

The Maracanã Stadium, 1950-2010, according to fans' memory

*Ana Beatriz Correia de Oliveira Tavares**
*Sebastião Josué Votré***

Abstract: The subject of this study is the Maracanã Stadium in its relationship with fans. Our aim is to identify fans' memories about the stadium and analyze the meanings of those memories. The analysis focuses on aspects that contributed to the construction of this symbol-stadium. The article's theoretical base is Sá's (2005, 2007) psychosocial approach to memory. The study used content analysis (BARDIN, 2011). Data were collected through semi-structured interviews with Maracanã's regulars – fans of Flamengo, Vasco, Fluminense and Botafogo. The results point to singularities built in the relationship among Maracanã fans circulating in the stadium's architecture, emotions experienced on each match day, and the sense of belonging.

Keywords: Memory. Football. Maracanã. Fans.

1 INTRODUCTION

The 1950 opening of Journalist Mário Filho stadium – known as Maracanã – is linked with the World Cup held that very year in Brazil. To receive World Cup matches, a monumental stadium would have to be built. According to Curi, the World Cup would be the stage for the country to present itself as a new power.

This explains the choice of a stadium with the dimensions of Maracanã, whose capacity was 150,000 spectators – the largest stadium

*Physical Education Professor at the Federal Institute of Education, Science and Technology, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. Email: ana.tavares@ifrrj.edu.br.

**Professor of the Graduate Program in Physical Education, IEFD-UERJ, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. Email: sebastianovotre@yahoo.com.

in the world at the time. Maracanã should be a monument for Brazilians to be proud of. (CURI, 2012, p. 59).

The memories considered here began to be built during the 1950 World Cup, when Brazil's national team was defeated by Uruguay. Six decades have passed since then and many national and international championships were played at the stadium.

In 2010, a structural remodeling began in order to modernize the stadium for the 2014 World Cup. In the context of that remodeling, we chose to study the memories of fans of four teams who used to attend the stadium. For this reason, we do not examine the academic and literary production on construction and renovations, which includes Toguinhó and Veras (1994), Moura (1998) and Sérgio (2000).

Memory, which is studied by several knowledge areas, is a complex field for intersection of knowledges, representations and perceptions. We will follow Sá's (2005, 2007) psychosocial approach, which is guided by ideas of Bartlett (1995) and Halbwachs (2006), focusing on the social side in memory construction.

Bartlett (1995) works with the concept of conventionalization, according to which individuals' memories are marked by the cultural and ideological conventions of the group to which they belong. The constructive activity of recalling involves remodeling; it relates scenarios and turns the new object into something closer and conventional. According to Middleton and Brown (2006, p. 77), "what the concept attempts to capture is the essential integration between individual mentality and culture, the interdependency of cognition, affect and cultural symbols".

With Halbwachs (2006), studies gain a social phenomenon outlook based on the idea of "social context of memory", which are built from interpersonal connections, of people's relationships with social institutions. Going back to the past would not revive past experiences; it would rather remake and rebuild them with today's

images and ideas.

Bosi (1979, p. 17) strengthens the labor relationship between memory and different social contexts: “individuals’ memories depends on their relationship with family, social class, school, church, profession, that is, with the groups they have contact with and their peculiar reference groups”.

From different approaches to this field of study, Sá (2005, 2007) highlights memory as social, where “social” is taken to mean the “whole set of memory’s phenomena or social instances” in society (SÁ, 2005, p. 71).

The author puts forward five principles that unify the field of memory and serve as a guide for research on the topic. The first principle states that memory is construction of the present rather than reproduction of the past. The construction is based on previous experiences and “the reality of the present, and with support by resources provided by society and culture” (SÁ, 2007, p. 290).

The second principle points out that individuals are the ones who remember something, taking the weight from sociological approaches, although its form and content are partially determined by the several social places. The third one suggests an intrinsic relationship between memory and communications, contributing to their construction, maintenance and transmission. The fourth principle links memory and social thought. According to Sá (2007, p. 290): “The content remembered from the past is always mixed with what is known about it”. Finally, the fifth principle states that an individual’s interest and feeling about the object in question are directly related to memory construction.

These principles are linked to context and help to understand the content displayed by memory, varying according to place and time.

