162 - THE DOCTORS OF THE "QUERMESSE"

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The present article is a synthesis originated from the research for Conclusion Work of the Course of Physical Education of the Londrina State University, and that presented as a study goal the popular parties tied to the catholic religion in the City of Rinópolis-SP, more specifically, to those known as "quermesses ".

The research was guided by the theoretic-methodological principles of the studies in Social Representations, understood here as a modality of knowledge generated through the communication in daily life with the practical goal of guiding the behaviors in concrete social situations, which means, they are generating principles of taking position, linked to specific insertions in a set of social relations and that organize the symbolic procedure that interferes in these relations (Doise, 2001)

Our research is about a study of qualitative nature, which tried to focus the object of study through the eyes of our social actors, respecting the directions that our actors gave to the phenomenon present in their speeches. In this understanding line, Minayo (1994) shows that the qualitative research answers very particular questions, because it works with the universe of meanings, reasons, aspirations, beliefs, values and attitudes, what correspond to a deeper space of relations, the processes and the phenomena that cannot be reduced to the operating of variable.

Our study also presents traces of participant comment, in function of one of the authors be part of the studied social context. Trying to follow the guiding of this methodological line of the study, Schwartz & Schwartz (apud MINAYO, 1998) say that the participant comment is a process for which remains the presence of the observer in a social situation, with the purpose to do a scientific investigation. A face to face relation with the observed ones, being part of the context observed, at the same time modifying and being modified for this context.

For the collection of the data we used a semi-structuralized interview developed during all the elaboration and accomplishment of the party, which means, the interaction that we construct with the actors happened in two distinct periods, but strongly linked: the moments of the construction and accomplishment of the party. We used a field dairy where relevant comments about the study were registered, such as expressions and sensations of the actors during the interviews, the way they behaved and talked after the interview and how they participated in the party.

The filming and the photograph made it possible the enlargement of the focus of the study allowing us to register moments and situations that illustrate the wealth of party ritual. The speeches were analyzed from the methodological orientation of the speech analysis, conceiving the language as the necessary mediation between the man and the social reality, trying to identify the speech as man's constituent symbolic work and its history (GROWN SPINK &, 1999).

Rinópolis was populated by Italians, Spaniards and Japaneses that searched work in the plantation the coffee: *"I was born in Garça, but my parents came to Rinópolis in 1939, practically I came when I was four years old (...), in that time people had a very great influence for the coffee plantation, it was a new land, it was starting to develop itself, the prices of the land were very low, then people came to venture (...)".* With the coffee's wealthy, the city's development came: *"it was one of the cities that most produced coffee, it was a great number of small farmers, all with properties from average to small size, they weren't big farms.Then it was a great movement, many people. It got to the point of having 35 thousand inhabitants (....); in the decade of 60 up to the 80´s it was a very good city, with a strong purchasing power, because the coffee had price, everybody harvested well, then it was possible to make money on that time".* The decay of the city initiates in the year of 1975 with the frost, loss of the harvest and burn of the plantation, leading to the agricultural exodus, tragedy of which it did not recover: *"it was in the apex of the coffee, it was a chaos. My brother and I must have at that time, one hundred and fifty thousand coffee trees, moreover, we were also traders, we used to buy, to benefit and to sell it to Santos harbor, it was terrible. Sot after that period Rinópolis went down and it is being hard to take off. I remember that the trees were cut, in some places they were pulled out, because the root got burnt, people who had a plantation became desperate, then, it is as if we had an industry and it caught fire, it is the same thing, we were without anything, it was tragic, you walked like this, and that was black, roasted, burnt, as if fire had been put there, all that green and suddenly, everything roasted, in a night ".*

From this fact and its consequences - psychological, politics, social and cultural - in the subjectivity of the society, we initiate the construction of the first interactions with the actors involved with the organization of "quermesse". This practice was basic to identify the central group of actors responsible for the party. We, then, started to visit the Community of the Jardim São Paulo that was organized around the construction of the church of Saint Rita de Cássia and Rosa Mística, for us the reference of the group.

