The development of swimming in Brazil and its structural intervening factors El desarrollo de la natación en Brasil y sus factores estructurales intervinientes

*Mayara Torres Ordonhes, *Camile Luciane da Silva, **Vinicius Machado de Oliveira, **Juliano de Souza, *Fernando Renato Cavichiolli

*Universidade Federal do Paraná (Brazil), **Universidade Estadual de Maringá (Brazil).

Abstract. This study aimed to identify how relationships are established in the development of swimming in a Brazilian sports entity, and hypothesized the existence of a structural dynamics sustained by hidden mechanisms of domination. The research consisted of a case study and the sample was a Brazilian sports entity in swimming, chosen from the analysis of the national classification in the period 2013-2018. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with two managers, two athletes and two coaches of the entity. The study had the following analytical categories: structured relationship between performance and participatory sports; coach influence on athlete development; financial support; sports facilities that provide good training conditions; club strategic planning; organization of a public policy framework for sport; political and sports structure; sports talent identification. After systematizing the data, these were analyzed together with Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory. From the analyzed case, one can confirm the hypothesis that swimming has a relative social distinction in the Brazilian sports sphere, as links hidden mechanisms of domination in a structural way in its management, such as the different positions held in the specific subfield, the principle of capital differentiation, as well as the importance of raising public funds and the symbolic power of the entity.

Keywords: sport, physical education, elite sport development, sociology of sport, sports intervening factors.

Resumen. Este estudio tuvo como objetivo identificar cómo se establecen relaciones en el desarrollo de la natación en una entidad deportiva brasileña, y planteó la hipótesis de la existencia de una dinámica estructural sustentada en mecanismos ocultos de dominación. La investigación consistió en un estudio de caso y la muestra fue una entidad deportiva brasileña en natación, elegida del análisis de la clasificación nacional en el período 2013-2018. Se realizaron entrevistas semiestructuradas con dos directivos, dos deportistas y dos entrenadores de la entidad. El estudio contó con las siguientes categorías analíticas: relación estructurada entre rendimiento y deportes participativos; influencia del entrenador en el desarrollo del atleta; soporte financiero; instalaciones deportivas que brinden buenas condiciones de entrenamiento; planificación estratégica del club; organización de un marco de políticas públicas para el deporte; estructura política y deportiva; identificación de talentos deportivos. Después de sistematizar los datos, estos fueron analizados junto con la teoría sociológica de Pierre Bourdieu. A partir del caso analizado, se puede confirmar la hipótesis de que la natación tiene una distinción social relativa en el ámbito deportivo brasileño, ya que vincula mecanismos ocultos de dominación de manera estructural en su gestión, como las diferentes posiciones ocupadas en el subcampo específico, el principio de la diferenciación del capital, así como la importancia de la captación de fondos públicos y el poder simbólico de la entidad.

Palabras clave: deporte, educación física, desarrollo deportivo de élite, sociología del deporte, factores que intervienen en el deporte.

Introduction

In Brazil, a country known worldwide for being «the country of soccer», to state that swimming has a national tradition would be at least risky. However, throughout the Olympic trajectory of swimming, Brazilian swimmers gained 14 medals between 1952 and 2016, one gold, four silver and nine bronze (Gazeta do Povo, 2019). This data may be relevant, for example, if considering that out of the total of countries that participated in swimming events in the Rio 2016

Olympic Games, only 10.40% countries were present on the podium (González-Ravé, Amores & Santos-Garcia, 2017).

In the Brazilian case, about 40 entities make up the national ranking of swimming clubs per year (Confederação Brasileira de Desportos Aquáticos, 2020). Considering the entities that had the highest number of results in the national ranking of the modality, it is possible to identify a certain predominance of some institutions in the top positions of the ranking. Especially because of the need for specific physical structure to practice the sport, the entities that develop swimming are much more restricted to the general population compared to other sports. Even with restricted access to the

Fecha recepción: 10-11-20. Fecha de aceptación: 02-02-21 Andrés Gómez-Acosta cagomez434@ucatolica.edu.co

population, these entities received large amounts of funds from the union. By the year 2019, the Brazilian Water Sports Confederation has received about \$11.707.935,00 USD (conversion based on the values of January 21, 2020, \$1.00 USD = R\$ 5.35) through the *Agnelo Piva* Law (this law providing for the decentralization of funds from federal lotteries operating in the country to the Brazilian Olympic Committee, Brazilian Paralympic Committee and Brazilian Club Committee).

