

- “*Jogada Linguística*: Discursive play and the Hegemonic Force of Soccer in Brazil.” In *Sport and Social Issues* 26(2), November 2002, pp. 360-380.

ABSTRACT

In this article, the author argues that the practice of sports as an articulation of social collectivity should be approached not only in terms of institution and social structure but also in terms of discourse and positioning. The ethnographic case of Brazilian soccer informs this piece as the author analyzes nationalism and hegemony using a sociolinguistic approach. The focus of the article rests on the voices of various dominant as well as “fragment” populations, whose discursive practice help explain how cultural forms like soccer can be recognized as national even by disinterested persons or those citizens who seek to resist particular ideologies within such cultural forms.

"Kick your wash bucket aside!
Clean your floors with a cool head!
Buy Optimum"

In a recent television commercial on the Globo network, the most powerful and extensive broadcasting company in Brazil, an elderly woman is shown kicking the traditional washbucket in a manner reminiscent of a side-kick *futebol* strike (*voleio*). For most Brazilian viewers, the commercial's success rests upon the juxtaposition of modernity and tradition highlighted by the unexpected agent of modernity (the elderly woman) in both physical agility and cleaning method. The tacit subtext, which links moves and language of *futebol* (soccer) to a recognized field of feminine labor and identity in Brazil, is what sparked my curiosity.

This essay departs from a particular sticky point I identify between my experience in the field and what I take to be a certain subtext evident in the literature. For many interested in drawing connections between society and sport, the extrapolation of wide-ranging common sentiment such as nationalism from active participants to those citizens apparently uninterested in sport remains unproblematic. How do cultural practices such as sports achieve the emblematic status of "national" when, in fact, many citizens don't actively participate as players or fans? When Brazilian authors write statements like "*futebol* civilized Brazil" or "the ball is the index of our faults and qualities,"¹ how are social groups like women and historical markers like racism figured? The common, everyday associations evident in this commercial help demonstrate the hegemonic force of *futebol* as a national discourse in Brazil.² In this essay, I argue that *futebol* is distinctly Brazilian not only as a particular sports institution but also in terms of discursive practice.³

Futebol both as discourse and institution contributes significantly to the constitution of a sense of national identity - being Brazilian. Yet, in my opinion, it is only as discourse that *futebol* succeeds in encompassing fragment populations and resistant ideologies that otherwise are not represented in actual *futebol* practice. The approach I propose here helps explain more completely why *futebol* remains one of the only things that in Brazil *que deu certo* ("has gone right").⁴

REVIEWING THE LITERATURE

While the emergence and maintenance of *futebol* as Brazilian national sport and Brazilian identity certainly involve an institutional trajectory, I call attention to the socio-linguistic force of *futebol*. I aim not to discount or contest the paradigmatic literature regarding *futebol* and nationalism, which utilizes explicative models foregrounding political, socio-psychological and postcolonial theories. Rather, I see this essay as contributing to in a complementary fashion the statements espoused by both Brazilian journalists and academics as well as foreign writers.⁵ What is highlighted in this article is sports talk as a dynamic yet hegemonic code of culture, one which provides various identity spaces for Brazilian speakers. Of course, *futebol*, as a hegemonic discourse, reinforces social stratification in its practice of inclusion and exclusion. After briefly reviewing the present and historical canon of *futebol* literature, I will introduce an analysis that is organized in two categories: focal vocabulary and ethnographic vignettes. I argue that this approach addresses both concerns of structure and practice as persons use *futebol* discourse either to bolster their social positions or to mark their resistant difference.

In general, one could categorize the literature on Brazilian *futebol* into three main areas: *futebol* and politics (ideology), *futebol* and social mobility (socio-economics and/or psychological), and *futebol* and Brazilian modern history (postcolonial distinction in a world system or vis-à-vis a "Third World" category). Investigative journalists, representing various departments including sports, have dominated the production of the first type of *futebol* literature.⁶ The failure of Brazil to win the 1950 World Cup in its very own backyard, Maracanã Stadium in Rio de Janeiro, against Uruguay has remained a steadfast reference by Brazilian historians for the nation's prolonged cultural infancy as not yet ready to enter the modern world. Another benchmark in this trajectory occurred in 1970, as dictator Médici, an avid *futebol* fan, manipulated most of the players from the World Champion team into promoting his political rhetoric of Brazil "moving forward" ("*Brasil para frente*").⁷ Much literature in this vein focuses on the last period of dictatorship (1964-1988) and how *futebol* institutions often double as political

platforms.⁸ Many authors take as a foundational analytical point the parallel movement of Brazil's distinctive *futebol* style and the relative state of political and socio-economic modernity in a world system.⁹ Some argue, for example, that even though the 1982 World Cup team did not win the championship, they exemplified the true Brazilian "spirit" and the "art of soccer" ("*futebol de arte*") - a nostalgic sign of past glories (World Cup Championships 1958, 1962 and 1970). On the other hand, some maintain the 1994 World Cup championship team demonstrated a "soccer of results" ("*futebol de resultado*" or "*futebol de força*"), a mark of understanding the logic of contemporary world society and thus the signal for future prosperity under the neoliberal era of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso.¹⁰

In a more resistant and carnivalesque mode, other writers have emphasized the role of *futebol* in empowering the local fan. Very much partial to the ideology of *futebol* as potential access to social mobility, Roberto da Matta comments on the transferal or sharing process present in victory from the players on the field to the predominantly poor, economically underprivileged spectators. Da Matta helps the reader imagine the intensity of experience. The stadium is highlighted here as a place where differences otherwise marked within practices of social hierarchy dissolve as complete strangers jump for joy and hug each other in commemoration of a goal. I will never forget the sensation of exhilaration mixed with surprise as the referee whistled a second penalty in favor of my team Coríntians during the semifinal match versus Portuguesa in the 1998 state championship. Coincidence would have it that a total stranger making his way through the crowd passed in front of me at the moment of the foul. Immediately, we embraced and stood together in complete concentration as Colombian mid-fielder Rincón scored the tying and decisive goal for Coríntians.

Another dimension of soccer as an integrating force is its capacity to convey to the population, especially those poor and destitute, an experience of victory and success. This victory which the modern world translates as the magic word 'success' - a concept that the social hierarchical system as well as the Brazilian concentration of wealth make attainable to a precious few (Da Matta 1994:17).