Memory is substantially equivalent to social representation, according to Serge Moscovici’s Social Representations approach. In conceptualizing social memory as the “set of representations of

the past that each group produces, institutionalizes, cares for and conveys through the interaction of its members”, Jedlowski (2005, p. 87) shows the possibility of studying memory’s contents and their process of construction and transmission, interconnected to a group’s communication practices.

Such interconnection becomes more evident when Valencia (2005), based on Moscovici’s theory, proves that the study of social memory is also based on beliefs, meanings and practices marked by the interference of time. Time would play the role of guiding each individual in the world and enabling interaction between that individual and the group, helping to build meanings and classifications of the environment as well as individual and social history.

According to Moscovici (1978, p. 49), representation is “preparation for action [...] it can ascribes meaning to behavior [...]”. Therefore, the study of meanings constructed based on memories of Maracanã, using narratives, practices and interactions, shows evidence of fans’ relationship to the stadium.

We start from the view, refined by Connerton (1999, p. 2), according to which “our experiences of the present largely depend upon our knowledge of the past”. In the spirit of this view, the memory built by fans about the stadium preserves history and influences new representations.

The aim of this study is to identify the memories of Maracanã’s fans and to analyze their meanings. We expect the analysis to allow us to identify unique aspects that contributed to the construction of a stadium with symbolic and political value.

2 METHODOLOGICAL DECISIONS

This qualitative study¹ used content analysis (BARDIN, 2011, p. 48) defined as:

¹Approved by the Ethics Committee in September 2012 under CAAE no. 07820112.7.0000.5287.

a set of communication analysis techniques aimed at obtaining indicators [...] that allow inferring knowledge related to the conditions for production/reception [...] of those messages, through systematic procedures and aims to describe the content of those messages.

To achieve our goal, we established four groups of fans who attended Maracanã until the end of the 2010 season as our research subjects. Informants were contacted after referrals by members of organized fan groups known as *torcidas organizadas*. Using the primary question (What is the main memory that Maracanã brings to your mind?) and the secondary question (Which is the meaning of Maracanã?), we provoked narratives and then asked for details about them. In view of the level of consensus in responses, we chose the impersonal narrative by a collective subject.

The choice was based on the following inclusion criteria: having attended the stadium on a regular basis for at least the last 15 years (1995-2010). This criterion ensures that – in addition to the last ten years – informants had experienced at least five years before the first significant remodeling of the stadium in 2000. The sample included 32 fans, eight from each of the four teams with more fans in Rio de Janeiro (Flamengo, Vasco, Fluminense and Botafogo). Regarding the number of informants, we followed the criterion of saturation in which collection ends when new data are no longer being added (BAUER; AARTS, 2011).

Data were collected during the second half of 2012 through semi-structured interviews carried out at the Engenheiro stadium on days of Brazilian championship matches; at the headquarters of Vasco da Gama's club; in a commemorative event of the *torcida organizada* Young-Flu; at the headquarters of Raça Rubro-Negra; and in other public places where some of the respondents were.

Following the methodology of categorial analysis, we established the topic as registration unit, seeking apparent meaning cores in those communications, which provide understanding on

the phenomenon studied.

Consensual categories appeared from several readings of informants' responses. In addition to the emotional bond that fans gradually established with Maracanã, the memories they build show aspects that help in the construction of the place.

3 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

We identify memories of fans of both sexes, of different ages, who attended matches in the several sectors of the stadium – whether or not they were members of their teams' *torcidas organizadas* – and who often experienced Maracanã. Since we found no differences associated with social variables such as sex and age in the narratives of these individuals, the analyses of each memory item were based on narratives of that group of fans, with no separation according to these variables.

We worked at the intersection between two categories of memory (SÁ, 2007). The first one is common memories – remembrances that are not discussed or developed by the group and are defined as “collections of many personal memories about the same object, constructed independently of each other” (SÁ, 2007, p. 292).

The second category includes collective memories built by well-defined groups that interact and discuss the content of memory. Since classifications are not mutually exclusive, common memories and collectively built memories can be found in the analysis, since the subjects are fans who regularly attended the stadium and may have interacted over the topic of Maracanã at the time of the interviews, when the stadium was a recurrent subject on the media.

The following table summarizes the main memory manifestations by fans of the sample group, divided into three thematic categories.