Between 2005 and 2020, Brazilian athletes received about \$ 7,963,281 USD through the country's largest athlete funding programs, Bolsa-Atleta (aims to allocate public funds to athletes who have shown good results in previous years to the application for the benefit) and Bolsa-Atleta Pódio (category of the Bolsa-Atleta program that aims to direct public resources to athletes who obtained good results in Olympic Games, World Games, or even those that are among the top twenty in the modality specific ranking). However, according to the specialized literature, in addition to financial support (Costa, Caregnato, López-Gil & Cavichiolli, 2020; Abajo, Morales, Leonet & Llorente, 2020), there are several structural intervening factors related to the development of sports, such as sports public policies, sports facilities, support for athletes, geographical factors, among others (Caetano, Sentone, López-Gil, Caetano & Cavichiolli, 2020; Castillo-Retamal, Matus-Castillo, Vargas-Contreras, Canan, Starepravo & Oliveira, 2020; Costa, et al., 2020; Muñio, Regaño, Arque & Paracuellos, 2018; De Bosscher, De Knop, Van Bottenburg, Shibli & Bingham, 2009; Green & Houlihan, 2008; Green & Oakley, 2001). Still, in addition to the intervening factors identified in the various frameworks proposed by the literature, Lucidarme, Babiak & Willem (2018) declare that the number of sports organizations involved with sport development is relatively high, providing for the existence of interdependencies and power imbalances between the organizations, in a dynamic in which one can exercise relative power over the other. For Bergsgard (2018), when conducting research related to sports management, sociological analysis can be used in view of its potential to discuss the various structured and structuring power relations of the field.

Among a series of perspectives that allow the characteristics of sports organizations as members of a sphere saturated with power and permeated by specific interests, Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical model stands out for the reflexivity and scope that this investigative front represents (Souza & Júnior, 2017). Considering

the macro explanatory model of the social world presented by Pierre Bourdieu, several studies have been carried out using the author as a theoretical contribution to the analysis of the sports field and its various subfields (Júnior, 2004; Silva, 2007, 2015; Salvini, 2012, 2017). This study not only chose Bourdieu's model to support the discussions but also to methodologically construct the object. In doing so, contributions are added to the sociology of sport, either by identifying and analyzing specific habitus (Bergsgard, 2018); either by reading the distinctions associated with the field-specific capital distribution structure (Warde, 2006; Rowe, 2015; Bergsgard, 2018).

By the way, if in some countries the term «sports club» can be understood as voluntary organizations attended by individuals from different social classes (Misener & Doherty, 2014; Wicker & Hallmann, 2013), in Brazil the perspective of «club» is not that. The Brazilian membership clubs are characterized as private entities whose member must pay a certain amount to be accepted and subsequently maintain a monthly contribution. From this association, the individual has the right to use the physical facilities of the club in question. In this, a distinctive dynamic of domination is instituted.

On these terms, the present study aimed to analyze the development of swimming in an important entity in Brazil, paying attention to the way the structural intervening factor work within this subfield. The importance of this type of case study is emphasized, since investigations of this nature, as suggested by Dowling, Brown, Legg & Grix (2018), in addition to providing decisive contextual descriptions of sport policies, have the potential to contribute to the discussion related to sport management and development. In dialogue with the theoretical and methodological approach, this study hypothesized that swimming not only have a relative social distinction in the Brazilian sports sphere, but also links hidden mechanisms of domination in a structural way in its management, that is, there are specific elements of domination and power that contribute to certain institutions to occupy dominant positions in the relationships existing in the subfield, in a hidden way.

Method

Sample and study design

This was a qualitative case study. The study sample consisted of a Brazilian swimming sports entity, chosen

intentionally from the analysis of the national ranking of the modality in the period between 2013 and 2018. From this analysis, it was possible to observe that the referred entity was the only one in the state of Paraná (Brazil) to be among the ten entities with the highest number of results. In this way, it is possible to identify that the entity in question has a significant expression in the swimming subfield in that state and, consequently, in the country.

For analysis, semi-structured interviews were conducted in the entity to identify the intervening factors for the development of swimming in an important entity in Brazil. The number of respondents was intentionally defined as follows: two managers related to performance swimming; two athletes belonging to the entity's swimming «Olympic category»; finally, two coaches who trained and/or have already trained these performance athletes.

The justification for this number of interviewees considered the focus of the study, which was the manifestation of performance swimming and, in addition, included the theoretical-methodological analysis based on the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu, allowing the analysis of the provision and organization of this social space, in addition to understanding the habitus of agents, the capitals involved in this space and the manifestations of power.

Understanding the need to consider the participants' secrecy, confidentiality and privacy when working with this research method, to avoid the identification of agents, we chose to name the interviewees by AI, A-II, A-III, A-IV, AV and A-VI, so it is not identified which agent is the manager, coach or athlete. In addition, it should be noted that this study was duly approved by the Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Paraná and the participants agreed to sign the Informed Consent (CAAE: 88770618.4.0000.0102).

Data analysis

The scripts used in the semi-structured interviews were composed as follows: 16 questions for managers, 15 questions for coaches and, finally, 14 questions for athletes. The average duration of the interviews was 36min46s.