A representation about the communitarian/collective/together study done gives the idea of the personal sacrifice in benefit of all, which means, the kindness, generosity and solidarity among men, are clear in the speeches: *"it is the moment that we congregate, everybody together with the same objective, and seeing that nobody is profiting anything, but the truth is that everybody is profiting, therefore it is for an entire community, each thing, each piece, each placed brick was a joyfulness moment"*. The principle identified here in the representation of the community is about understanding the party as a transgressor practice and founder of collective form, in which the intonation is given by being - together, for the fact of the social bonds production relationship being established, not in rational interests, but in feelings, emotions that join this group, the communion feeling, of faith, beliefs, re-alliance that stirs up the group to search, to congregate, at last, to surrender to others (PEREZ, 2002).

For the group, "quermesse" gives the most efficient social practice for the construction of the church. We assume this understanding in function of the symbolic force that "quermesse" has in the imaginary of the social actors, what made them become its most relevant trace. In these conditions, the search for resources must be seen as being the "objetivação" of the representations instituted on the party. It´s important to note that actors directly involved with "quermesse" in focus were elected to participate in the research.

The choice for the party of Saint-Christopher - truck drivers' protector -, among the diverse existing parties, was given in function of it to be instituted in populations´ imaginary as a traditional party and the most waited event by the community, mainly to truck drivers. A relevant fact that we believe it's necessary to note, is that until the end of the 70´s, only the church had the authority to accomplish the "quermesses". With the appearance of the Association of the Truck drivers - beginning of 80´s, XX century - the symbolic power that it acquires, in the social, economic and politician field, materializes in the fact of had been it the only institution not religion in the history of the city to participate in the organization, execution and in the profits of a religious festivities. It was a significant symbolic landmark, because the party, from this moment on, started to be appropriate by the society, not being possession of the church, which made "quermesse" possible to come and penetrate

itself in the subjectivity of that society.

The "Truck driver's party" was the apex of the faith, belief and gratefulness, as well as space of strengthen the bonds that joined the group: *"ninety percent was the truck drivers who used to do* (the "quermesse"*), it was a very closed group, it was cool, it was chic".* In the beginning the party was on the street of the Matriz Church- Central Square of the city - and because of its social meaning in imaginary dislocation it started to demand an organizational reform, objectified in the change of the covering of the central area that was made of bamboo, becoming made of an iron structure.

The central nucleus of the power representation on truck drivers was in the "Iron Tent". According to Abric (2001) the central nucleus is the steadiest element of the representations whose absence would destruct or give a radically different significance to the representation in its set. It´s the basic element of the representations, because it determines at the same time its significance and organization. Therefore, with the loss of the possession of the tent, at the end of 90´s, the symbolic and subjective bond that joined those actors stopped to exist, what caused destruction and disappearance of the Association of the Truck drivers.

Symbolically, we may say that the "Tent of Iron" started to play in the imaginary of the group the role of "ancoragem[3]" of the instituted social representation. The party was not carried through in any place; because its symbolic strength was established in the religious field, what determined to be the front of the Matriz Church, the most appropriate place to set the truck drivers "Tent of Iron". During all the period which the party was done using the "Tent of Iron" the representation of "quermesse" instituted in the imaginary of the society used to give the idea of rescuing a glorious past - the coffee crops - and it used to make the group have renascence - myth of Fenix with the worsening of the 90´s economic crisis of the XX century, that led the truck drivers´ profession in decadence, identified condition in the speech: *"in the past it was better, you could buy things and paid it in an easily way. Not now, toll, bad roads. There are only good roads where there is toll, where there isn't any toll, the road is poor. I have just passed on a hole and it was six hundred reais. There should be about two or three (Saint Christopher), only one is not taking care of everybody".*

The "quermesse" is a strong presence in the city´s life, since it is the place in which the collective memory brings good remembrance, traditions and possibilities of projecting itself as an idea of a "good future" for its actors, as the relation between collective and individual experience the shows the diffuse images of "quermesse" while representation of a rich society and potentially directed toward the development - memory of a long period -, and the current "quermesse" represented as a simple party, weakened, as the society - memory of a lived period -. But, in a contradictory form, "quermesse" also reflects the imaginary of its organizer group to the field of the daydreams - place of the dreams, fantasies, imagination and freedom -, what makes us believe to be a productive place for the understanding of the varied forms of living the human being experience in society. Thus, we identified some founder points that keep the "quermesse" alive, even with economic, political and organizational problems, as being the city´s most relevant cultural trace.