The famous Brazilian anthropologist and sociologist Gilberto Freyre considered *futebol* as a saving grace for Brazilian society. Freyre's early work remains foundational in Brazilian social thought, for he bucked the prevailing, deterministic thoughts of "whitening" (*branquiamento*) as the principal driving force in Brazilian cultural history. Instead, Freyre proposed a more optimistic and balanced set of theories based on the ebbs and flows of patriarchy.¹¹ Often stereotypical in his characterizations and problematic in his methodologies, Freyre argued that Brazil was a unique construction of three distinct cultural groups: Europeans (Portuguese), Indigenous (Tupi-Guarani), and

Africans (Bantu, Yoruba and other West African ethnic groups). Most recognized for his theories on Brazilian society as an operative “racial democracy,” Freyre’s thoughts on *futebol* can be interpreted as complementary.

Quoted here by Robert Levine, Freyre takes a page from Hobbes in classifying *futebol* as a civilizing social contract.

Brazilian *futebol*, known for several decades for its competitive brilliance, has invited its share of sentient analysis, from journalistic obsequities to solemn predictions that *futebol* as a safety valve for 'animal energies and irrational impulses' would soon replace the need for militarism and revolution (Levine 1980: 233, quote of Freyre 1936)

Finally, the emergence of *futebol* as a Brazilian national sport has been established as part of Brazil's modern project. The process of creating and incorporating some notion of national sentiment has been extremely difficult in the case of Brazil. Unlike the rest of Latin America, Brazil held onto a monarchical system of government until the latter years of the 19th century (1888). The shift to a republic was only nominal as fragmentation in identity conception was highlighted constantly in the many civil wars and rebellions.¹² In addition, a great majority of residents in emergent cities such as São Paulo continued to identify themselves in terms of ethnicity (e.g. Jewish) or homeland nationalities (e.g. German, Italian, Japanese).¹³ For many, the dynamic of Brazilian modernism only began to emerge in the late 1920s and early 30s. In literature (cannibalism or *antropofagia*), sports (*futebol*), music (samba) and economics (coffee), Brazilians were able to articulate a distinctive style under rubrics of the hustler and a certain caginess while indexing the dominant forms of Europe. In the case of *futebol*, the British fetishization of rules and discipline has been juxtaposed against the free-wheeling "swing" ("*ginga*") of Brazilians of African descent. Important contributions by Levine (1980), Leite (1997), Lever (1988) and Da Matta (1982) help explain the historical trajectory of *futebol* in Brazil from an elite and amateur pastime of English ex-pats to a transitional period of "factory football" and finally to the professional sports institution of contemporary times. "For the typical Brazilian, *futebol* offers a link to a larger world. Only when the elite game became a mass sport did it reach its full potential as a socializing agent" (Levine 1980: 249). While *futebol* remains strongly associated with the coastal cities of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, Recife and Salvador, the countryside and even regions in the Amazon are integrated into the national institution by way of state competitions and secondary divisions. It is from this historical platform where I launch into the body of my paper - the integration of the Brazilian nation vis-à-vis *futebol* discourse.

CONTEXTUALIZATION OF ARGUMENT

Upon first glance, the case may seem far-fetched for *futebol* in Brazil, as the social practice in question is undisputedly a global phenomenon. US American football possibly could be claimed as a contributing factor of US cultural nationalism due to its singularity and complex set of rules, thereby indicating a cultural intimacy of secret strategies. However, soccer is a world sport and since the 1930s a developing world market organized by a multi-national management board under the banner of FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association). In fact, based upon connections of "invention of tradition" and national possession, "football" honors would go to England,¹⁴ the sacred place of origin. Indeed, football as a British socio-historical sphere of patrimony, colonial influence and nostalgia, class membership (Holt 1997: 6), and violent or passionate spectatorship, has created mobilizing narratives filled with symbolic referents (e.g. "hooligan"), from which public actors position themselves. Be that as it may, what is apparent from studies concerning nationalism (Anderson 1991) and world systems (Coronil 1997; Chatterjee 1993) is that modularity provides a mere point of contact, which is historically contingent and dialogic in its course. In the case of Brazil, the fact that English terms (e.g. *futebol* and *gol*) and even club names (América and Sport) remain is not held in contradiction with the overwhelming declaration of *futebol* as a national sport and one (re)invented by Brazilians. This is to say that cultural forms tend to drift, sometimes qualified in terms of appropriation, implementation, mimesis, parody, hegemonic "ghosts" (Williams 1991), etc., but, at least with team-oriented sports, localities are convincingly connected to nation by means of synecdoche.¹⁵ When the announcer states: "Brazil enters the field", he is referring to a group of selected Brazilian citizens. The discursive performance of synecdoche and metonym reinforce nation as the dominant form of cultural organization. The point is that the metaphor of *futebol* extends beyond the sport and encompasses a variety of social fields, so that voices engaged in other "traditions" (e.g. economics, politics, ethnicity) fashion their claims to authority in *futebol* terms. Moral evaluation of persons' perspectives becomes an issue of subjectivity and intention, yet more often than not, persuasive rhetoric revolves around recognized national symbols of *futebol*.

Futebol began in Brazil as a British import carried over by laborers of companies interested in developing Brazil's almost non-existent railway system. Subsequently, social sports clubs were established open to elite members of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. English was, in fact, the *lingua franca* of these upper crust organizations. The lingering influence of structural edifices including fundamental vocabulary (*futebol* and *gol*)¹⁶ and regulated organization (championships, coach-player dynamic, and confederation of teams into leagues) allowed Brazilian *futebol* to be easily recognized as a part of an existing "world system" (Lever 1988: 94). These characteristics

suggest a relationship Kang refers to as "cultural dependency," in which the social practice of sports "inculcates an attitude of submission to the established order by fulfilling 'compensatory and diversionary function'" (Brohm 1976: 58-59). He argues that sports as a manifestation of nationalism only clouds what's really happening on the global level of integrating economic and cultural production - an integration detrimental to local notions of traditionalization.

While this crude Marxist argument may hold some water in purely economic terms in Brazil, social and cultural reckoning of meaning have not followed suit. Brazilian popular culture has inverted the values of institutional modernity and industrial labor relations. The spheres of religious ritual (*carnaval*), popular music (*samba*) and *futebol* have emphasized the carnivalesque and joined in creating iconic categories such as the *malandro* ("hustler" or "schemer"). This character gestures to the dominant order of modern expectations while simultaneously foregrounding a specifically Brazilian style of *ginga* ("swing"), "instinct" and "disorder" (Soares 1995). While these terms are indexed as tacit and ubiquitous knowledge amongst Brazilians, they are frequently invoked in cross-cultural interaction (e.g. my fieldwork conversations) as globally salient distinguishing the Brazilian way of doing things.