Data were analyzed using the software Nvivo - QSR International version 12. The technological resource Nvivo made it possible to classify the interviews into specific categories expressed by the researchers, from reading and analysis in full. While reading, while observing certain specific subjects (e.g., management, financial investment, etc.), the corresponding excerpts were selected and systematized into analysis categories according to the coverage percentage. The coverage percentage of the categories was based on the sum of the respective approach percentages in the isolated interviews, resulting in the total coverage percentage. Each interview represents a total of 100% of the interviewee's speech, so the total coverage percentage exceeds a scale of 0 to 100%.

Thus, it was possible to identify the following categories: structured relationship between performance and participatory sports (f=66.29% coverage); coach influence on athlete development (f=62.24% coverage); financial support (f=17.71% coverage); sports facilities that provide good training conditions (f=32.85% coverage); club strategic planning (f=28.56% coverage); organization of a public policy framework for sports (f=35.68% coverage); political and sports structure (f=41.51% coverage); identification of sports talents (f=19.71% coverage).

After systematizing the data into categories, these were analyzed together with Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory, based on the concepts of habitus, field, capital and power, aiming to identify how the decisive relations in the management and development of swimming were constituted in reference to the sample examined. Habitus is the product of practical knowledge of the world, an interiorization of social structures; it represents a predisposition for the action of agents, manifested without their awareness, that is, in an unplanned way (Bourdieu, 2013). The notion of field designates a relatively autonomous space, a microcosm with its specific laws, a universe in which agents and institutions are inserted, a field of forces and struggles that occur all the time, either to conserve or to transform this space into specific (Bourdieu, 2004). For the sociologist, the accumulation of specific capital (cultural, economic, social or symbolic) of an agent stems from previous struggles that this agent has experienced, and will influence the orientation of the strategies that this agent will take (Bourdieu, 1984). This concentration of specific capital in the fields supports the symbolic power that certain agents represent in relation to others (Bourdieu, 1989; 2015).

Results

The classification of the interviews allowed to identify the following categories defined as intervening factors for the development of swimming:



Figure 1. Categories systematized from the interviews. Source: Nvivo. Systematized by the authors.

Analyzing the interviews of the agents related to the category regarding the way in which the performance sport and the participatory sport are structured in the entity (f=66.29%), it is identified the difficulty of the development of the performance manifestation within an institution with social root.

The analyzed entity allows some athletes to represent it even without being a member of the club, through the category «temporary accredited athlete». This is pointed out by some respondents as a limiting factor. According to A-I, the fact that performance and participatory athletes share the same space is a problem. According to A-II, the relationship between performance sports and participatory sports in the organization has never been very friendly. A-II, corroborating the position of A-I, emphasizes that the fact of dividing the same training space between the two sports manifestations is evident as a barrier to the development of the sport. For A-VI, even these existing tensions within the entity contribute to the fact that it does not potentiate the development of the performance sport, failing to invest and develop this manifestation. In addition, according to A-V, there are tensions between temporary accredited athletes and athletes who are members of the club. This perception is also evident in the narrative of A-VI, when he says that: *«it's okay to have accredited* athletes, I even like it because it brings a lot of good people to represent the Club, but there are members who don't like it».

Regarding the category regarding the coach's influence on sports training (f=62.24%), it was noted the importance of the coach's role for sports development in the entity in different contexts and responses.

According to agents A-I, A-II and A-III, the role of

the technical team and the importance of being qualified are fundamental to the training process. Agents A-V and A-VI also identify it as the main support for athletes. In agreement with A-III, A-IV and A-V, coaches still play key roles in the process of detecting sports talent at the club, whether in training schools within the institution itself or outside it, through invitations to future temporary athletes. According to A-III, the athlete's willingness to accept paying the price necessary to obtain good results is fundamental in this dynamic.

InA-III's opinion, although he acknowledges the importance of other factors for the entity's sporting success, he admits that much of this success is due to the participation and performance of the coaching team, a statement that corroborates to some extent with the statements of the informants A-IV and AV.

Considering the category political and sports structure ($\not=41.51\%$), respondents were asked about the existence of any direct or indirect relationship between this entity and the public sports institutions (federal, municipal and state governments). In face of this issue, five agents stated that the entity has links with these instances, thus signaling that the club, to some extent, seeks to establish partnerships with the government in order to enhance its actions.

In relation to the organization of public policies for the sport in the country (*f*=35.68%), four agents indicated that it occurs in a structured way, although it is true that the agents tend to correlate the fact of receiving financial incentives with the imaginary of organized public policies. However, it is worth mentioning that not all agents interpret this way, as it can be observed in the speech of the A-IV: *«I don't see a policy focused on sports, there are scholarships for athletes.»*

Another point raised on this issue related to the fact that resources intended for the entity are characterized as complementary to the entity's budget and not essential. Thus, it is clear that once the performance sport becomes a goal set by the club, there must be financial management strategies to promote the sport in this manifestation.

As for the category regarding the existence of sports facilities that provide good training conditions (f=32.85%), all agents acclaimed the quality of the club's infrastructure. However, despite the fact that this structure was considered adequate, agents AI, A-II and A-III stated that, due to the large demand and the large number of students and members, the organization of

the pool during training becomes a limiting factor.

