suffers and celebrates the score with other individuals he does not know, but with whom he shares a sensitive experience. Although a bond is not established between them beyond that space, there is the social production of bonds of affectivity produced within a given system of relevance.

By analyzing the bonds of affection that involve the fans of *Remo* from a look at spatiality and corporeality, we aim to understand the experiences of the *azulinos* in their daily lives and, therefore, social practices of cheering that reflect the communicational dimension of the intersubjective process.

The love for *Remo* and the affection of the fans, as well as the need to be together (Maffesoli, 1998) is what unites them and generates social cohesion as a feeling in common, that is, the sharing of aesthetic ideals present in the daily life of the fans in the bleachers. It is not just a soccer game: means meeting friends, family. Sharing emotions and affections in the stadium, encouraging the team and transform matches into shows, and, for this, the *Camisa 33* uses ornaments, musical instruments and choreographies to create a stimulating audiovisual experience to boost the players.

The C33 uses elements such as straw hats, banners, flags, facial paintings and the musical rhythm *carimbó* to represent, in the bleachers, what they classify as elements to identify the culture of Pará. According to the fans, show cultural and historical factors to the bleachers is the great differential of the *barra brava*. The fans have as their main ideology to encourage, that is, to boost the team in an unconditional way: “believe and sing that the goal will come, because we are the doping” was a recurring phrase during all the research. The slogan “we are the doping” is an allusion to the objective of the fans, which is to stimulate the players sensory and thus increase the performance of the athletes, a kind of emotional doping.

Sport carries, in its essence, the emotion and, therefore, constitutes a privileged field of access to the study of social reality. This is what we see, for example, in the moment when fans allow themselves to show their emotions next to someone they have never seen before and perhaps they will never see



again. The emotional charge that involves soccer makes players feel united with fans and exist, before the other, through these social interactions.

It is also the case of the fan G.B., who wrote the following in one of the social networks of the observed group: “*Remo*, I love you and it is not only through soccer. You introduced me to the most amazing people in the world, my friends. Thank you for existing, Lion.” It is these interactions that provoke a way of being together, a social form and, therefore, aesthetics. As Maffesoli says (2010):

In fact, there are moments when, by a kind of impulse from the base, one realizes that society is not only a mechanical system of economic, political or social relations, but a set of interactive relations, made of affections, emotions, sensations that constitute, *stricto sensu*, the social body (p. 12).

In this sense, the ethics of aesthetics means pleasure and the desire to be together without the interposition of a rational calculation. The account of the fan C. C. confirms this idea and enables us to understand the importance of ethics in everyday social interactions:

Dude, loving the Lion is an exceptional thing, for example, when I see someone on the street wearing the *Remo*'s shirt it makes me want to hug, to talk, I don't know, it's automatic, like family or friend even without ever having seen the person before. We hug even at the time of the goal, it is a joy, an emotion, not to mention the chill in the body when I hear our hymn, when the lion enters the field, I do not know, it is different! I can say that it does not exist in any other club, it is only ours... Only the real *azulinos* know about this feeling.

Affective phenomena are of an intersubjective nature and this implies that they are directly related to the quality of interactions and relationships between subjects as experiential experiences. Affection can be understood as “a feeling of attachment and tenderness, affection, will” (Houaiss, 2000) and signals a dialogical relationship, of reciprocity established between the affect and to be affected, and is always directed to something or someone. This implies saying that a combination of rational and affective stimuli is necessary in order to understand the complexity of social relationships. According to Moran (1994):

The affective dynamizes the interactions, the exchanges, the search, the results. It facilitates communication, touches the participants, promotes union. The affective atmosphere captures and involves completely, multiplies the potentialities. Contemporary man, because of his strong relationship with the media and the

solitude of the big city, is very sensitive to forms of communication that emphasize emotional and affective appeals more than rational ones (p. 43).

To understand the intersubjective dynamics in complex societies (Velho, 2009), as well as the construction of affections in contemporaneity, it is necessary, among other things, to understand that we are experiencing a new communication paradigm – observed by Muniz Sodré (2002) in his discussion on the media bios – through which this ethics of sharing the sensitive gains density. In this context, it is necessary to bring to the discussion the idea that “contemporaneity is within the scope of sensible reason, emotions and public affections” (Maffesoli, 2010, p. 61). With the concept of *sensible reason*, Maffesoli (1998) wishes to introduce a reflection on the valuation – in his view, present in contemporary society – of sensitive social processes and subjectivity. This author believes that elements previously considered secondary in the understanding of reality are now better accepted on the perspective of a social transformation marked by the questioning of “modern” reason. Among these elements are the appreciation of affectivity, sensory experience and the questioning of productivism, objectivity and rational calculation as elements that establish the parameters of rationality.