PLACE OF MATCH	DAY OF MATCH	RESONANCES OF THE PLACE
Location and access Architecture Acoustic Democratic Territory of all	Leisure Feelings/emotion	Life Stories Family/friends House Nostalgia/loss

Next, we examine each of the topics.

3.1 AS TO THE PLACE OF THE MATCH

Discussions on the location of Maracanã indicate that the stadium should be central and easily accessible through public transportation. Today, its location is seen by fans as facilitating access, which distinguishes the stadium:

Maracanã is easy to go to, easy to get to, it's got parking spaces, tradition, comfort, accessibility; at Maracanã it was easy, very practical, very easy, I'd get in a train that dropped me at Maracanã's door.

The importance of being central is pointed out by individuals when they consider their “places” as the center of the world. To Mello (2008, p 171.), “the center is rich in meanings and it is where things converge to, it belongs to everyone [...] central areas have become major city landmarks”.

In addition to location, some criteria guided the group of architects responsible for the project. The stadium's architecture – its imposing form, its beauty, its monumental ramps – they are Maracanã marks highlighted in fans' remembrances. With the renovation for the 2014 World Cup, in which the outer ring and the ramps were preserved because they are considered public heritage, such preservation shows us how architecture is full of meanings. In 1950, the idea was to show the nation's greatness and strength; according to Tuan (1983, p. 119), to build “is to commit

to [...] creating a material form that captures an ideal”. The features remained in the memory of every fan, linked to the symbolism of the stadium whose grandeur and magic they still praise.

Maracanã is unlike anything; it is the passionate relationship between football and the architect who built it; we look at that huge stadium, the ramp system, entrance and exit, the pillarless marquee system, as an architectural work it was, say, revolutionary; I’d go up that ramp and feel that I was entering a different dimension; Maracanã is unmatched for its greatness; Maracanã has a different magic, space, beauty, the field, it’s fantastic.

Besides architecture, memory is also built by sound, the stadium’ acoustics, which stirs fans’ emotions. If we resort to the ideas of Gaffney and Bale (2004), who tell us that the stadium experience goes through thinking as well as feelings, these sensory experiences contribute to appreciate the place. According to the authors, the construction of a stadium – a place for huge crowds – is visual, it fills one’s look, but a soundless stadium is an empty stadium.

Informants’ narratives show us the importance of our senses – sight for architecture and hearing for acoustics – and how these factors contributed to Maracanã’s symbolism. According to Tuan (1983, p. 20), “a place achieves concrete reality when our experience with it is total, that is, through all senses, but also with an active and reflective mind”.

The author’s view is updated in the narrative of our informants, as can be seen in the following quote:

Its acoustics is like, much better, incredible; you can feel Maracanã shaking; when fans chant, it echoes; it is a unison cry, one cry, one chant; it’s unmatched, because of Maracanã’s vibration.

Besides acoustics, which many fans point out as unique to Maracanã, we can also speak of drums, horns and hymns and war

cries – the stadium’s characteristic sounds that, for Tuan (1983, p. 143), when synchronized with body movements, can “free people from the demands of goal-oriented lives”, which turns the football stadium into a special place, aggregates individuals and favors catharsis and transcendence.

Another category present in memory is the place’s democratic nature. Its different sectors with varying prices facilitated access to the stadium. Fans from different generations say that socioeconomic differences were cancelled in there. Uniting for the team, fighting for the same causes, sharing the same emotions – all of that strengthened a sense of collectivity, even for those who did not know each other.

Such democratization of the place was presented when the stadium was built as one of the main goals to be achieved when it started operating. The stadium that was being erected was supposed to be a heritage of the Brazilian people.

The population was called upon in distinct ways, from the campaign for the construction to encouragement to purchasing private seats as a way to fund the construction work. Maracanã should belong to the people and serve the people as a space for fans’ leisure and celebration. That feeling is perpetuated in fans’ memory when their narratives show that the space belongs to everyone and everyone has the right to enjoy it.

You’d hug everyone from the doctor to the doorman, you’d hug whoever was there; it is democratic in the sense that everyone can enter it; whether poor or rich, regardless of race, I think everyone was the same, each person rooting for their own team.

Besides that democratic trait, another factor present in fans’ memory is the fact that it is a public stadium that does not belong to any club, giving all teams a sense of ownership. This lack of ownership by a single team, where fans of different clubs can considered themselves the owners of the place, favors affection for

Maracanã, which played a role in transforming it in a sacred place for Rio's residents.