Due to the relative weakness and incapacity of the Brazilian polity to formalize any recognized social and cultural metaphors, with which newly-branded citizens might identify in some sort of hierarchy similar to the emergent order of labor, a sense of cohesive nationalism was dubious. The institutional structuring of "football" borrowed from the British allowed that crucial connection Benedict Anderson identifies as the "diurnal regularities of the imagining life," that is the citizen's confidence that "the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others" (1991: 35). Examples of the biweekly rituals of going to the monumental stadiums,¹⁷ reading daily sports newspapers, and engaging in common *futebol* talk (e.g. master narratives of "fame") fit quite nicely.

It is then plausible to interpret Brazilian *futebol* institutions as initially lingering structures and *futebol* practices from British influence beginning in the 1890's, and later being the wherewithal to concretize international negotiations of technological and economical import (e.g. telecommunication links between southern and northern Brazil in 1970). Furthermore, one can assert national cultural identity in recognized "natural" forms captured in figurative icons such as the *malandro* as well as actual players (soccer stars such as Leônidas, Garrincha, Pelé in addition to other national actors like São Paulo's former mayor Celso Pitta or former governor Paulo Maluf,

musician Gilberto Gil, etc.), those who always know how to "*dar um jeitinho*" ("find a way"). Yet, how is the ubiquitous matter of local discourse represented and constituted by *futebol*? How do Brazilians utilize *futebol* as a common referential source so that socio-cultural heterogeneity (race, gender, region) can be linguistically reckoned and positions be negotiated?

FUTEBOL AS DISCOURSE

Nowadays, the sports writer is not the only one familiar with the soccer code. Anyone, soccer-lover or not, has an active relationship with this code. Therefore, the penetration of this speech has become special and thus a powerful factor in the lexical enrichment of the Portuguese language (do Carmo Leite de Oliveira Fernández 1974:38).

Fernández, a seemingly lost voice in the Brazilian *futebol* narrative, rightly calls attention to the specific sociolinguistic relationship between *futebol* talk and sociocultural competency. In the Brazilian context, *futebol* as a discursive practice encompasses an extremely wide range of everyday situations. *Futebol* talk overflows structural institutional boundaries and includes persons and socio-cultural contexts seemingly apart from or even antagonistic towards sport. This section is an attempt to explicate how *futebol* represents a national symbolic field in Brazil.

Post-colonial official languages, specifically understood in the Brazilian case in terms of contact situations which foreground political economy, complicate models of national-official language convergence. While the canonization of Portuguese as Brazil's official language fits a modular pattern of social hierarchy promoting their own discursive practice, reproduced and preserved in written form within developing institutional contexts, the class foil is challenged as emerging nations often depend on subaltern classes for cultural capital production in the unifying project of national inclusion. Investigation of *futebol* is insightful, because it becomes evident that not only do subordinate classes, the social lot of the overwhelming majority of Brazilian *futebol* players, aspire towards an imaginary standard Portuguese in public speech (TV interviews, newspapers, sports magazines), but also speakers of high status and symbolic wealth feel compelled to utilize popular metaphors of *futebol* origins to fashion their public discourse as valuable. The evidence of *futebol*'s extensive influence into virtually all genres of discourse suggests that there are more nuanced levels of linguistic capital than merely projected approximations to a "standard language." In the Brazilian case, viable nationalism in both territorial and cultural terms converged with the development of *futebol*, so that a historically contingent "policy of linguistic unification [which favoured] those who already possessed the official language as part of their linguistic competence" (Thompson 1991: 6), is made more

complex as the source of symbolic capital originates from a social group, whose position is logically devalued by traditional nationalist hegemony.

The saliency of *futebol* metaphor is evident in its sheer quantitative production. The dissemination of *futebol* talk throughout the majority of social networks (family, school, media, neighborhood, music, literature, popular religious institutions¹⁸) keys citizens into a national frame of poetics. Constructed meanings from the selected metaphors and their contextual placement within everyday discourse tend to reflect and create many significant factors of Brazilian social stratification.

JOGADA LINGÜÍSTICA (LINGUISTIC PLAY)

Brazil, unlike the US, México, Chile and Argentina, never physically expelled any imperial power, be it Portugal as colonizer, England as the paternal industrialist, or the US as “friendly neighbor” since the Second World War. Language has provided a space in which Brazil has affirmed a national identity and shed colonial shadows while maintaining a nostalgic consciousness of past foreign influences. Beginning at the basic word *futebol*, the British influence took hold at the roots of the sport. In fact, in early publications and team names, the actual word “football” was maintained. At the end of the nineteenth century, Brazil was in the midst of an intellectual, nationalistic movement, part of which consisted of a mixture of neologisms and French influenced *parnasianismo* literature. It is in this milieu that linguistic attempts such as *pebol*, *balípodo*, *ludopédia*, *pedibola* and *podabolismo* were introduced to preserve the root of *pé* - the foot. These attempts at a foundational change failed; nevertheless, *futebol* underwent a transformation from something once introduced from the outside in a colonizing gesture (“football,” Charles Miller and British imperialism of the late 19th century) to an act of borrowing (linguistic examples of *golquíper* and *centrofór*) to direct translation and appropriation (goalkick is expressed as *tiro de meta* and *corner* as *escanteio* while *centrofór* has become *centro-avante*).¹⁹ This process of “portuguesing” English terms is significant in terms of understanding a Brazilian sense of pride. There is a notion that foreign words can be successfully altered to fit a native acoustic and phonemic scheme and thus become Brazilian in essence. Furthermore, one can point to Brazil as an American nation, which succeeds in stepping outside of cultural colonialism by linguistic celebration. A seemingly particular language here provides the structural evidence of an influence felt in virtually all aspects of Brazilian life.