Affectivity and communication of the sensitive are essential dimensions for social interaction, particularly in the present time. The fans who go to the soccer stadium, for this research, establish interactions of the most varied types and scales of intensity, and the game of *Clube do Remo* acts as a facilitator of these affective relationships, in addition to being a facilitator of social bonds in terms of interaction between people, that is, the sociality among the fans. This is what we perceived through B.N.’s testimony:

What does C33 represent to me? The *barra* today is half of my life, the other half is *Remo*. Here I made my friends, here I solved my problems, here I cried, here I smiled. At the moment I do not see myself anywhere else on the bench but on the *barra*.

For the fan I. C., a law graduate, the *Camisa 33* crowd has a representation in her life that was typified by the terms family and friendship:

Today it is practically another family, formed by a bond called *Clube do Remo*. We meet people, make friends and learn from them being positive or negative. At first we decided, I believe that just like me, most people come in with the intention of cheering and supporting the *Remo*, but after some time you begin to understand the meaning of the whole ideology. *Barra* is like a regionality class, you learn to love your roots from singing the hymn of your State to a simpler act that is like wearing a straw hat.



This opinion is confirmed by the *remista* G. L., student of physical education and who typifies the *Camisa 33* as an extension of his family:

I know it sounds like a cliché, but since I arrived I was very well received, welcomed as if I were a brother who was lost between common fans on side A. I adapted soon to its ideology, so I brought this to my life, completely. I have brothers and sisters there, from the newcomers, to the people who are since the first meeting of *Barra*, by the way, you should talk to them, they will know very nice things for your research. I am not saying I cannot live without the *Camisa 33*, but I do not want to live without the *Camisa 33*. I love this crowd, and thanks to it, that love that was planted by my grandfather, the first time he took me to *Baenão*, when I was four or five years old, became stronger.

These testimonies made it possible to understand the meaning that *Camisa 33* has for its members as a typification of the forms of belonging to a group. Schutz (2012) considers that the system of typification and relevance forms a relatively natural conception of the world that is shared: “Here the members are ‘at home’, they find their way without difficulties, guided by a set of more or less institutionalized habits, customs, norms, etc., which help them to interact with their peers who belong to the same situation” (p. 95).

The analysis of intersubjective socio-cultural processes in order to understand how power relations, surveillance, control and corrections are configured in an attempt to regulate the act of cheering for a soccer team, in several episodes, punishing (Foucault, 1993, 2002, 2010) those who disagree with the regulation of the internal group (Schutz, 2012) made it possible to analyze phenomenologically, also, the classification system (Lévi-Strauss, 1971) defined by the fans’ council. This council is made up mostly of middle-class, heterosexual, young and university students men, who divide the fans into more or less *remistas* or even “real *remistas*” and “people who understand soccer,” as they cheer only for *Remo*, that is, have the club as their only team. This enabled us to think about the social markers of difference, as well as the prestige systems existing in this classification. Would mixed fans be less *remistas*? This division generates several tensions in the games and intervals of the matches. The *Camisa 33* has the practice of shouting: “Game of the lion, shirt of the lion” aiming to make any fan who is with the shirt of another club or go sit in another place. The fact has already had several developments, generating physical aggression and cursing.

During the participant observation we also heard reports that highlight the tensions, conflicts and agencies, mainly played out by women fans in an eminently masculine-heterosexual space, being possible to analyze how it is being

modified by the acting of these fans who organize against forms of oppression, harassment and discrimination. Thus, analyzing the social processes of women fans beyond the soccer stadium in order to understand what it means to cheer in these spaces was important to the research. The daily test to which a women soccer fans are submitted, for the interlocutors, shows all the sexism that is still part of soccer, remembering that that is not their place. These reports allowed us to talk about what Ortner (1996) says, for whom gender “is itself a system of prestige – a system of speeches and practices that build masculinities and femininities not only in terms of differential roles and meanings, but also in terms of differential value, differential prestige” (p.143).