Maracanã is a temple of football; it is general, there are matches of the Brazilian national squad, of other teams...; it's nobody home, it's everyone's; Maracanã is home to Rio's residents; every team feels at home at Maracanã.

This feature is unique because Rio de Janeiro also has São Januário, the oldest stadium in the state, which belongs only to Vasco da Gama's fans, so that other teams' fans cannot establish an idea of a neutral field or home there – factors that seem important for us to build affection for the place. The same applies to the Engenhão stadium; although it belongs to the city of Rio de Janeiro, it was rented to Botafogo.

Maracanã's status as a public stadium turns the fans into "established" (ELIAS; SCOTSON, 2000), holders of a power that is necessary to maintain the superiority that prevents a group from being inferior to others. There would be a balance of power among fans of different teams. Or they would be all outsiders, which somehow also prevents superiority of one group over the other, unlike what happens with private stadiums, where only one team is established and sees itself as the best and stigmatizes others as inferior.

3.2 ABOUT MATCH DAY

By unveiling their memories, fans show that each match day used to be marked by symbolism. Preparation practices were the most diverse – prayers, wearing same lucky shirt, arranging flags, etc – show that long before the referee's opening whistle, the event of going to Maracanã started under the mark of anxiety.

We wouldn't even sleep, sometimes not even have lunch, we were anxious to be able to watch the game, eager to get to the stadium as soon as possible, to cheer the team into victory, to sacrifice; we would wake up, have breakfast, get

dressed and go out; it was usually a different day, especially when it's a major match; you wake up with your heart beating faster.

In addition to preparations, match day would provide integration with friends, an important leisure moment for each fan to socialize. Maracanã was the meeting place, a place to relax and take a break from everyday life. Tuan (1983) highlights the importance of places where the weight of time disappears; they are places for vacation, leisure, which are close to mythical places.

I always went to the stadium with many friends; I'd go to the beach, get into that mood; have a barbecue, go to the stadium to cheer; the meeting with friends was sacred.

It was a weekly affective commitment to the stadium:

It has always been a place of leisure, the main thing to do on the weekend; I'd go to Maracanã every weekend; I like football, going to Maracanã was a pleasure.

Arriving to and being at Maracanã were synonymous with emotion, which was the most often mentioned word by fans when they spoke about the meaning of the stadium. Mixed, antagonistic feelings, which were experienced in there during the 90 minutes of the match, marked their affection for the place. According to Tuan (1983), it is clear that a place becomes symbolic both because the years pass and for the intensity of the feelings experienced in it.

At Maracanã, emotion is different; it's an emotion that has no explanation; our heart beats faster; it is as high as the emotion of one who pays a pledge at Penha Church; entering Maracanã and seeing that crowded stadium, with a color, a vibration; it was always from maximum pleasure to the bottom. Such a joy! Many people crying, love, emotion, anxiety, nervousness; when our team won, it was extreme ecstasy; when it lost, it was depression, euphoria, anxiety, relief, sadness, disappointment and anger; we go.

By giving fans the experience of these different feelings, Maracanã's environment becomes a different place where people are allowed to give vent to emotional impulses that are constantly repressed in our daily routines. The stadium would be a place of leisure, different from modern societies' controlled and confined spaces, which dominate our feelings. According to Elias and Dunning (1992, p. 69) "most human societies develop some countermeasure towards the stress created by themselves".

For Elias and Dunning (1992, p. 72), the different states of mind (happiness, sadness, pleasure, fear, trust, anguish, elation), which create tensions necessary to excitement and lack of control, allow enjoyment at these sites of leisure where emotions are nice and somehow control-free.

The company of many other people can be the most enjoyable and liberating of all, because in society, in general, people are more isolated and have few opportunities for collectively expressing strong feelings.

Fans' memories of a day in Maracanã are marked by these tensions that somehow contribute to gather them. The union, the practices in the stadium, the forms of celebration – all show a well-defined and emotional group that sometimes gives way to violence. Remembrances, although they show that discomfort of more recent times, with outbreaks of violence, do not fail to exalt the great moment of unity provided by Maracanã.