We start our argument showing a characteristic, from an inherent principle of the party. It is the place of the production of the re-significance of the social role, of new forms of looking at the world and yourself. Well, thus we can say that the time of the party opposes itself to the time of daily life, because it breaches with the concerns of the guarantee of the existence and presents itself as another world, where the actors feel supported, transformed and free of the daily life's pressures. This transforming characteristic of "quermesse" is inherent to the parties' ritual - rupture of the daily life - that is the extraordinary time. Thus, the party constructed by the actors opposes itself to the events not controlled for the society, because they are formal events, centered, based on well distinct moments, demanding a minimum of internal division, appearing its hierarchical structure in a manifest way (DA MATTA, 1997).

Another relevant point identified for the permanence of "quermesses" was the fact of the community had culturally appropriate themselves of the party, in order that, more specifically, we cannot forget the women's role. They appropriated themselves of the culturally constructed knowledge necessary for the management and construction of the party. The way these women act and socially organize themselves remits to our imaginary the idea of wild/warrior women. According to Estés (1997, pg. 146), the wild/warrior women" is the one that dares, that creates and that destroys. She is the primitive and ingenious soul that makes possible all the acts and the arts of the creation ". Thus, the woman who rescues her wild nature regains dreams, desires and aspirations. The women from this community had taken for themselves the responsibility to keep alive the main cultural manifestation of the city, and also to transmit to the new generations the necessary cultural knowledge to maintain the tradition. They are the possessors of the life-death-life strength. Analyzing the speech structures we identify how relevant is the woman's role for the party: *"the woman is fundamental. If it was for the women I think the party wouldn't happen. The men are more brutal strength. The biggest organization really comes from women ".*

The last thing we point out is exactly part of these knowledges acquired by the women: the "BREGUEDÉ". This is the magical element of the party that we identify as allowing to the "quermesse" holy space. It can be assumed as the anchorage of the party, what guarantees the existence and success of "quermesse". We again remit the wild/warrior women, because her main characteristic is to create, and as in all art, she is visceral, not cerebral. Ingenious souls that make acts and arts of creation possible. And this women´s creation - "breguedé" consists itself today of a whole ritualized process, initiating with the harvest of the manioc by men.

After that, it is delivered to the women who will make the transformation of the natural element - manioc - in magical element - "breguedé". The first act that it sends to the field of the holy is the collective form of production of the breakfast. Here the group interaction consolidates, culminating with the strengthen generosity bonds, affectivity and solidarity with the execution of the lunch. These passages through the ritual institute the feeling of belonging to the group in the imaginary one of the actors while the "quermesse´s" foundation element. The threshold between profane and holy in the production of "breguedé" verifies itself when the group explicit its religiosities in prayers, practical that approaches them to the Lord. The ritual is directed by the women, which demonstrates once more its importance in the doing the "quermesse", guiding the prayers, defining its content and determining the requests to be asked to the Lord - protection for all, and, in special, to the truck drivers.

We believe that the fact of the "breguedé´s" production being tied to the holy has collaborated to become represented as "the life" of "quermesse". Its institution in the social imaginary happened in a so strong way, which is capable of mobilizing people to participate in the party: *"there are people that only go to eat "breguedé". The consumption of "breguedé" makes people leave their houses only to buy a portion of "breguedé"* ". The consumption of "breguedé" makes people leave their houses, it is the incentive of meetings, collaborating for the preservation of the tradition of the party: ""breguedé" is the soul of Rinópolis´ "quermesse", it is the business card. I don´t know, that little thing made of manioc , that some times does not have much flavor, and it's a lot of work, isn't it..., it is the soul. If there is shortage of "breguedé" there ´s no "quermesse", fight happens, if there is a shortage they already complain ".