Social relations, as well as culture itself, are based on an affective basis, and it is precisely through affections that individuals express their culture. In this sense, we can even understand the need for brands, companies, soccer clubs and players to (re)adapt themselves to communicate meaning with this individual who, in contemporaneity, is based on a sensible reason. ■

REFERENCES

- Alabarces, P. (2005). *Hinchadas*. Prometeo.
- Clifford, J. (1998). Sobre a alegoria etnográfica. In J. Clifford, *A experiência etnográfica: Antropologia e literatura no século XX* (pp. 63-99). Ed. UFRJ.
- Clifford, J., & Marcus, G. E. (1986). *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*. University of California Press.
- Costa, F. (2007). *Enciclopédia do futebol paraense* (4ª ed.). Cabano.
- DaMatta, R. (1978). O ofício de etnólogo, ou como ter “anthropological blues”. In E. O. Nunes (Org.), *A aventura sociológica* (pp. 23-35). Zahar Editores.
- DaMatta, R. (1982). *Universo do futebol: Esporte e sociedade brasileira*. Pinakothek.
- Damo, A. (2005). *Dom à profissão: Uma etnografia do futebol de espetáculo a partir da formação de jogadores no Brasil e França* [Tese de doutorado, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul]. Repositório digital da UFRGS. <https://bit.ly/2GaQ8SX>
- Elias, N., & Dunning, E. (1985). *The quest for excitement*. Blackwell.
- Foucault, M. (1993). *A vontade de saber: História da sexualidade* (Vol. I). Graal.
- Foucault, M. (2002). *A ordem do discurso* (8ª ed.). Edições Loyola.
- Foucault, M. (2010). *Vigiar e punir*. Petrópolis.
- Gastaldo, E. (2014). Estudos sociais do esporte: Vicissitudes e possibilidades de um campo em formação. *Logos: Comunicação & Universidade*, 17(2), 6-15. <http://www.doi.org/10.12957/logos.2010.853>
- Geertz, C. (1989). *A interpretação das culturas*. LTC.



- Granovetter, M. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1930-1938. <https://doi.org/10.1086/225469>
- Hanks, W. F. (2013). Counterparts: Copresence and ritual intersubjectivity. *Language and Communication*, 33(3), 263-277. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2013.07.001>
- Houaiss, A. (2000). *Dicionário Houaiss da língua portuguesa*. Objetiva.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1971). Introducción a la obra de Marcel Mauss. In M. Mauss, *Sociologia y antropologia* (pp. 13-42). Editorial Tecnos.
- Maffesoli, M. (1996). *No fundo das aparências*. Vozes.
- Maffesoli, M. (1998). *Elogio da razão sensível*. Vozes.
- Maffesoli, M. (2003). *O conhecimento comum: Compêndio de sociologia compreensiva*. Brasiliense.
- Maffesoli, M. (2010). *No fundo das aparências*. Vozes.
- Moran, J. M. (1994). Interferências dos meios de comunicação no nosso conhecimento. *Intercom - Revista Brasileira de Comunicação*, 17(2), 38-49. <https://bit.ly/2QydCmZ>
- Ortner, B. (1996). *Making gender: The politics and erotics of culture*. Beacon Press.
- Palhares, M. F. S., Cabrera, N., & Schwartz, G. M. (2014). Notes for a comparative study between football fan groups from Brazil (torcidas organizadas) and Argentina (hinchadas). *Movimento*, 20(Esp.), 163-176. <https://bit.ly/2YMtYN5>
- Peirano, M. (1995). *A favor da etnografia*. Relume-Dumará.
- Schutz, A. (1967). *The phenomenology of the social world*. Northwestern University Press.
- Schutz, A. (1976a). Equality and the social meaning structure. An essay in social psychology. In A. Schutz, *Collected Papers* (Vol. II) (pp. 226-273). Martinus Nijhoff.
- Schutz, A. (1976b). The stranger: An essay in social psychology. In A. Schutz, *Collected Papers* (Vol. II) (pp. 91-105). Martinus Nijhoff.
- Schutz, A. (1978). *Phenomenology and sociology*. Penguin Books.
- Schutz, A. (1979). *Fenomenologia e relações sociais*. Zahar.
- Schutz, A. (1996a). Political economy: Human conduct in social life. In A. Schutz, *Collected Papers* (Vol. IV) (pp. 93-105). Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Schutz, A. (1996b). Outline of a theory of relevance. In A. Schutz, *Collected Papers* (Vol. IV) (pp. 3-5). Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Schutz, A. (2012). *Sobre fenomenologia e relações sociais*. Vozes.
- Simmel (1983). *O problema da sociologia*. Ática.
- Simmel, G. (1999). *Sociologie: Etudes sur les formes de lasocialization*. Presses Universitaires de France.

- Simmel, G. (2006). *Questões fundamentais da sociologia*. Zahar.
- Sodré, M. (2002) *Antropológica do espelho: Uma teoria da comunicação linear e em rede*. Vozes.
- Velho, G. (2009). Urban anthropology interdisciplinarity and boundaries of knowledge. *Vibrant*, 8(2), 452-479. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1809-43412011000200023>
- Weber, M. (2004). *Economia e sociedade: Fundamentos da sociologia compreensiva* (Vol. 1.). UnB/Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo.

Article received on July 02, 2019 and approved on August 06, 2020.