128 - FOOTBALL AND THE CULTURE IN ZONA DA MATA: THE COUNTRY LOGIC AND THE URBAN LOGIC

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1 - Introduction.

Sport can be use for many functions and has many meanings in each societies, or yet, in a same society. In the Brazilian case, we should to assume the social values and the culture meaning in the football tends to vary in each region, sometimes in each state, also, we can have this meaning's diversity in the same state. Factors as the ones related with the difference between the country and urban zones can be visions determinative, interactions and differents expectations regarding the football.

In this way, this text has the objective to analyze the football e your culture meaning in Zona da Mata region and in Minas Gerais state.

Zona da Mata is included in Southeast, making bound with Rio de Janeiro state, in it they find 142 cities that add a population of 1.974.785 inhabitants. In these, 536.722 inhabitants live in country zones, even being the minority when they are compared to the 1.438.063 inhabitants that lived in urban zones; they constitute a population parcel significant. Became, many places where the social values in this universe, beyond they interact and coexist. Amongst theses places, we have that place propitiated by the organization footballs plays periodic by determined representatives groups on these societies.

In this research we realize a work during seven months with 3 groups that practice football playful form one time week in a recreative association, in Viçosa. The groups practice this sport every Wednesday in the night with a duraction of one hour.

In this association the groups rent the field. The individual cost vary in each group, in function of the participants numbers in each group. The first one plays 18h30 until 19h30 with 19 participants; the second one uses the field between 19h30 and 20h30 and has 14 participants; and the third plays 20h30 until 21h30 and has 16 participants.

To develop this work, we will go in first place, to display some aspects relatives to the sport social analyze and, in special, the Brazilian football. Finally, we will see the culture meaning of football in Zona da Mata.

Many times neglected as a elucidate object of society, the sport comes being discovery by Brazilian Sociology. While this science branch is already consolidated internationally, much more we find works whose sport analysis they turn to Brazil.

For many times, the sport is understood as an example or civilization form, as a process part civilized that implied, even other things, in a bigger relation of societies sensibilities to the violence and also in a self-control in relation to violents impulses. Sport would serve as a place where impulses can be treated or represented in parameters, sometimes, in control or accept by society.

Norbert Elias (1992), main articulator of this theory developed works in relation with sport sociogênese, and mainly, to the hooliganism e an explanation of the agressivity.

In a second analysis in sport places in society can be find Pierre Bourdieu (1983), that analyzed the sport contemporary and your sprouting in English high schools as a mechanism used to spread out the ideals of a bourgeois elite, that it will became the elitist sport activity. In general terms, Bourdieu, applied your reproduction theory, which one the school reproduces in a symbolic plan the material violence lived deeply by diligent class. In these terms, sport would be so commitment with the elite values as the school is. However, in the same way that Bourdieu see this problem, he seem propose a solution when confirms the sport pedagogy could be solved this problem by taking of the conscience through the sport itself.

Beyond the sociologic tradition, the sport sociologic, consolidated as a sociologic international branch and it comes being extended in Brazil, where the first studies relative to the subject appears as football analysis as "national sport". In this way, the Brazilian football offers a privileged place to analysis the culture aspects, organization, quandaries and Brazilian social life, even being a social dramatization locus, with theater stage in values, norms e social conducts (DaMatta, 1994).

Football would have the possibilities in allows people tried sensations and values that isn't always offers in daily life, between them, the famous hierarchy inversion social stratification in example that happened in carnival.

The Brazilian football sprouting: professional, socials and racials aspects.

The Brazilian Sport had start with row, soon later started the football, and gradual it has became the national sport. Created in England, had your entrance in Brazil trough the elite, Charles Miller, Brazilian English' son, had study in that country, brought this sport to São Paulo in 1894, making factories employees the first ones practitioners.

Thus, soon has started in Brazil, the football teams was deriving from companies that made your practice eminently elitist. However, nor all factories had administrative employees amount of people enough to make a complete team becoming common another employees from lower hierarchy completed the team. In this way, started the employees-athlete, maybe the first *amorism brown* characteristic. This is, as in the professional stage, the athlete receive for his actuation.

In the century beginning, was watched the creation of the first ones sportive clubs, where was also practiced the football. These clubs was represented by elites from that time and they disputed championships between them. The football was elitist and practiced by unprofessional athletes. This unprofessionalism started a crisis in 20 decade. In 1923we will have a Vasco da Gama team entrance in the first division, and this created a great commotion between the football elite.

Especially for be this team the champion with a team formed by athletes from suburban middle class in Rio de Janeiro included no white players (Lopes, 1994).