After questioning the agents about the existence of a strategic planning (f=28.56%) for the club to reach their respective positions in recent years, two agents reported the existence of an action plan, mainly related to the training program planning and club management style. In this sense, according to A-I, the expressive results in the sport can be attributed to the club's management style, a style that has been reaping the rewards of efforts in terms of results, participation and adherence. Still on this management, A-I reiterates that «the club today is against everything that is happening, [...] the club today collects more than its monthly average expenditure, [...] has expansion plan, [...] constructive potential, [...] management style». According to A-IV, «we sat down and made a whole plan of what would be the volume, the intensity and the training sessions. We set up a work program for the Club and on top of that program - it was from 2011 - the Club gave a leverage [...]». However, according to A-IV, this planning was jointly agreed between technicians and managers.

Nevertheless, on the other hand, according to agents A-II, A-V and VI, there was no such strategic planning by the club, showing divergence in the reports of the informants. Given this, the interviewees attributed the recent results of the club, mainly, to the potential of the technical staff of the entity. In this direction, it is possible to perceive, in dissonant views, as, for example, those of A-II, AV and VI, again, the importance of the coach in the development of athletes, being even characterized as the great differential in relation to the range of goals.

From the position of agent A-VI, stating that *«there comes a time when athletes have to leave the club in order to earn money, in order to support themselves [...]»*, it is possible to question which ones are in fact the club's objectives, because even though the objectives related to the formation of Olympic and Paralympic athletes have been established in the social statute of the entity, there are migrations of the athletes of the entity to professional clubs, so the formation of athletes in the club is restricted to a certain point in their careers. There is evidence, therefore, that the social club assists the athlete until he has to opt for professionalism. Thereafter, such athletes have to migrate to other clubs that meet this demand.

When asking what are the club's incentives for athletes, AV, VI agents stated that, unlike some professional clubs, the organization does not allocate financial resources directly to their athletes, but they contribute to the costing of trips and competitions for certain athletes. That is, those who have significant results receive financial support.

When asked about the existence of a sports talent identification program at the club (f=19.71%), the answers differed. Some agents, exalting the entity's symbolic capital, say: «athletes come to the club, so we don't have to do «a week of catch-up training» or as in «sieving» of court sports (A-I). Still in this wake, agents AI and A-II emphasize that the institution is characterized as a training entity, with relevance and high number of athletes coming from the club's basic schools, which are analyzed annually, so that those in which the team technique notes how potential athletes for the performance sport are called upon to make up the competitive team. On the other hand, when interviewing another agent, A-V stated that he started representing the entity after receiving an invitation from one of the club's own coaches, which is contrary to previous reports.

Continuing the questions, regarding the financial support (f=17.71%;), it was possible to realize that the agents only explain the sources of incentive, whether directed to the athletes of the club or to the entity itself, but not specify what are the possible relationships with sporting outcomes.

Discussion

The present study aimed to identify how the development of the swimming modality occurs in an important entity in Brazil, paying attention to the way in which the structural intervening factors act within this subfield.

Through the interviews, one can perceive the centrality of the interviewee in the process and the lack of distance people have from the field or subfield they are part of. In this way, it is possible to perceive a certain invisibility of the support, be it physical or financial, observing a predominance of subjective factors (us, athletes, performance, success, etc.) related to the interiority. That is, the agents score more the relationships that involve the individual dimension, such as the relationship between the athlete, the coach or the team, making other structuring issues go unnoticed, such as support and structure. Such information corroborates Green & Oakley (2001), when realizing the importance given to team members (athletes, coaches, managers etc.), Digel (2002), De Bosscher et al. (2006) and Balish, McLaren, Rainham & Blanchard (2014), in relation to the determining role of support and the formation of quality technical committees. Regarding this principle of interiority, Bourdieu (2007) states that the agent involved in practice knows the world through a knowledge that does not establish itself in the relationship of exteriority.

The agents' statements regarding the tensions existing within the entity by the performance and participatory athletes, confront some aspects, such as the fact that the analyzed entity is among the five with the highest number of results in the Brazilian national ranking, even if, from the agents' point of view, the entity is still in the process of developing the modality from the perspective of performance.

The existence of the intention to strengthen the entity's position in the manifestation of performance swimming is perceived. However, agents related to this process still have difficulties in doing so, an example of this is the existence of tensions between the manifestation of income and participatory. This fact can be triggered due to the various positions that exist in this membership club: athletes who are members of the association, temporary accredited athletes, students of initiation schools or members who just want to practice the activity on a participative level, without competitive nature. Each agent, considering his position in this subfield, somehow defines the actions that establish power relations and interests. What can be identified from the capital that each agent accumulates.