Without a doubt, the simplest and most encapsulating term of *futebol* is *gol*. Although the “goal” has no synonyms (unlike the ball itself, which is often identified with a woman, e.g. *a menina*, *a gorduchinha*, *a branquinha*, *a guria*, *a bichinha*, *a nêga*, etc.), it is the vehicle by which hundreds of linguistic creations are generated (Fernández 1974:109-112). The goal is the act, which integrates *futebol* linguistically; one can then consider the ball as a means to realize the goal. How one treats the ball becomes crucial regarding the outcome. Common expressions such as *dar a bola para ele/ela* and *pisar na bola* demonstrate two radically different sides of play. The former, literally translated as “to give the ball to him/her,” takes on a meaning of making a romantic play for someone or simply giving someone particular attention. This is quite different than “passing” the ball (“*passar a bola*”) to someone as “giving” conveys a sense of being obvious and open perhaps even vulnerable. The latter literally translates as “to step on the ball” (similar to traveling in basketball but much more embarrassing) and is utilized in day-to-day speech situations from blatant political absurdities to ruining a “private” moment. All temporalities, contexts, socio-cultural imagery and class/taste distinctions have found their way into Portuguese via appropriate types of goal. Some examples are: *gol feito* (conditional sense of something that should have been executed), *gol de empate* (to pull even, respectability intact), *gol de Prêmio Nobel* or *gol de placa* (the inclusion of international fame or possibly an index of exaggeration), *gol de pilantragem* (an act of “jive,” result through an effective hustle). The fact that the “gol” is the paradigmatic and defining act of the sport is directly translated and appropriated into everyday speech. The power of this cannot be underestimated in the never-ending task of communication. Brazilians spend a great deal of time analyzing recent soccer games. An incredible amount of television and radio (not to mention internet) airtime is filled with commentary. Sometimes, when polemical situations become paradoxes, it is common to resort to the following truism: “soccer is goal” (“*futebol é gol*”) as a temporary solution. The goal is definitive and Brazilians take advantage of its currency to understand, explain and describe their lives and reality.

Just as the ball acts as the means, the field localizes play and often provides introductory or conclusive expressions of setting in general conversation - *entrar em campo* (“arrive on the field”) and *tirar o time do campo* (literally “to take one’s team off the field” or “to retire”), respectively. Of course, *futebol* discourse does not stand alone in contemporary neologistic innovation; however, I see *futebol* as a “beans-and-rice” base from which other discourses depart. It is precisely in reference to these everyday expressions, which hold *futebol* elements as their

focal point, which, in essence, inculcate Brazilians (especially women), who, for the most part, do not participate in *futebol* in any other (non-linguistic) formal or institutional sense.

Futebol discourse in Brazil demonstrates that official or standard language and popular jargon are necessarily entangled. Linguistic performance has traditionally been a strong marker of class and general status difference in Brazil. This difference is often characterized by ambiguous dichotomies such as serious / lazy, educated / ignorant, institution / street, and correct / marginal or criminal.²⁰ *Futebol* discourse invades both fields and brings speakers together in a precarious union of shared knowledge and more importantly a shared lexicon and manner of presentation. In this sense, *futebol* succeeds as a national semiotic system precisely due to its relative resolution of stark "disemia - the formal or coded tension between official self-presentation and what goes on in the privacy of collective introspection" (Herzfeld 1997: 14). This is evident in its historical constructions and contemporary practice. The concept of disemia serves well to preface a reading of the specific utterances made by players, coaches, media, politicians, and others. Native speakers utilize *futebol* as a comfortable space and metaphorical stock, from which vernacular presentations appear discursively official and representatives of a "high" register can augment their appeal with strategic insertions of *futebol* vernacular. In both situations, *futebol* exists as the vehicle of legitimacy.

However, the juxtaposition of these discursive registers is far from smooth. The combination of formal linguistic constructions and informal popular verse does not shock due to its very ubiquity. These scripts used in pre-game, post-game, half-time, and training press conferences are repeated to the point that everyday Brazilians jokingly employ such scripts when asked about their job performance, personal relationships, or other mundane situations of competition or performance. In the following, I will provide some specific examples, which demonstrate this normal yet awkward combination and characterize some of the linguistic mechanics of *futebol* discourse.

I find it revealing when coaches, players and sports journalists perform a certain brand of code switching. Informal *futebol* phrases are mixed with "serious," political, and often rehearsed rhetoric. Meihy attributes this to the influence of various dictatorships during Brazil's history. A desperate government search coupled with a strong popular desire via *futebol* produced a particular mixture of both natural and manipulated nationalistic rhetoric. Phrases describing soccer as "an organ of national unity," "our thing," "national preference," and "Brazilian

spirit/will" joined with talk of particular players, teams and strategies conjure convincing and totalizing images of participatory union.²¹ However, linguistically this integration is partial as only particular clips of "fixed" Portuguese are maintained. It is not uncommon to hear a player who in one breath utters: "*nós estamos aqui para mostrar um trabalho sério, a categoria do qual*" ("we are present to show a serious effort, the category of which...") and then, "*O técnico infelizmente não me man-teu no time*" ("the coach didn't keep me"). The juxtaposition is jarring structurally, for the first phrase demonstrates the more formal option of "nós" for the first person plural rather than the more colloquial "*a gente*" as well as the complicated application of a modifying phrase starting with "the category of which." The second phrase exemplifies an attempt to use the more formal verb "*manter*" ("to maintain") instead of more common options such as "*deixou*" or "*mandou embora*" ("let [me] go" or "fired [me]"); however, the speaker's conjugation is incorrect. The correct form is "*manteve*" and thus the speaker is shown to be "*sem cultura*" ("ignorant").

While problems in linguistic structure may at times result in reinforcing rigid social barriers, the content references succeed in articulating *futebol* to a wide range of dominant and popular concepts. Speakers achieve formality through repetition of phrases, which invoke popular notions of individual humility (phrases using luck and God as responsible forces), work ethic (phrases which emphasize worker/team performance) and success (phrases which define success as a favorable result for a deserving team). In addition to the references to politics and the latent national desire to appear "serious," there are religious or spiritual categories set in *futebol* speech. Expressions such as "*não deu sorte*" ("it was not so-and-so's day" or literally [implicit subject] "did not give luck") highlight a double reference. First, the prominence of the words *sorte* and *azar* (good and bad luck, respectively) index the general lack of bragging rhetoric in Brazilian Portuguese.²² Secondly, "*não deu sorte*" begs the rhetorical question of *quem deu* ("who gave" or who didn't permit fortune). The dominant interpretation places "God" as the implicit subject, thus further classifying the game, the score or life itself as indubitably a result of spirituality. The incredible frequency of which Brazilians utilize luck and religious expressions in *futebol* speaks to a particular destined "nature" of the game – i.e. that we are all "workers," "strugglers," and "sufferers" in constant conflict and that a winning team is, more than anything else, "blessed."²³

MARGINALIA AND “DISRUPTIVE PRACTICES”

In his discussion of stereotypes within the process of a "totalizing iconicity", Herzfeld cites Ernest Gellner (1983) and his idea that culture becoming national involves a shift from "'adornment, confirmation and legitimation of social order' to the status 'of a necessary shared medium.'" My experience in Brazil seems to give support to *futebol* being part of a "ubiquitous triviality."²⁴ To leave it at that would be to skirt the issues connected to soccer as a world sport. Under these circumstances, the nation-state's interest lies in precisely (re)membering the latent indexicality of *futebol*. This usually takes the form of retrospective documentaries and sociologically-informed media essays of current players and institutions.