This victory brought the values believed and spread out in relation to football being a sport just to white elite. The first thing was an investigation the blacks' lives and what they do to survive. Was evidenced that the team employed the players in the Portuguese commerce, whose supported the club which the players was set free from work to train that caused great controversy and unpleasantness.

Despite the public opinion discomfort in relation the professionalism in football, even with the efforts from varies involved with football to the professionalism was implanted, the unprofessionalism had a decline since many players was Italian ancestry and had transfer to Italia. At the same time occurred the football professional implantation in Argentina and Uruguay. That made our players unsatisfied by the fact that they can't transfer to Italia, this is the case of the majority of the black and crossbred players, they decided transfer for countries in Latin America where they will be less discriminated. It was observed, an emptied in football teams.

This phenomenon provoked the acceleration in the Brazil professionalism football, which brought new perspectives in relation to the acceptance of no-white players in this sport, since they was treated as employed, so they was put in them places, and better accepts in the society.

They were a big division between social headquarters and sportive headquarters. In the first, the poor and black players were not seen well, however, your presence at the second, as football employs was saw as natural by now.

Absolutely, the players professionalism came as answer to the football first great crisis, was reflect in the economic plan with the players exit; as in the social and racial plan, by the great tension provoked by the rise participation of the poor, black and crossbred persons in this sport (Helal, 1997, Vieira 2001).

The first team to became professional was Vila Operária Bangu, in the beginning of the 1933 year, and did not delay was follow by the others, that made finally, that happened the first professional championship in 1933, had the Bangu itself as a champion. In the following years we had a transition moment in which each group organized in their own way independent of the championship, however, we had two championships, unprofessional and a professional. This situation finish only when established the current Federacy of football in Rio de Janeiro (1937), that start to organize all the competitions between the clubs, either between professional or unprofessional categories.

Despite this fusion had happened in Rio de Janeiro, was not rare to find in others regions in the country, more that one states binds; that way as could be occur the existence of more that one national binds. This situation made appear, in 1941, a law that regulate the sport in national territory, also mentions the National advice of Sports CND) creation. But, however, despite that make references to the work contract, still it was not regulate the players' situation.

After 1933 was observed a growth in participation of poor, black persons in football. In this moment, when started the transition of elitism to the popularization, the football became a popular sport, but the discriminations still there, and became more powerful with Brazilian defeat in 1950, in Copa, realize in Brazil.

The conversation at that time was about the mestization benefits and curses the appears to justify the selection's failure, and shows that despite the presence of no-whites in football, this sport still kept discriminative subjects.

About this subject in sport, especially in football, it will be treated later.

This belief in selection defeat and the idea of Brazilian nation defeat was surpassed or calm down just with the success gotten world-wide between 50 and 70 decades, where we reach the third world-wide championship, with players as Garrincha and ´Pelé; blacks that had enchanted and conquered the world. Especially Pelé is different chapter, he is a great player or his life out of the football, and he is very success even after he finished his career. This is uncommon in our society, blacks successful.

Football in Zona da Mata - Social-cultural analyses

In Brazil in general form, is growth the social researches about sports in special about football. This movement had a growth in 70 decade. The contributions of some works realize about Brazilian football are very important for a better interpretation as football as Brazilian society.

In Brazil, the develops works by Roberto DaMatta, in 80 decade, tried to make a relation the football with the Brazilian society aspects, given a special attention to social values in this sport. At the end of 90 decade, Guedes (1999), analyses the social and cultures meanings in Brazilian football.

Roberto DaMatta (1982) develops a football analyses, understand it as a system with rules, objects and specific situations. To him, should go through of this relation of effect and cause when analyses the football and the Brazilian society, when already would exist a representation when between will to go be reflect.

That would exist in Brazil a way to represent de search the conciliation between traditions values (moral pacts) e moderns (market and individualism), that are represent by home and street values. These two values in the Brazilian society are found in football, this place give an environment appropriate to apprehension by society. In this way, a dramatization where the society let be perceived, visualized and learned by its members.

The relation in the Mineira society with football is similar to the relation in the Brazilian society in general with this sport. It had the custom in used its as leisure form in daily weeks and in weekends and in the conversation in general is a very common subject, when the persons making funny with others in relation to the result in the games.

In the work was clear as football has a central value to the groups observed in aspects easily saw or in characteristics more imperceptible in its importance and social meaning, as those ones relatives to the famous hierarchy inversion existent in Brazilian society.

The fact in this three groups has always more persons than necessary for a game, make them to adopt the turn groups in the teams or players, a group play for some time while another group wait outside the field, this way when the game finish, the group that was waiting replace the team that loser and wait outside the field.