Looking at the different positions in this particular subfield, it was possible to notice different accumulations of economic, social and cultural capital of the agents. Although the accredited temporary athletes have the same training conditions on the part of the managers and coaches and are holders of the necessary sports capital, they do not always have the other capitals, thus contributing to the existence of specific tensions in the subfield. For Bourdieu (1996), it is precisely in cooperation and conflict that these social positions, made possible by the distribution of different types of capital, manifest their actions and struggles, responsible for conserving or transforming this reality. For the author, it is social differentiation that enables collective confrontations between agents located in different positions in the social space.

Based on the principle of differentiation and that this space is subjected to different capital distributions, in this specific case, besides the sports capital of athletes, there are several capitals mobilized by the agents of this entity. Social capital is the most prominent in the interviews, since in this universe the operating mechanism depends on the association of agents with the entity and the latter with government agencies, through the identification, recognition and appropriation of certain policies that contribute to the development of the modality.

The studied entity is traditionally characterized as a social space of families that own these capitals. Thus, the club's proposal to allow non-members to join the organization opposes the characterization of the club (since it changes from a membership club to a club that forms high-performance athletes at certain times). Thus, the tension between the agents is based on an institutional position, seen in the bylaws and bylaws, characterizing the habitus of club members, which differs from the habitus of those «non-members». In this regard, Bourdieu (1996) states that habitus are not only differentiated, but are also differentiators, acting as operators of distinctions. Thus, although the agents are part of the same structure, the existing symbolic differences, the distinct distinctive signs characterize the positions in the studied environment and, consequently, the relations occurring there (Bourdieu, 1996).

In this scenario, it can be understood that these relations of forces existing between agents that have a specific incorporation of specific capital in front of the others, constituents of the agents' habitus, are the actions of the power field existing in this structure (Bourdieu, 1996). From the moment when the agents' habitus is threatened, that is, when dominated agents become part of the game, being able to acquire or incorporate the capitals related to that structure, the balance of power in this field is tensioned. The actions of some agents, even though they are part of the same structure, differ systematically from others, such as between members and temporary accredited members. This disposition, verifiable in this subfield, in a way, occurs as a consequence of the possibility of non-members being part of this entity, that is, it is based on the intention of the club itself - even if this is not perceived - and is motivated, sometimes in pursuit of sporting results and financial investments.

As for the existence of a sports talent identification program at the club, the technical team plays a decisive role in capturing sports talent, even if this is not a norm directed at them. These appointments corroborate the literature that affirm the importance of the coach's role in the athlete development process (Green & Oakley, 2001; De Bosscher, et al., 2006; Sotiriadou & Shilbury, 2009; Balish, et al., 2014). However, it is possible to notice that some agents of the entity, mainly the leaders, prioritize the symbolic power of the entity and affirm that it is not necessary to go after the athletes, although the technicians mobilize strategies to co-opt the best athletes for the composition of the team, regardless if they are temporary accredited athletes or member athletes.

As it was possible to verify through the interviews, an important factor for the increase in the development of performance sport in the studied entity, is related to the raising of public resources for the institution, considering that, thus, the club does not need to direct resources from active club contributors, members, to foster an entity-specific demand such as performance sports (interviews by agents I and III). This report corroborates Green & Oakley (2001), when addressing the importance of directing financial resources; supports Digel (2002) when emphasizing the importance of the financial structure directed to performance sport, and De Bosscher et al. (2009), when realizing the positive influence that the financial resource can generate.

From the respondents' statements related to financial support, it was noted that economic capital, although not the main object of dispute, is what drives this structure, especially in its articulations with the political field and the tensions between members and athletes accredited as temporary. This becomes visible by identifying the relationships between the entity and organs of the national political and sports structure. For example, it was observed that the public financial resources allocated to the club in 2015 and 2016 were relevant, reaching a total of \$ 1.959.164,21 USD (conversion based on the values of January 21, 2020, \$1.00 USD = R\$ 5.35) through decentralization notices of the federal government. Such information can be interpreted as an effect of the *field interpenetration* dynamics proposed by Bourdieu, considering that, although the sports field has its own history and presents relative autonomy in relation to other fields, this subfield is permeated by other fields.

With this relative autonomy of the sports field, it is possible to see entities such as committees, confederations and federations, which promote and strengthen the modalities in the sports field. It is possible to observe that this *interpenetration* in the political field occurs mainly when trying to identify the means of obtaining *economic capital* of the entity.

Although, according to the informants, there was no strategic planning by the club regarding the development of performance sports, it was possible to detect that such planning was largely carried out, especially with a view to capturing resources, since the entity participated in several call for decentralization of resources. Therefore, sports development and the results obtained in recent years came as a result of these actions. Even though it is an autonomous entity, there is a very close relationship with the public power in obtaining funds and, according to Lucidarme, Babiak & Willem (2018), it is important that the organization be aware of the weight of the partnership with the government, either due to the importance of government collaboration with the entity, or the relative dependence the government has on sports organizations responsible for the development of sports.

Probably, this attenuates the relationship between associates and temporary athletes. That is, the government invests a reasonable amount of money in the club, improving it in several ways, such as the structure of the water park, where members and «temporary accredited athletes» can use.