Everyone singing the same song, screaming, as if they were there together for the same cause: that's everyone's happiness. You'd talk to anyone you didn't know, all the time; it seemed a community; I remember that union, everyone who went there together, fans going through the same ramp, when we came down, we'd come down together; there are people there who you'd never seen, who you didn't know and there was that affection and care anyway.

According to Gaffney and Bale (2004), being part of the crowd

that looks at themselves and shares emotions gives fans a sense of appreciation for feelings. For the authors, proximity between people in a grandstand provides a sense of movement and space that can be stronger than when they are stuck in individual chairs. Being part of the crowd is a practice that happens in stadiums and Maracanã provided this experience both to fans, who used to stand in the “General” (a sector extinct in 2005), and to those who used to sit on the concrete stands until 2000, when they received seats. Those were intense emotions that marked fans at every game since their first contact with Maracanã.

They are images of victories and defeats, of extraordinary moves that, for sport’s lovers, are unique marks of that sacred place with its football gods.

When I entered the tunnel for the first time, when I saw the field for the first time, you feel ecstatic; whenever my team won a championship, it marked me; the most striking image was the six-time champion day, the celebration of the title; Maracanã saw players like Gerson, Rivelino, Assis, Zico, Romerito; I close my eyes now and I see moves from 30 years ago; the most striking thing is precisely that, it’s a party, it’s carnival on the street.

The events, spoken about for years and full of meanings, remain in their memories and contribute to construct and update memory. For Gaffney and Bale (2004), the more moments one experiences at the stadium, the more it will become sacred.

Garrincha would take the ball and Maracanã would become silent; he pretended to go to one side and everyone would go “oh”, “oh”; that was something; Maurício’s goal on Zico was something out of the ordinary, such a little touch, my God! Assis scoring with his head after Aldo launched the ball, it was fantastic; Renato Gaúcho’s belly goal, there is no explanation for that, everyone was crying; Cocada’s goal in 88, he came at the very end and managed to score, Vasco won the championship.

Regardless of the time that has passed, the images of games and emblematic moves that were watched and witnessed by fans are distinct between different generations and *torcidas*, but all of them are narrated to show the significance of those moments of emotion experienced at Maracanã. Memories are built not just with victories or defeats, but also with those detailed moves, which place fans as participants in the game and in history.

3.3 ABOUT THE RESONANCE OF THE PLACE

This category reflects the passage of time that is necessary for a place to become symbolic. Experiences with the place are accumulated match after match and the environment visited on several occasions builds memories that echo beyond the stadium's walls. This affective connection that is established over the years is one of the principles that help the construction and display of content of social memory (SÁ, 2007). Fans' recollections show that experiences in Maracanã go beyond match days and are directed to the life of each one of them, contributing to symbolism around the stadium.

The relationship established between the stadium and fans sets Maracanã as a place where social networks are established (MAGNANI, 2002), hence the need to keep it for the community. It is a leisure place with important personal consequences, with experiences that begin in childhood and often come to old age, fans' stories that mix with the history of the stadium. For Gaffney and Bale (2004), the feeling of participation in history is important to develop affection for the place.

I learned a lot at Maracanã; Maracanã brought me maturity, it's a part of my life; much of my childhood and adolescence, my life, was at Maracanã; even when the match was not important, I was there celebrating my birthday; the history of the Maracanã mixes a bit with my story, it was over 30 years in there, almost weekly. I lived some of the happiest moments of my life there.

For Tuan (1983, p. 9), this experience “covers different ways in which a person knows and constructs reality”. In many cases it was provided by one’s father, triggering a family relationship with the stadium. Apart from this, Maracanã is a place for gathering friends, for meetings, conversations, exchanges and even for making new friends.

A meeting place where sociability networks are formed, giving individuals active participation in the city, against the “known commonsensical discourses on depersonalization, massification, loneliness, etc., widespread beliefs [...] when one wants to talk about the problems of large urban centers” (MAGNANI, 2002, p. 17).

I was a little kid when I went to a Rio state championship match with my father; my father took me and we still go to matches together; going to Maracanã was a social event, We knew we’d meet family and friends we made there; my family was formed because of Maracanã; I met friends, I’ve made many friends; the great moments with my father, most of my time with my father I spent at Maracanã.