This organization favours the work once that always had a group or some players waiting for the game to finish coming back in this break, we participate in the conversations and had the opportunity in interview the players. The three groups once in a month do a barbecue very after the game in the leisure place in the appropriate place to do this.

The first group analyses was constitute by universities teachers and students from UFV Viçosa, this group recently had graduated in six months the second was constitute by employers in a governmental bank in Viçosa, and the third was constitute by persons that living near and practice the football at the time, this group was older, the persons know each other, and some plays together for some year already.

In relation to the players age, the group that had the biggest heterogeneous is the first one, which had players with 21 years old until 49 years old. In the second and third group, the ages were between 25 and 35 years old.

In all groups was observed the existence of changes in the hierarchy in the social positions mention by DaMatta (1982). In the first group, the treatment more formal and distant between some universities and their orientates was changed during the game's time. In the same way, in the second group was observed this in relation between the bank employers. In relation to the third group, this observation was difficult once the they were not involved in powers relation out of the game. But, was note that had between them persons with prestige than others because their professions.

Another interesting aspect is the importance about the football for these players. Ones oh them related that does not know what do without football. Football is part of Brazilian lives. About the factor that stimulated them to play we do not observed difference between these groups, many had affirmed being stimulated by this groups' existence and others sad that they would be play anyway if this group stop plays they will go to another group.

In relation to the question about the expectative in be a professional player in the first group related that they do not have this expectative and in the second and the third the expectative was common.

This aspect in the perspective professional is interesting because give one characteristic in the football meaning in Zona da Mata. In the same way, in the rest of Brazil, football here, take many young boys to dream with social ascension through

football. However, the specified of the existence of just a professional club in Zona da Mata make this dream has a different meaning.

It does not makes use of mounts of money to go to biggest cities, where is the biggest professional clubs. Also, is distant the persons whom look for new players and, with this develops this a small relation dream, the time invested and waiting is minor than that young in a big city with big clubs. While in places where has bigger amount in professional clubs, the young persons waiting until the 20 years old to see if they will go or won't go be professional players. In this region the young used do not believing that they will be professional players early.

This is the central difference in the social meaning in football in this place, once that people has as this a period of dreams smaller than in others more urban regions.

An important factor observed in relation to the football importance to this society becomes clear when observed the players' regional origin; most of them live in country zone in Viçosa. These ones, used be always in the urban region, they worked there or need solved some personal questions. This makes sure the transit between city and country. Most players, in despite they lived in urban zone, they from country zone and many times, as in the first group, they from another states and countries.

This kind of thing takes theses groups to go live an interaction and a values and culture aspects coexistence in country and urban areas in Zona da Mata. They learn culture values with experiences in being in this football's groups.

The chats between the players after the games, the groups used stay 30 until 50 minutes chatting at the pub, they supply a great dialogue with differently perceptions about diverses subjects, as marriage, family, politic, job, drugs and sorts. In this chats the element in the most of the individuals' cases was the difference between culture values in country and urban zones.

This information and codes exchange is an important social assimilation strategy made by those groups and kept a kind identity between urban and country lifestyle, anyway they can use the two identities, and despite this they belong and reproduce one of them. It seems be in a perfect anthropologic tradition the talk with the other.

Certainly, these dialogues happened in other places, but I except that few propitiate environment with informality, the football make more flexible the hierarchy between them.

Other aspect interesting is that one relation to control and mediation of the emotions contained in Elias' theory and works (1992). The first group practically do not argue or misunderstand, any reclamation is polite or with a funny message. The second group frequently had argues, and all persons get involve, they interrupted the game for few minutes until de fight stopped. The third one had some misunderstood but is not with the intensity as the second group. This fact seems have an explanation in the intern structure in each group, where the social relations allow or not allow this situation. Each group, they stabilized the tensions without the end of the group. They are the structure's part in the game.

In the same way that Geertz (1978) affirmed in the rooster fights had much more things happened than jus the rooster having a fight. We believe that the football practiced in Zona da Mata Mineira exist more facts than just two groups playing.

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FOOTBALL AND THE CULTURE IN ZONA DA MATA: THE COUNTRY LOGIC AND THE URBAN LOGIC

Summary

The football is one of the most culture expressions in Brazilian society. Through this we created, we transmit and we strengthen the culture value and believe. In this way, the football field has to be seen as symbolic field full of cultures means that vary as society and culture that they are inserted. This make people represent, feeling, and read the football in a different way in each region, and is notable the changes of mean even though between an urban region and a country region. In the societies exist, mediations places between country logics and urban logics. Sport and the leisure "social spaces" tend to possibility the interactions. In this way, this work object was analyze a leisure space in a city called Viçosa, in the Zona da Mata, Was saw the way is transmit, create and it allows the culture values interaction social, even in country or urban region. For this way, has realized a work with three practitioners groups, during four months. Was perceive that football has a meaning for this locate, mainly, in the interaction between two "ethics", country and urban.