There is an instituted conditioning in the imaginary of the community. If there is´nt "breguedé" there ´s no "quermesse". The consumption of "breguedé" gives the idea of the Eucharisty, the food that renews life, the hope and communion bonds with the whole community that has as its most significant cultural manifestation the "quermesse". We believe that it is from the constructed social relations and lived in the production field and circulation of the representations about the "quermesse" that our actors extend their social bonds to beyond the private world interactions. It is through the experiences lived during the party's construction ritual that they start to recognize the context in which they are inserted, where they rediscover their relations with the society, making moments to rethink their context opportune, their daily life,

understanding their reality, thus making it possible to re-signify their sociocultural experiences, as well as the reconstruction of their selves learning forms and of the world, which means, they feel alive, as they become gentlemen of the production of their existence and from the history of its society.

The speeches of the actors about "quermesse" say that its establishment was on the beginning of the 50´s of the XX century and that there used to have an invasion of the city with the country's families, the main responsible ones for its existence, with regard to economic factor, that in function of its Saint devotion used to made great donations that made the party possible. In the awards and prizes´ offerings to the "quermesse" that used to come from the agricultural population there used to be a preparation ritual, as demonstrated in the speech: *"(...) you would arrive and the person would say: come here, this little pig is being raised for the "quermesse", you can take it cause I have already raised it for the "quermesse". These chickens here are already separated, because these are for the "quermesse". This used to be very common, you would pass and there used to have separated sacks of coffee: this coffee remains here because this coffee is for the "quermesse" ".*

Considering the field of the holy existing on the "quermesse", these acts of devotion and donation confuse themselves. Here the money donations, prizes and animals appear as a gift, a resignation, is a sacrifice form, to expend and, together with it, all its anguish, dreams, desires. This act represents in the imaginary of the actor the gratitude for the conquests, for the reached blessings. The devotion was identified in the speeches when they gave the idea of the establishment between the actors and the devotion saint, a reciprocity contract, since the population lives concrete facts, fears, dreams and beliefs, making the holy meaning of the party being represented as a consolidation and renewal moment of life.

Studying the "quermesse" it was to like diving in a field that is born from tradition, that keeps some traces of archaism, but, that it is re-signified by the actors, as it dislocates its directions, making it being lived in a distinct way of other times, at the same time that it preserves its foundation structures. As Perez (2002) says the party is a generating phenomenon of multiform images of the collective life, a privileged space of expressions and collective feelings, making an approach of the act of production of life possible to the social actor, of human being experience in the society, of the social bond. Thus we believe to be this a fertile space for the re-significance of the of a society's cultural traces, of the imaginary of a person or of a social group, as also to identify the historical tracks covered by a society

When they identify themselves as "the Doctors of the 'quermesse'", the actors represent the nature of the relation that they have with the production and the maintenance of the "quermesse". It represents in its imaginary all the knowledge historically constructed, accumulated and transmitted in relation to the "quermesse". The "quermesse" is part of its life history, and it is through this history that understands the history of its society, identifying itself as carrying of outstanding knowledge, this knowledge keeps the most relevant cultural trace of the city of Rinópolis - "quermesse" - remains alive.

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THE DOCTORS OF THE QUERMESSE

As all city, Rinópolis historicamente passed for transformations politics, social, cultural and mainly economic. Exactly thus, they come searching to conserve its values strong pautados by the religion catholic, being that one of its more excellent cultural traces is its religious parties. Ahead of this scene, a significant part of the community always was mobilized when the subject was the celebration of on dates to the Church Catholic. È in this direction that quermesse it if became one practical social and cultural gift in the most important celebrations carried through catholics. Searching to tread the necessary ways to the research it is that we assume these parties as moments of magic and wealth, a full exercise of the imaginary one. In this context we understand to be it quermesse an excellent existing cultural manifestation in the city, where we identify the social representations that the involved actors directly with the party elaborate on it. With this objective, we take as research the traditional one quermesse in homage Is Cristóvão carried through in days 24 and 25 of July of 2004.