Through the ethnographic examples of Marcos the salesman and Neca, we may follow Herzfeld in testing "the possibilities and limitations of an encompassing iconicity - 'national character'" (1997: 152) by focusing on the manner in which these different social actors engage with *futebol* in their positionings as Brazilian.

MARCOS AND FUTEBOL: OBLIGATIONS OF BUSINESS TALK AND FATHERHOOD

Marcos and I are acquaintances. We have mutual friends. We've had our share of conversations, as he is a part-time musician and has played with a host of popular entertainers. Stories with Marcos usually revolve around topics of musical experience. We normally joke about the notion of "popular entertainer" and the tendencies towards selling out. However, during one of the farewell parties around May of 1998 (my wife Selma and I moved to the US), another part of Marcos' identity appeared. It was one month before the World Cup in France and all conversations eventually led to expectations and analyses of Brazil's national team as well as potential challengers.²⁵ In São Paulo, the finals of the state championship were also occurring and my team Corinthians was pitted against the favored São Paulo Athletic Club. I was eager to turn conversation to these topics. To imagine beyond the frenzy of the state championship filled with the experience of being in the stands of Morumbi stadium in addition to the upcoming spectacle of the World Cup was too tall a task for me that evening. Everyone had said his/her peace except for Marcos. I was surprised at his silence, so I asked him directly for his opinion. His response seemed so pat. Marcos remarked on the importance of Marcelinho Carioca's performance for Corinthians chances in the upcoming state championship match. This can be compared to saying that the Los Angeles Lakers need the positive play of Kobe Bryant and Shaquille O'Neal. Marcos appeared to be rehearsing something he had read or heard. I was confused. Others who knew Marcos well began to elicit stories that ultimately served to contextualize his flippant

remarks about *futebol*. First, Marcos told a story about his full-time professional job. He makes a living as a sales representative for a local rubber company. He travels from client to client providing service and product maintenance. He explained to us how a great deal of time is typically spent talking about national crises and *futebol* over a customary *cafezinho* ("little coffee"). Marcos told a series of hilarious stories of how he felt obliged to play along and pretend local knowledge of scores and players' performance for the sake of his job and his person.²⁶ While he declares himself as *Corintiano* (a fan of the Corinthians team), thereby indexing certain sub-cultural intimacies of socio-geographic background, education, and other markers of status,²⁷ Marcos was barely functional in his relation to team knowledge and particular metaphors. His recognition of this shortcoming was both comical and serious, as Marcos maintained that frequently the situation was grave and demanded some sort of *joga de cintura* or *ginga* ("go with the flow" – itself a common phrase derived from soccer moves) on his part to accomplish his goals.

The social pressures indexed in *futebol* as a nationalistic discourse are not relegated to just the professional sphere. Marcos went on to tell us stories of his relationship with his son Bruno. Marcos confessed that his indifference towards *futebol* has affected Bruno's capability to position himself in the social terrain of grade school. Marcos tries to give incentive to Bruno to *jogar bola* (play ball), because he knows the importance within the socialization process of becoming Brazilian (more specifically, Brazilian man). Marcos lamented that Bruno plays *futebol* poorly and has no sense of team allegiance. His attempts to encourage Bruno towards *futebol* must appear contradictory or at least half-hearted. The result is that Bruno is perceived as being displaced at school, a problematic position that requires social adaptation in order to achieve personal advantage. Consequently, Bruno has developed a remarkable sense of humor and ability to tell jokes. In essence, one's negotiation of *futebol* influences significantly the nature of professional attitude (*cafezinho*), father / son relationship (socialization), and individual personality (Bruno's development of an acute sense of humor).

HIP HOP AND FUTEBOL: AN UNEASY RELATIONSHIP

While the above anecdote exemplifies the reification of *futebol* as a persuasive discursive form of national hegemony, the narratives of Necaf and others of a hip-hop cultural organization called Posse Hausa actively seek to dislodge *futebol* hegemony. One of the projects of Brazilian hip-hop discourse is to reveal racism in national imaginings of history and contemporary society.²⁸ In my fieldwork with rappers of the organization Posse Hausa, I

was struck by their relatively cold and abrasive reactions to my attempts to achieve rapport through a display of *futebol* knowledge.²⁹ Drawing from the intimate relationship sports such as basketball and American football have with the metaphorical performances of US rappers, I thought an approach along these lines with regard to *futebol* would be appreciated. However, Marquinhos Funky Soul and Nino Brown were instrumental in explaining that Brazilian hip-hop culture tends to function by another set of relational signs in order to generate other iconicities. Instead of Brazilian soccer legends Pelé or Garrincha (both of significant African descent), icons of current US rap and Black Power such as Chuck D, Tupac, and Malcolm X are joined with domestic historical figures such as Zumbi³⁰ in addition to symbols of African communities (e.g. Bantu, Haussa, Yoruba).

Brazilian hip hoppers struggle to carve out a space for themselves as representatives of a particular kind of urban Brazilian culture. It is a struggle, because the majority of Brazilians maintain a restricted view of culture, which rarely categorizes expressive forms in terms of race in favor of class and geographical region. The upshot of this debate is that Brazilian hip-hop culture and rap music, in particular, are usually interpreted as mere mimesis of the dominant neighbors to the north. The criticism of not being Brazilian holds for sports preference as well. In our conversations, Necaf, a member of the group Mira Direta (literally translated as "direct aim"), complained to me of the teasing he receives for playing basketball instead of *futebol*. In response to accusations of simply imitating *gringos*, he tries to convince these people that *futebol* is not homegrown either. Talking and playing basketball with Necaf over the past 7 years, I sense that he has become more bitter, due, in part, to his experience as a political rapper or "conscious" rapper and a basketball player. These days I find Necaf to be a person of strong self-esteem and convictions somewhat submerged under a solemn demeanor. The power of *futebol* places Necaf on the defensive to the point where his expressions of resistance fall silent under the pressure of popular imagination.³¹

Discourse is a primary vehicle through which persons articulate stereotypical relationships. Not only do stereotypes marginalize persons and practices, which are perceived as different, but also reinforce dominant practices as normal, natural – part of tacit knowledge. *Futebol* as a legitimated national discourse has historically cornered the market on how Brazilians can negotiate terms such as race and ethnicity for the purposes of identity performance. Many Brazilian rappers have expressed similar sentiments of a public marginality in their tellings of "other" histories and neighborhood stories. However, hip-hop's metadiscursive acts are generally interpreted as based solely on mimicry and thus devalued in terms of national meanings, which emphasize local distinction.