In relation to the appointments raised about the importance of sports facilities and the fact that the high number of students is a limiting factor, it is possible to establish relationships with the appointments of Green & Oakley (2001) and Digel (2002), when stating that sports facilities should present priority access to performance athletes and that the management of the training structure is essential.

With respect to the questions related to the organization of public policies for sport, a parallel can be made with some theoretical references, such as De Bosscher et al. (2006) and Marcu and Buhas (2014), when considering the importance of public policies and strategies adopted by a country characterized as an important contextual factor for the formation of athletes. Nonetheless, the authors argue that long-term sporting performance should be considered, as financial support with a meritocratic nature may be earmarked for other purposes by their beneficiaries, thus, the transfer of resources should be prioritized by means of programs and projects that contribute to sports training.

Even, parallels with Bourdieu (1996) can be established when thinking that sports public policies sometimes act in a welfare-oriented and sometimes meritocratic way, allocating financial resources to agents who have - or not - the same capital. This makes some agents, because they do not have these certain economic, cultural or social capitals, to direct the resource for other purposes.

It is possible to notice the specific capital of some agents incorporated through the articulations in the political field and in the sports field, mainly in relation to the fundraising system, besides the potential to mobilize it in the respective entity. When asked about the relationship between the entity and public agencies, informants always mention government programs and projects through which the club gets benefits. In this direction, it was possible to verify that some agents of this entity occupy positions that permeate other fields related to the field of sports practices, such as the political field. This occurs mainly when observing the specific positions related to the elaboration of sports projects for the entity. Thus, when the agent moves through the sports field and the other fields related to, such as the aforementioned political field, the greater is the autonomy of this social actor and, consequently, of the entity, in relation to a certain field that it occupies.

In the present analysis, one can certify that some agents and, respectively, the entity to which the agents belong to, are dominant in the analyzed subfield, as a structured structure, considering aspects such as the institution has agents that permeate others fields, endowed with a specific capital required to carry out the elaboration of sports projects that may be approved and, with that, the entity get resources that other entities have difficulty to conquer.

According to Lucidarme, Babiak & Willem (2018), the relationship between power, resources and decisionmaking represents a duality, especially because power directly influences decisions in a given field, such as a «bargaining game». In the referred case analyzed, it is noted that the actions, dispositions and actions taken by the agents belonging to the analyzed entity are products of the incorporation and knowledge of this structure.

In five out of the six interviews analyzed, the symbolic power of the structure is legitimized and the sense of belonging of each of the interviewees is remarkable, praising and extolling the entity, being characteristic of the respective *habitus* of the structure's agents. It can be stated that the informant's *habitus* that presented the arbitrary positioning to the others has not yet been incorporated, considering that this agent has been in the entity for a short time, in addition to having joined by the modality of «temporary accredited athlete». Professionals, member athletes and temporary accredited athletes appropriate symbolic values that the club maintains socially and, by observing this «value» held by the institution, agents feel privileged to be part of this social space, incorporating the same beliefs and values as yours. In this case, the athletes and managers of the entity end up being recognized for representing an association that has representativeness in the sports environment and incorporate their references, making

this club their extension. These manifestations are established as a result of the *symbolic power* that the entity has in relation to the others in the subfield of the analyzed modality.

In addition, the transposition of the entity's positioning to the agents' own positioning maintains the accumulation of *symbolic capital* by the social actors, contributing, in the same way, to the *symbolic power* that the institution exercises, not only in relation to its agents but in relation to other entities in the subfield of swimming, considering the social recognition that this association has nationally.

This possibility for athletes from outside the club to migrate to the club is a possible social contribution from the entity (before the public funding agencies), which, from the moment it raises public resources for training athletes, needs to demonstrate return to society.

Still, it is necessary to analyze the way in which these investments have been occurring, in particular, in understanding how these resources can return to society through social counterparts. It is possible to raise questions as to how this counterpart occurs, whether it actually refers to a social return or whether the actions taken by the entity are actually converted to the institution itself.

Importantly, the respective entity found in the law such possibilities and the fact that it is constantly provided with financial resources was only possible because the agents belonging to the club understood the dynamics of operation of this universe, and sought to appropriate the specific capital needed to such.

The fact that the present research was conducted in a single entity and on only one modality may be characterized as the study limitation, however, the study advances in the identification of structural intervening factors existing in sports development that need to be known by political and sports managers. In this sense, the authors suggest other studies to be conducted in order to analyze the existing social dynamics in the sports field and to identify the various intervening relations in sports development.

Conclusion

By identifying how relationships occur in the development of swimming in this entity, aspects that go beyond the *frameworks* proposed by the literature on structural intervening factors related to the management of a sports entity can be verified, confirming the central hypothesis that there is a

structural dynamic based on hidden mechanisms of domination in the subfield in question, which is beyond the interpretation of these *frameworks*.