For Tuan (1980), the feeling of affiliation to a place – topophilia – is an example of affection that is built from experiences. The space, which is unknown and distant, gradually becomes familiar, clear, cozy, defined and meaningful – people’s very home. “Enduring affection for one’s home is partly the result of intimate and welcoming experiences” (TUAN, 1983 p. 153). This home feeling is made up of a composite of factors, such as the fact that Maracanã is not the territory of one club; it is rather a space to which everyone has access, where feelings are intense and constant, beyond that family representation and friendship that is linked to the stadium. Still for Tuan (1983), it is at these places that people find warmth and where individual needs are considered.

Maracanã is like one’s home, any fan who came in there would feel at ease; I’d go to Maracanã as if I was going to Church, that was my temple; that’s what you enjoy doing, then there’s is a sense

of belonging, the familiar relationship I had with Maracanã; I've been doing this for over twenty years, always following the same path, doing the same things, being preferably in the same places; it's a relationship based on friendship, family, what we have with Maracanã.

Analyzing life story aspects, the feeling of belonging and affection for the place, and finding that memory is a construction of the present, we realize that today, with the closure of the activities at the stadium because of the remodeling works, and the transfer of matches to other stadiums, fans build their memories with nostalgia of the time they attended Maracanã. The fact of being closed and the uncertainty as to how it will be reopened mixed feelings of nostalgia and indignation over the possible loss of the place, the territory, of one's home.

We miss it a lot; I hope the authorities don't forget that Maracanã is or used to be poor people's best fun and I hope there will be popular sectors; now, we'll miss the cement, the concrete on which we used to sit, to stand; I fear losing that Brazilian way of rooting; I hope it doesn't lose that magic; they have ended our home; we've lost Maracanã; they've taken Maracanã from the people.

4 FINAL REMARKS

Considering that Maracanã has undergone structural and conceptual renovation, its reopening should favor the construction of new meanings that may be confronted with those pointed out by informants' narrative, processed into collective narrative in this text, summarizing fans' memory about the "old" Maracanã and revealing the stadium's meanings for them.

The study allowed us to observe that memory is a personal construction that is also influenced by "the social". Convergent narrative by fans of different generations is explained by this premise. In addition to experiences themselves, stories told, other

people's narratives, and the media contribute to the formation of memories through available resources.

Narratives confirm stabilization of memories. "Constitution, preservation, transmission and transformation of collective memory are communicative processes and, of course, mass media play a crucial role in them" (JEDLOWSKI, 2005, p. 88). The media allow fans to know the events that occurred during Maracanã's different times, contributing to the construction of their memories. The study confirmed Sá's hypothesis that memory is constantly updated, influenced by the social environment where – intra and/or intergroup, learned and/or mass – interaction and communication, which, for its present nature, sustain the thesis of reconstruction of the past according to needs and interests of the present" (SÁ, 2007, p. 290).

Therefore, based on fans' narratives we infer that, in the process of constructing social memory about Maracanã, unique aspects of both the place's architecture and the connections of individual with the stadium are pointed out.

The architecture, praised at the opening as a colossal work, is present in fans' memory. Going through the monumental ramps is to enter a sacred place of leisure and of peculiar behavior and practices. The stadium, which was meant to be a place for the people since its opening, was able to meet that goal and fans had access to Maracanã regardless of their social class. For 60 years, the place was democratic – the territory of all.

Going to Maracanã for a match, in addition to the pleasure provided by the dispute, is full of feelings experienced inside the stadium. Extreme emotions that range from joy to sadness, anger to calm, all felt with intensity, also contribute to the passage from space to place.

The affective connection – a basic principle in memory construction – can be enhanced in the relationship between fans and the stadium by the presence of one's father, both when the

stadium is introduced to children-fans and in constant companions that contribute to the construction of a family environment. Celebrations unite fans even more, establishing an affective place for unity and friendships, which is distant from our daily lives.

Finally, we find that the place is intrinsically related to those fans' lives. Being a neutral field, it was possible to establish a sense of belonging that approximates the stadium to their own homes. Even the act of sitting on the concrete, of being inside the huge crowd, brought coziness during all these years of existence. Maracanã should not be restructured considering only economic, political or macro-structural factors (MAGNANI, 2002); interests and needs of fans who used the stadium for years as a social space must be met. According to Tuan (1980), the awareness we have of the past is an important element for the love we establish for the place. Perhaps for this reason and also for the uncertainty about what the reopening of the stadium will be like, fans showed feelings of nostalgia and fear of losing Maracanã.