Where the national process aimed at homogenizing heterogeneity is fashioned around assimilating elements of that heterogeneity through appropriations that devalue them or that deny the source of their contribution it establishes what Gramsci referred to as a transformist hegemony (Williams 1991: 30)

Narratives of “racial democracy,” which have historically been present connecting *futebol* to the “elevation of the negro,”³² appear to subsume otherwise challenging narratives of black resistance offered by hip-hop participants. In this manner, Afro-centricity is often “transformed” into a set of discourses related to class and marginality thereby deferring race as secondary and relatively unimportant. However, all hegemonic power structures are tenuous and some forms of contemporary popular culture in Brazil have challenged much of the “common sense” social relations indexed by *futebol* discourse. This has proven to be a contentious relationship, as more and more Brazilians are attracted to the locality of hip hop discourse, which seems to be more pertinent to their lives, at times than *futebol*'s portrayal of locality.³³ In essence, there is a sense among millions of Brazilians, especially those who identify themselves as part of an (sub)urban “periphery” sociality, that hip-hop discourse relates a more representative Brazilian reality than *futebol* discourse. Rappers and other spokespersons for hip-hop culture document repeatedly the brutal and banal life of their surroundings. The ritualistic performances of these narratives³⁴ have resulted in convincing millions of persons who live in (sub)urban shantytowns to take a more active role in the creation and expression of their citizenship and neighborhoods. Unlike *futebol*, which emphasizes an unproblematic inscription into national belonging, hip-hop discourse urges participation in the effort towards social change in the reckoning of “Brazil” and how Brazilian society should operate.

CONCLUSION

In this essay, I have argued that virtually all Brazilians relate to nation vis-à-vis a “metapragmatic awareness” of *futebol*'s relation to individual and collective identity.³⁵ The historical development of *futebol* has become a national narrative to the extent that remembered characters and icons have infiltrated common discourse as “ubiquitous triviality.” The codification of these relationships into Brazilian Portuguese incorporates all speakers into a playing field, in which socialization provides all players with recognized systems of “image-plans.”³⁶ These conceptual blueprints inform the operative processes of identity formation as persons reckon themselves as belonging to a national discursive community. This would all be small potatoes if it weren't for the recognition of Brazilian soccer on a global playing field. The legitimacy and overwhelming success of local practice in the presence of a global audience has transformed the historical development of the emergence of *futebol* into a unifying

and distinguishing force. As I have discussed in the introductory sections of the paper as well as in the final ethnographic vignette, many Brazilians reflect and even question some of the articulations within the logic of *futebol*. Journalists worry and write about potential dangerous blurring of the lines between political and sport authority, as influential individuals seem to navigate between private sectors of club ownership and public sectors of policy and social justice. These concerns have only but intensified during the last year due to the scandals involving CBF (Brazilian Soccer Confederation) president Ricardo Teixeira and *futebol* legend Pelé. In addition, various “fragment” populations attempt to construct alternative discourses in order to refigure and rehistoricize “black” identities, for example, vis-à-vis hip-hop culture. Ultimately, or at least presently, these discourses are overshadowed by the legacy of “success,” which remains a solid reference for Brazilians as they negotiate everyday life. The marking of “success” and “stability” is definitive in the formation of hegemonic discourses. I have argued in this paper that an investigation into Brazilian *futebol* from a discourse-centered approach reveals a more complete picture of how national hegemonies form and are negotiated by interested persons. In simple terms, national hegemonic formations highlight the unproblematic nature of current social relations and strategically frame their histories as complementary to the general progression of citizenry. What I have referred to throughout this essay as “fragments” are essentially problems. The extent to which these “fragment” narratives are understood as “problems” rather than alternative configurations of social positionings and historical trajectories reflects the relative positive status of a particular hegemonic formation. In the case of Brazilian *futebol*, I end this essay returning to a popular phrase. For the time being, despite an awareness of the political manipulations in the name of *futebol* and despite the exclusionary assumptions embedded in the institutional practice of the sport (issues of race and gender), *futebol* remains for many *a única coisa que deu certo* (the only thing that has gone right) and thus sacred.

¹ These phrases are taken from the introduction to a book-length photographic essay on soccer marketed in Brazil entitled *Brasil Bom de Bola* (“Brazil Plays [or Does] Well”). All translations from Portuguese to English are mine unless otherwise noted.

² As will come apparent in the subsequent pages, my interpretation of “hegemony” is Gramscian in nature. That is to say that “hegemony” is understood as a continual process towards creating and maintaining relations of power through the manufacturing of “common sense” rather than through coercion. The salient difference between this notion of hegemony and those espoused in a great deal of political science and economics literature is anthropological, since the concentration of analysis destabilizes a top-down model of hegemony as an absolute achievement and focuses on the dynamic processes of tacit social relations.

³ The word *futebol* is intended to index two important points. First, I highlight the linguistic term as a metaphor for the overall analytical approach – discourse analysis. Second, the very term *futebol* indexes, as will be explained in

greater detail later in the text, a particular negotiation between lingering sentiments of colonialization (in this case British) and sentiments of nationalism and the “portuguesing” of borrowed concepts and practices.

⁴ The power of this popular saying is important to consider given a general perspective of Brazilian history. The dominant line of thinking follows. Since joining the “modern” world as a “democratic republic” in 1889, Brazil has consistently held the label of a “nation of the future.” Due to the relative disappointment of foreign investors and diplomats, who recognize the incredible potential and resources, Brazil has struggled to overcome the label of “sleeping giant.” After all the narratives of colonial pillage (natural resources) and political corruption (violations of human rights and intense social stratification), it is *futebol* that shines through as the exemplar of Brazilian potential realized on a global scale. Thus, *futebol* is the model of sociality and *parole*, as my essay suggests, created by and for the Brazilian citizen.

⁵ Some important works to be mentioned here include: Da Matta (1982; 1994), Shirts 1989, Fernández 1974, Levine 1980, Caldas 1990, Leite Lopes 1994, Rodrigues Filho 1964 (1947), Soares 1998, Santos 1981, Helal 1997, Rodrigues 1993, and Magalhães 1998b.