In the case studied, such hidden mechanisms, in turn, contribute for the entity having greater power over other institutions in the social space, emphasizing the importance of the relative power of the agents in the observed actions and dispositions, such as the constant participation in notices for decentralization of public resources, made possible by the capitals of the agents responsible for performing such a role. Thus, the entity occupies a dominant position in the Brazilian swimming subfield, acting, in addition to structuring, as a structured structure, that is, some agents of the entity are dominant in the analyzed subfield, because they have an understanding of the dynamics existing in their respective subfields, contributing to ensure that their actions are assertive in relation to other entities that seek to obtain quality resources, equipment and facilities to develop swimming in the country. It is noticed that the agents holding this specific *habitus*, with specific interests, become key players in the game, being able to absorb subsidies to keep the entity in a certain position, being dominant over the others.

Further, the swimming modality in Brazil is characterized as a practice developed predominantly in membership clubs, and presents a relative social distinction in the Brazilian sports sphere. These entities sometimes already have quality sports equipment and facilities, however, given their dominance in the subfield, they articulate assertively to acquire resources, maintaining the monopoly of sports development of the modality in question.

From our findings, it is possible to identify that sports development in Brazil tends to manifest itself in a centralized manner by entities that understand the dynamics of structural intervening factors, such as the symbolic power of the entity and the incorporation of specific capitals in relation to the others (*economic, social and cultural capital* of the agents). Such intervening factors end up helping other sports intervening factors to be empowered, such as sports facilities, capturing sporting talents and public resources for the institution. Thus, entities that have not yet incorporated these capitals have difficulties in legitimizing themselves in this subfield.

Acknowledgements

This study was carried out with the support from

the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel - Brazil (CAPES) - Financing Code 001.

References

- Abajo, J. M., Morales, M.T.V., Leonet, M. G. L., & Llorente, P. A. (2020). La insuficiente financiación del deporte de alto rendimiento femenino en la CAPV. *Retos*, (39), 289-297. https://doi.org/10.47197/retos.v0i39.77883
- Balish, S. M., McLaren, C., Rainham, D., & Blanchard, C. (2014). Correlates of youth sport attrition: A review and future directions. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, *15*(4), 429-439. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2014.04.003
- Bergsgard, N.A. (2018). Power and domination in sport policy and politics three intertwined levels of exercising power. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 10(4), 653-667. https://doi.org/10.1080/ 19406940.2018.1490335.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Questões de sociologia*. Rio de Janeiro: Marco Zero.
- Bourdieu, P. (1989). *O poder simbólica* Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil S.A.
- Bourdieu, P. (1996). *Razões práticas: sobre a teoria da ação.* Campinas: Papirus Editora.
- Bourdieu, P. (2004). Os Usos sociais da ciência: por uma sociologia clínica do campo científico. São Paulo: Unesp.
- Bourdieu, P. (2007). *Meditações Pascalianas*. 2ª Edição. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil.
- Bourdieu, P. (2013). *Esboço de uma teoria da prática*. In: ORTIZ (ORG), R. (Ed.). A sociologia de Pierre Bourdieu. p. 39– 72. São Paulo: Olho D'água.
- Bourdieu, P. (2015). *A economia das trocas simbólicas* 8 ed. São Paulo: Perspectiva.
- De Bosscher, V., De Knop, P., Van Bottenburg, M., & Shibli, S. (2006). A conceptual framework for analysing sports policy factors leading to international sporting success. *European sport management quarterly, 6*(2), 185-215. https:// /doi.org/10.1080/16184740600955087
- De Bosscher, V., De Knop, P., Van Bottenburg, M., Shibli, S., & Bingham, J. (2009). Explaining international sporting success: An international comparison of elite sport systems and policies in six countries. *Sport Management Review*, *12*(3), 113-136. https://doi.org/10.1016/ j.smr.2009.01.001.
- Digel, H. (2002). Sport Sociology: A comparison of competitive sport systems. *New studies in athletics*, 17(1), 37-50.
- Caetano, C. I., Sentone, R. G., López-Gil, J. F., Caetano, H. B. S., & Cavichiolli, F. R. (2020). Influência do tamanho e densidade populacional no rendimento esportivo da ginástica artística brasileira (Influence of population size and density on sports performance of Brazilian artístic

gymnastics). Retos, (38), 66-70. Retrieved from: https://recyt.fecyt.es/index.php/retos/article/view/74338