A critical interpretation shall be made of the convergence of memories that silence about increasing social tensions, excessive spending in renovation, sudden price increases and violent clashes between fans, intense debate and harsh punishments to clubs. Respondents' silence in respect of such disputes is partly due to the focus of the questions that elicited only positive and neutral answers.²

²We are grateful to one of the referees for his contribution to the central idea of this paragraph.

REFERENCES

- BARDIN, L. **Análise de conteúdo**. Lisboa: Edições 70, 2011.
- BARTLETT, F. C. **Remembering**: a study in experimental and social psychology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- BAUER, M. W.; AARTS, B. A. construção do corpus: um princípio para a coleta de dados qualitativos. *In*: BAUER, M. W.; GASKELL, G. (Ed.). **Pesquisa qualitativa com texto, imagem e som**. Rio de Janeiro: Vozes, 2011. p. 64-89.
- BOSI, E. **Memória e sociedade**. São Paulo: Centauro, 1979.
- CONNERTON, P. **Como as sociedades recordam**. Transl. Maria Manuela Rocha. Oeiras: Celta, 1999.
- CURI, M. **Espaços da emoção**: arquitetura futebolística, torcida e segurança pública. 317f. (Doctoral Thesis) – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia, UFF, Niterói, 2012.
- ELIAS, N.; DUNNING, E. **A busca da excitação**. Lisboa: DIFEL, 1992.
- ELIAS, N.; SCOTSON, J. L. **Os estabelecidos e os outsiders**: sociologia das relações de poder a partir de uma pequena comunidade. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2000.
- GAFFNEY, C.; BALE, J. Sensing the stadium. *In*: VERTINSKY, P; BALE, J. (Ed.) **Sites of Sports, Place, Experience**. London; New York: Routledge, 2004. p. 25-38.
- HALBWACHS, M. **A memória coletiva**. São Paulo: Centauro, 2006. p. 29-70.
- JEDLOWSKI, P. Memória e a mídia: uma perspectiva sociológica. *In*: SÁ, C. P. (Ed.) **Memória, imaginário e representações sociais**. Rio de Janeiro: Museu da República, 2005. p. 87-98.
- MAGNANI, J. G. C. De perto e de dentro: notas para uma etnografia urbana. **Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais**. São Paulo, v. 17, n. 49, p. 11-29, June 2002.
- MELLO, J. B. F. Símbolos dos lugares, dos espaços e dos 'deslugares'. **Espaço e cultura**. UERJ: NEPEC, Edição comemorativa 1993-2008, p. 167-174, 2008.
- MIDDLETON, D.; BROWN, S. D. A psicologia social da experiência – a relevância da memória. **Pró-posições**, Campinas, v. 17, n. 2, p. 71-96, 2006.
- MOSCOVICI, S. **A representação social da psicanálise**. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1978.
- MOURA, G. A. **O Rio corre para o Maracanã**. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 1998.

SÁ, C. P. As memórias da memória social. *In*: SÁ, C. P. (Ed.). **Memória, imaginário e representações sociais**. Rio de Janeiro: Museu da República, 2005. p. 63-86.

SÁ, C. P. Sobre o campo de estudo da memória social: uma perspectiva psicossocial. **Psicologia: reflexão e crítica**. Porto Alegre, v. 20, n. 2, p. 289-294, 2007.

SÉRGIO, R. **Maracanã, 50 anos de glória**. Rio de Janeiro: Ediouro, 2000.

TOUGUINHÓ, O.; VERAS, M. **As copas que eu vi**. Rio de Janeiro: Relumê-Dumará, 1994.

TUAN, Y. F. **Espaço e lugar**: a perspectiva da experiência. São Paulo: DIFEL, 1983.

TUAN, Y. F. **Topofilia**: um estudo da percepção, atitudes e valores do meio ambiente. São Paulo: DIFEL, 1980.

VALENCIA, J. F. Representações sociais e memória social: vicissitudes de um objeto em busca de uma teoria. *In*: SÁ, C. P. (Ed.). **Memória, imaginário e representações sociais**. Rio de Janeiro: Museu da República, 2005, p.100-119.

Correspondence address

Rua Barata Ribeiro 630/903, Copacabana

Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

CEP: 22.051-002

Received on: November 13, 2013

Approved on: May 14, 2014