Word-key: football, culture, country - urban.

FOOTBALL ET CULTURE EN LA REGION ZONA DA MATA MINEIRA (BRESIL) :
LA LOGIQUE RURALE ET LA LOGIQUE URBAINE

RÉSUMÉ

Le football est une des plus grandes expressions culturelles de la société Brésilienne. Il s'agit d'une voie de transmission, renforcement de valeurs et croyances culturelles. Il faut voir le terrain de jeu comme un endroit symbolique plein de signifiés culturels, changeables d'accord la société et la culture où ils se trouvent. Ça signifie que les personnes répresentent, perçoivent et lisent sur le football de façon différente en fonction de la région et aussi on observe de changements de signifiés entre une région urbaine et une rurale. Il y a dans les milieus sociaux, points de différentiation entre la logique rurale et la logique urbaine. Le sport et les « espaces sociaux » de loisir ont la tendance de faciliter les interrelations. Le but de ce travail a été d'analyser de quelle façon le football pratiqué dans un espace de loisir placé à la ville de Viçosa qui se trouve en la en la région Zona da Mata Mineira est capable de transmettre, créer, reproduire et permettre les interrelations de valeurs culturelles et sociales aussi au réseau urbain qu'au réseau rural. On a acompagné trois groupes de pratiquants pendant la période de quatre mois. On a observé que le football a un signifié important pour la région, principalement quand on articule les deux « éthiques », une sociale et autre urbaine.

Mots clés: football, culture, rural-urbain

FÚTBOL Y CULTURA EN LA ZONA DA MATA MINEIRA: LA LÓGICA RURAL Y LA LÓGICA URBANA

Resume

El Fútbol es una de las mayores expresiones culturales de la sociedad brasileña. Por medio de él, creamos, transmitimos, y acentuamos valores y creencias culturales. Siendo así, la cancha de fútbol deber ser observada como un campo simbólico lleno de significados culturales que cambian de acuerdo con la sociedad y la cultura en las cuales está inserido. Eso hace con que las personas representen, sientan, y "lean" el fútbol de manera diferente desde una región u otra, y también se perciben mudanzas de significado cuando se observa la una región urbana y otra rural. Existen en las sociedades, espacios de mediaciones entre las lógicas rurales y urbanas. El deporte y los "espacios sociales" del ocio posibilitan tales interacciones. Así, el objetivo de este estudio fue analizar la manera por la cual el fútbol practicado en el municipio de Vinosa, Zona Da Mata Mineira, transmite, crea, reproduce, y permite la interacción de valores culturales y sociales en el espacio urbano, como también en el rural. Para lograr tal objetivo, fue realizada una investigación empírica con tres grupos de practicantes, durante cuatro meses. Se ha observado que el fútbol tienen un significado importante en este municipio, principalmente cuando se articula a interacción de las dos "éticas", una rural y otra urbana.

Palabras-claves: fútbol, cultura, rural-urbano

FUTEBOL E CULTURA NA ZONA DA MATA MINEIRA: A LÓGICA RURAL E A LÓGICA URBANA

RESUMO

O Futebol é uma das maiores expressões culturais da sociedade brasileira. Através dele criamos, transmitimos e reforçamos valores e crenças culturais. Desta forma, o campo de futebol deve ser visto como um campo simbólico repleto de significados culturais, que variam conforme a sociedade e a cultura na qual está inserido. Isto faz com que as pessoas representem, sintam, e leiam o futebol de forma diferenciada de uma região a outra, e nota-se mudanças de significado até mesmo entre uma região urbana e uma rural. Existem nas sociedades, locais de mediações entre lógicas rurais e urbanas. O esporte e os "espaços sociais" de lazer tendem a possibilitar tais interações. Assim, o objetivo deste trabalho foi analisar o modo pelo qual o futebol praticado em uma área de lazer situada no Município de Viçosa na Zona da Mata Mineira, transmite, cria, reproduz e permite a interação de valores culturais e sociais tanto do meio urbano quanto do meio rural. Para tanto, realizou-se trabalho de campo junto a três grupos de praticantes durante quatro meses. Percebeu-se que o futebol tem um significado central para esta localidade, principalmente, ao articular a interação das duas "éticas", uma rural e outra urbana.

Palavras-chave: futebol, cultura, rural-urbano.