- Castillo-Retamal, F., Matus-Castillo, C., Vargas-Contreras, C., Canan, F., Starepravo, F., & Oliveira, A.B. (2020). Participación ciudadana en la elaboración de las políticas públicas de actividad física y deporte: el caso de Chile (Citizen participation in the elaboration of public policies for physical activity and sports: the case of Chile). *Retos, 38*(38), 482-489. https://doi.org/ 10.47197/retos.v38i38.76340
- Confederação Brasileira de Desportos Aquáticos (2020). Boletins. Available in: <https://cbda.org.br/br/ natacao/boletins>.
- Costa, I. P., Caregnato, A. F., Gil, J. F. L., & Cavichiolli, F. R. (2020). Atletismo: iniciação esportiva de acordo com atletas olímpicos brasileiros. *Retos: nuevas tendencias en educación física, deporte y recreación*, (39), 33. https://doi.org/ 10.47197/retos.v0i39.78621
- Dowling, M., Brown, P., Legg, D., & Grix, J. (2018). Deconstructing comparative sport policy analysis: assumptions, challenges, and new directions. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, *10*(4), 687-704. https:/ /doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2018.1530276
- Gazeta do Povo, (2019). Todas as medalhas olímpicas do Brasil. Available in: <https:// infograficos.gazetadopovo.com.br/esportes/todas-asmedalhas-olimpicas-do-brasil/>.
- González-Ravé, J. M., Amores, I.Y., & Santos-Garcia, D. J. (2017). Análisis del rendimiento de las pruebas de natación en los JJOO «Rio2016. *RETOS. Nuevas Tendencias en Educación Física, Deporte y Recreación*, (32), 256-259. https://doi.org/10.47197/retos.v0i32.56460
- Green, M., & Houlihan, B. (2008). *Comparative elite sport development: Systems, structures and public policy.* editores, Oxford, Inglaterra.
- Green, M., & Oakley, B. (2001). Elite sport development systems and playing to win: uniformity and diversity in international approaches. *Leisure studies*, *20*(4), 247-267. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614360110103598
- Inteligência Esportiva. (2019). Banco de dados Inteligência Esportiva. Available in: <http:// www.inteligenciaesportiva.ufpr.br>.
- Júnior, W. M. (2004). «Sacando» o voleibol. São Paulo: Hucitec.
- Lucidarme, S., Babiak, K., &Willem, A. (2018). Governmental power in elite sport networks: a resource-dependency perspective. *European Sport Management Quarterly, 18*(3), 348-372. https://doi.org/10.1080/ 16184742.2017.1405998
- Marcu, V., & Buhas, S. D. (2014). Sports organizations– management and science. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 117, 678-682. https://doi.org/10.1016/ j.sbspro.2014.02.281
- Muñio, Ĉ. M., Regaño, R. M., Arque, I. A., & Paracuellos, J. P

(2018). Countercultural sports and local policies: an approach from the theory of public policy networks (Deportes contraculturales y políticas locales: una aproximación desde la teoría de las redes de políticas públicas). *Retos*, (35), 428-433. https://doi.org/10.47197/retos.v0i35.65893

- Misener, K., & Doherty, A. (2014). In support of sport: Examining the relationship between community sport organizations and sponsors. *Sport Management Review*, *17*(4), 493-506. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2013.12.002
- Rowe, N. F. (2015). Sporting capital: a theoretical and empirical analysis of sport participation determinants and its application to sports development policy and practice. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, *7*(1), 43-61. https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2014.915228
- Salvini, L. (2012). Novo Mundo Futebol Clube e o velho mundo do futebol: considerações sociológicas sobre o habitus esportivo de jogadoras de futebol. Available in: https://www.acervodigital.ufpr.br/handle/1884/ 27397
- Salvini, L. (2017). A luta como» oficio do corpo»: entre a delimitação do subcampo e a construção de um habitus do Mixed Martial Arts em mulheres lutadoras. Available in: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/147515261.pdf
- Silva, C. L. D. (2007). Produção televisiva esportiva: um estudo das ações e disposições dos agentes midiáticos a partir do programa Globo Esporte (regional/Paraná). Available in:
 < https://www.acervodigital.ufpr.br/handle/1884/26412>.
- Silva, C. L. D. (2015). Para além da notícia: a gênese e a estrutura da informação jornalística esportiva em uma rede de comunicação do Estado do Paraná. Available in: < http://www.pgedf.ufpr.br/downloads/TESES/2015/TESE%20Camile%20Luciane%20da%20Silva.pdf>.
- Souza, J., & Júnior, W. M. (2017). Bourdieu e a sociologia do esporte: contribuições, abrangência e desdobramentos teóricos. *Tempo Social*, 29(2), 243-286. https://doi.org/ 10.11606/0103-2070.ts.2017.106962.
- Sotiriadou, K. P., & Shilbury, D. (2009). Australian elite athlete development: An organisational perspective. *Sport management review*, *12*(3), 137-148. https://doi.org/ 10.1016/j.smr.2009.01.002
- Truyens, J., De Bosscher, V., Sotiriadou, P., Heyndels, B., & Westerbeek, H. (2016). A method to evaluate countries' organisational capacity: A four country comparison in athletics. *Sport Management Review*, *19*(3), 279-292. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2015.05.002
- Warde, A. (2006). Cultural capital and the place of sport. *Cultural Trends*, *15*(2-3), 107-122. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/09548960600712827
- Wicker, P., & Hallmann, K. (2013). A multi-level framework for investigating the engagement of sport volunteers. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, *13*(1), 110–139. https://doi.org/10.1080/16184742.2012.744768