⁶ For more detailed accounts, see Shirts 1988, Couto 1998, Magalhães (1998a, 1998b), and Meihy 1982. It is important to note that over the past few decades the category of “sports chronicle” has been well established and has provided a significant space for journalist and essayists to explore a wide range of contemporary topics vis-à-vis *futebol* current events. In fact, the power of literary strategies such as metaphor and allegory utilized by journalists has caused some concern as to how “truth” is constituted via *futebol*. In this line of thinking, the works of Guedes (1998: 45-47), Murad (1996) and Costa (1994) are significant.

⁷ The soccer player Tostão is an important exception to this. In his autobiography (1997), he examines his noncommittal attitude to these politics as part of his overall disappearance from the *futebol* scene. In fact, Tostão’s autobiography along with an array of newspaper columns and radio and television appearances marked his return to soccer and public life.

⁸ A recent example of *futebol* mixing with politics occurred over the past Christmas and New Year holidays (2000-2001). The second and last leg of the final round between São Caetano, a team with little infrastructure and only 13 years of existence from the greater São Paulo metropolitan area, and Vasco da Gama, a “big market” team from Rio de Janeiro, ended in scandal and tragedy. The upshot of it is that the director (*cartola* - literally “big hat”) of Vasco exerted his political force over not only the CBF (Federation of Brazilian Soccer) officials but also the state governor and the national sports judicial system (*Justiça Esportiva*). Eurico Miranda won a legal decision, which basically disassociated his team from any of the responsibility with regard to the hundreds of injured fans, which delayed the match to the point of cancellation. Suffice it to say that this most recent event has caused many to question the legitimacy of national *futebol* competitions and points once again to a persistent dictator-like core under the superficial veneer of neoliberalism. The metaphor, for some, extends from *futebol* to national politics and even conjures up the haunting image of the *caudillo* as *cartola* that pervades the Latin American political imagination. A Brazilian friend, studying kinesiology and sports here at the University of Illinois, perhaps put it best when he remarked that a *futebol* coach or owner will “show as much [force] as he is able.” This is due to the fact that the role of *futebol* administrator remains a transparent position of authority, which encompasses many fields of Brazilian social power outside of mere sports and entertainment.

⁹ The importance of the rule of offsides (*impedimento*), which was changed from having 3 defenders between the attacking player and the goal to 2 in 1925, highlights the emergence of Brazilian soccer and Latin American soccer in general as an effective and ultimately successful style of play. The effect of the offsides rule frees up more space for play, which usually benefits players with better dribbling and short passing skills. The European style is characterized by long passes and headers, which coupled with a stingy defense and talented goalkeepers has proven also effective but primarily due to defensive strategies and not due to any sort of offensive brilliance.

Long-time soccer journalist Armando Nogueira comments that: “Offsides is the rule most misjudged by the referee. Without offsides, what would we argue about in the corner bars after the game?” (Vergara 2002:34). This half-joking and half-serious remark helps demonstrate the pervasiveness of *futebol* as discourse in Brazilian culture.

¹⁰ In a recent newspaper article following the dubious ruling for a final decisive game in the Copa João Havelange (see footnote #8 above), Sílvio Barsetti revives these nostalgic comparisons this time between São Caetano, the unfortunate losing team, and the “art soccer” of yesteryear. The victorious Vasco, while demonstrating unquestionable talent, remain forever marked, according to Barsetti, by their *cartola* Eurico Miranda as a metaphor for the bitter reality of political corruption under the mask of neoliberalism. In fact, the namesake of this championship, João Havelange, is symbolic, for it was he, who as president of FIFA from 1974-1998, was responsible for converting soccer from a beautiful sport (“art”) into a business of corporate marketing and global transactions (“results”). These views have been documented by the British journalist David A. Yallop (1998).

¹¹ For a close analysis on the trope of patriarchy in Freyre's work, see Skidmore 1994: 16-18.

¹² For more information see Skidmore 1993, 1999; Ribeiro 1995. Regarding the infamous Canudos rebellion, da Cunha's classic 1902 text *Rebellion in the Backlands (Os Sertões)* demonstrates the persistent ideological division between the modernity of the coastal cities and the traditional ways of life in the countryside. In addition, the regionalism, which pits the traditional patriarchy of the Northeast (embodied in the cities of Salvador and Recife) versus the modernist industrialism of the Southeast (exemplified in the cities of São Paulo, Rio and Porto Alegre), has plagued those interested in the nationalist project of articulating ideology to territory.

¹³ For more details, see Skidmore 1993: 145-47.

¹⁴ For more detailed and passionate arguments contesting the historical ownership of "football", see Hognestad's article "The Jambo Experience: An Anthropological Study of Hearts Fans" and Giulianotti's "Enlightening the North: Aberdeen Fanzines and Local Football Identity" for discussion of Scotland's contribution to the development of football techniques, recognized in the focus on the "passing game" in chapters 10 and 11 from *Entering the Field*, ed. Armstrong and Giulianotti.

¹⁵ This idea of sports team affinity being important to identity conceptualization in terms of geographical place is referenced as well in Farred 2000. Team loyalty, a "form of geographical and psychic permanence" (102), exists as a lingering resistance to the pervasive postmodern condition of "routes" - a negotiated hybridity of location affinity. In his discussion of ESPN sports talk, Farred describes sports talk as "multivalent conversation . . . a medium that enables people to talk about several aspects of their lives: regional identification, vicarious athletic accomplishment, race, admiration for physical skill, gender, hopes, dreams. . ." (99). There is subtle connection here to my overall point that sport as discourse is a naturally expanding kind of discourse, one that tends to promote a more open intersubjectivity in practice and thus a revealing nexus for anthropological investigation.

¹⁶ In a recent article in *The Economist* (06/27/98), Johnson appears bitter as he laments to the relatively little effect *futebol* has had on English, "the nearest thing to a world language. . . *G-o-o-o-o-o-l*, the best-known sound in football, is in theory Spanish or Portuguese; but those languages stole the word from English in the first place" [my underline]. Furthermore, the word "goal" is not original to football, "in the first recorded sporting use of *goal*, in 1531, it means a winning-post, not two uprights to kick a ball between; and the word was in metaphorical use for centuries before grown-up schoolboys set up England's Football Association in 1863" (Johnson: 90).

¹⁷ Brazil possesses three of the largest sports arenas in the world. Ranking second on the list of world stadiums, Rio de Janeiro's municipal Maracanã stadium holds 122,268 seated fans. In the past, this number was assuredly surpassed with thousands of standing spectators, when the stadium was more lenient about ticket sales and soccer stadiums were viewed with less fear. The largest stadium in the world in terms of seating capacity is May Day stadium in Pyongyang, North Korea with 150,000 seats.