Word-key: Social, Imaginary Representation, Party

LES DOCTEURS DU QUERMESSE

En tant que toute la ville, historicament de Rinópolis ont passé pour la politique de transformations, social, culturel et principalement économique. Exactement ainsi, ils viennent recherchant pour conserver ses basé forts de valeurs par le catholique de religion, étant qu'un ses traces culturelles plus excellentes est ses parties religieuses. En avant de cette scène, une partie significative de la communauté toujours a été mobilisée quand le sujet était la célébration des dates au catholique d'église. È dans cette direction qui quermesse il si devenait un cadeau social et culturel pratique dans les célébrations les plus important portées par des catholiques. Recherchant pour marcher les manières nécessaires à la recherche c'est que nous assumons ces parties comme moments de magie et de richesse, un plein exercice de l'imaginaire. Dans ce contexte nous

comprenons à que ce soit le quermesse une excellente manifestation culturelle existante dans la ville, où nous identifions les représentations sociales ces les acteurs social impliqués directement avec la partie raffinée là-dessus. Avec cet objectif, nous prenons car recherche l'un quermesse traditionnel dans l'hommage est Cristóvão exécuté en jours 24 et 25 de juillet de 2004.
Mot-clef: Représentation Sociale Et Imaginaire, Partie

LOS DOCTORES DE QUERMESES

Como cada ciudad, Rinópolis pasó por las transformaciones políticas, sociales, culturales y principalmente económicas históricamente. Aun así, ellos vienen y buscan para conservar sus valores fuertemente pautados para la religión católica, y uno de sus líneas culturales más importantes es sus fiestas religiosas. Antes de de ese paisaje, una parte significante de la comunidad se movilizó siempre cuando el asunto era la celebración de fechas se unida a la Iglesia católica. È en ese sentido que los quermeses se volvieron una práctica social y el presente cultural en las celebraciones del católico cumplidas más importantes. Buscando para azotar los caminos necesarios al la investigación es eso asumió estas fiestas como momentos de magia y riqueza, un ejercicio lleno del imaginario. En ese contexto nosotros entendimos para ser el quermeses una manifestación cultural existente importante en la ciudad, donde nosotros identificamos las representaciones sociales que los atoras involucraron directamente con la fiesta elabora en ella. Con esto yo el objetivo, nosotros tomamos como fase de la investigación el quermeses tradicional en honor a San Cristóvão logró en los 24 y el 25 de julio de 2004.
Palabra-importante: Representación social, Imaginaria, Fiesta.

AS DOUTORAS DA QUERMESSE

Como toda cidade, Rinópolis historicamente passou por transformações políticas, sociais, culturais e principalmente econômicas. Mesmo assim, vêm buscando conservar seus valores fortemente pautados pela religião católica, sendo que um de seus mais relevantes traços culturais são suas festas religiosas. Diante desse cenário, uma significativa parte da comunidade sempre se mobilizou quando o assunto era a celebração de datas ligadas à Igreja Católica. È nesse sentido que a quermesse se tornou uma prática social e cultural presentes nas mais importantes celebrações católicas realizadas. Buscando trilhar os caminhos necessários à pesquisa é que assumimos estas festas como momentos de magia e riqueza, um exercício pleno do imaginário. Nesse contexto entendemos ser a quermesse uma relevante manifestação cultural existente na cidade, onde identificamos as representações sociais que as atoras envolvidas diretamente com a festa elaboram sobre ela. Com este objetivo, tomamos como palco da pesquisa a tradicional quermesse em homenagem a São Cristóvão realizada nos dias 24 e 25 de julho de 2004.
Palavras-chave: Representação Social, Imaginário, Festa.