¹⁸ The *futebol* star Miller, part of 1994 World Cup team as well as world-class club championship teams of São Paulo Futebol Club, was sworn into ministry recently. His sermons, as seen from clips on Bandeirantes TV news reports (04/99), use a myriad of *futebol* expressions in his interpretations of the Bible.

¹⁹ See Fernández 1974: 74-77.

²⁰ See Da Matta 1986 and Bagno 2002 for a more historical and structural analysis of linguistic differences in Brazilian society.

²¹ Meihy (1982: 14) cites particular magazines such as *Gazeta Esportiva Ilustrada* 1960. The original phrases are: "órgão da unidade nacional," "coisa nossa," "preferência nacional" and "raça/garra brasileira" "part of national unity", "our [a Brazilian] thing", "national preference" and "Brazilian spirit/will".

²² The word *gabar* is a rarely heard word; in fact, the most common way to communicate bragging or boasting is to use *exibir-se* - literally to exhibit oneself. A more commonly used verb is *aparecer* - literally to appear, a bragger as someone who "likes to appear."

²³ See J. Luiz dos Anjos (1999) discussion of how various popular belief systems provide a semiotic system through which many of the uncertainties of *futebol* are understood and explained.

²⁴ See Herzfeld's discussion of airline courtesies (1997: 7-8).

²⁵ At that time, Argentina had just beaten the Brazilian national team 1-0 in a "friendly" in Rio de Janeiro Maracanã stadium.

²⁶ Brackette Williams' discussion of "making self" and "making a life" is a good example of how persons negotiate and define symbolic capital in a highly competitive sociality (1991: 49-69).

²⁷ Corinthians has been historically categorized as the "team of the masses" in São Paulo. There are hundreds of jokes, narratives and stereotypes attributed to both the general ignorance (illiterate, dirty, criminal, poor) of Corinthiano fans as well as their persistent *raça* or will (in US terms perhaps comparable to the "never-say-die" mantra of the underdog). However, there are plenty of wealthy Corinthians as well as poverty-stricken São Paulo

fans (the local team often referenced as the elite counterpoint to Coríntians). Many myths exist as to the demographic shifts of team allegiances. These are often used to destabilize the authenticity of one team or another and by implication an individual's character.

²⁸ For more discussion on the historical trajectory of race and racism in Brazil as both subtle and pervasive, see Skidmore 1993, Schwarz and Reis 1996, and Guimarães 1999.

²⁹ It is important to note that this defiant posture of Posse Haussa hip-hoppers towards *futebol* does not represent all São Paulo hip-hop. This is particularly true among rappers. There are various individuals and groups who wear team jerseys on stage or in videos (e.g. Mano Brown of Racionais MCs is a fan of Santos and Rappin' Hood cheers for Coríntians). Presently, during a World Cup year, the image of *futebol* has been exploited even more in rap performances and other moments of media exposure. Important examples include a video by Camburão and Arsenal "Brasil, País do Crack," Xis' participation in an "on the scene" sports talk show, which tracked the emotional ups and downs of pop artists in the stands during the recent "classic" between Coríntians and São Paulo for the championship of the Rio-São Paulo tournament, and the song by Jamal "Sente o Flow," whose refrain rhymes "soul" with "gol." The presence of *futebol* within rap expression is relatively recent and, in my opinion, represents one of the current strategies to make rap music more accessible to the general public.

³⁰ Zumbi was the leader of one of the most famous slavery revolts in Brazilian history. He has been canonized as the most resistant leader of the self-sufficient communities (*quilombos*) against military forces. His death in 1695 is celebrated by hip-hop culture specifically and Afro-Brazilian culture in general. Recently, the day November became more widely recognized and in 1995, I witnessed the commemorative event of a huge outdoor rap concert. The importance of November 20th as a celebratory day of Zumbi and black liberation stands in conflict with the nationally recorded date of abolition May 13, 1888. This latter date signifies concession for black activists rather than liberation.

³¹ "Resistance" is understood here following pertinent distinctions made by Lawrence Grossberg. Rather than intended as direct confrontation, "resistance" is meant as making space or what Grossberg has called "territorializing daily life" (1992: 106-111). This then becomes one of many significant forms of "reality" informed by potentially competing cultural practices.

³² See Rosenfeld 2000 (1974 [1956]): 82-85 and Rodrigues Filho (1964) for a historical discussion of how *futebol* was transformed into a space for social climbing by Brazilians of African descent. The debate between Soares and Helal / Gordon Jr., represented in two articles (2001: 13-50 and 51-76, respectively), investigates the extent to which both popular and academic histories of *futebol* articulate to the hegemonic notion of Brazil as a "racial democracy."

³³ I remind the reader of my opening discussion of the floor cleaner commercial. I feel I can only comment tangentially about the gender politics surrounding *futebol* and Brazilian culture. I know of no work, which seriously pays attention to the place of Brazilian female voices within the performance of *futebol* as a viable nationalism. In her book, Simoni Guedes (1998: 117-136) gives some attention to the issue of gender and *futebol* in terms of bodily practices and knowledge. Anatol Rosenfeld in his historical work on the emergence of *futebol* in Brazil suggests that the practice of *futebol* succeeded during the first decades of the 20th century before its popularization as an alternative "rhetoric" (kinaesthetic) to the traditional linguistic form (Rosenfeld 2000: 81). Distinguished Brazilians such as Machado Assis wrote copiously about the connections between rhetorical eloquence and masculinity in terms of virility. The trope of kinaesthetic rhetoric as a measure of masculinity remains an obstacle for Brazilian women interested in practicing *futebol*. This prejudice manifests itself in the form of remarks questioning the sexual orientation of women who seriously play *futebol*. Far from being in any sense unified in a stance towards the *machismo* present in *futebol*, Brazilian women engage with the sport on different levels and in various capacities. In terms of discourse, use is national and is performed similarly among women. With regard to institutional practice, the formation of teams is relatively recent and continues to be amateur in its organization. A comparison with the US along the lines of gender would be interesting in consideration of the strong tradition of the US women's team and the quotidian usage of phrases such as "soccer mom."

³⁴ Performance takes the form in what is termed the "four elements" – rap, DJ, graffiti, and break. The integration of these "elements" is understood as a common objective of hip-hop participants.

³⁵ This term is borrowed from Michael Silverstein's 1976 essay.

³⁶ This term comes from James Fernandez's 1986 essay on metaphors and self-conceptualization.

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