### What Brazilians Do Not Forget, Not Even under Threat, Is the So Called 'Frango De Barbosa – A Perspective of Racism in Brazilian Football.

Bruno Otávio de Lacerda Abrahão \*\*
Antonio Jorge Soares \*\*

Resumo: O texto analisa a culpa atribuída ao ex-goleiro Barbosa pela derrota brasileira na Copa de 1950 à luz do debate sobre raça e racismo no Brasil. Do ponto de vista da História Cultural, a presença do debate racial em textos acadêmicos (DaMatta, 1982; Vogel, 1982; Gordon Jr., 1996) que apontam o ex-goleiro como o algoz desta derrota expressam os significados sobre as relações raciais na cultura brasileira. No plano simbólico, o negro Barbosa se tornou um dos emblemas necessários para denunciar as representações sobre "raça" e a sobreposição de narrativas sobre a especificidade do racismo na sociedade brasileira.

Palavras-chave: Futebol: história. Brasil: Preconceito. Copa de 1950. Barbosa.

The highest penalty for a crime in Brazil lasts for thirty years. But I've been guilty since 1950 (Barbosa)<sup>1</sup>

### 1 INTRODUCTION

The defeat of Brazil for Uruguay in the World Cup of 1950, in the just inaugurated Maracanã, is constantly recalled by the media, sports chroniclers or literati who elect football as the focus of their analysis. This memory happens especially because the reasons of the defeat are anchored on racial representations about black and mulattoes in Brazil. Thus, the objective of this paper is to analyze the fault attributed to the memory of former goalkeeper Barbosa - considered the executioner of the Brazilian defeat in that Cup - in the light of the debate on race and racism in Brazil.

What does Barbosa's constant remembrance represent in academic texts such as termination of the existence of racism in Brazilian society? What does Barbosa's image as an empirical fact of the existence of racism in the intellectual output of Brazilian football mean? Today, our interest is to analyze the discursive formation in Brazilian culture, from scholarly literature on the racial debate in Brazil.

The intellectual debate on the racial issue in Brazil ranged from two almost opposite poles. Culturalist interpretations of Gilberto Freyre, in years 20 and 30,

<sup>\*</sup> Doctoral student in the Physical Education Post-Graduate Program of Universidade Gama Filho. Professor at Santa Rita Faculty and at Centro Universitário Metodista Izabela Hendrix. Belo Horizonte, MG, Brazil. Email address: bolabra@gmail.com

<sup>\*\*</sup> Professor of the Physical Education Post-Graduate at Universidade Gama Filho. Professor at UFRJ. CNPq Researcher. Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. E-mail address: <a href="mailto:ajsoares@globo.com">ajsoares@globo.com</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> MORAES NETO (2000, p. 118).

brought hope for a framework that was fearful, based in turn on racial interpretations. Those that read, received the first academic study of the Brazilian national character that said, unambiguously, that Brazil could be proud of their civilization in the tropics (FREYRE, 1933). Guimarães (2004) says that, through Gilberto Freyre, the identity of its pillars in Brazil fixes its national ideology of "racial democracy".

In the limit, this ideology had the view that race and skin color made practically no difference in Brazil: "Our racism is better because it is more lenient than others". This is one of the versions of the myth of racial democracy that is continually growing among Brazilians (Schwarcz, 2003, p. 237). "Cordial racism" and "racial paradise" are other terms under which the drama of the narrative about the national identity rests.

Identity is defined in relation to something outside it. In another sense, identity has another dimension, which is internal. Saying that we are different is not enough, it is necessary to show where we identify (ORTIZ, 2003). The distinctive speech of the Brazilian nation to others, especially those with slavery in their past, is that, in Brazil, the cultural/racial antagonisms were balanced and calm. This ideology led the United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to fund research on race relations in Brazil from the Research Program on Race Relations in Brazil. It would be as if UNESCO wished to understand the secrets of racial democracy, to teach other nations the success of race relations in Brazil.

According to Marcos Maio (1998, p. 17), "[...] it is commonly accepted that the paradisiacal images of racial interactions in Brazil were the main prerequisite for transforming the country into an object of interest and research of UNESCO. The choice of Brazil was not fortuitous: "[...] Brazil was chosen in a perspective compared to the negative American racial experience to be one of the poles of problematization, verification and overcoming of major dilemmas faced by humanity in the ethnic field" (May, p. 17). A synchronic analysis of the UNESCO project, combined with the world scene, shows that, in time, the world had just gone through the Second World War (1939-1945), characterized, among other perverse things, for the genocide and racial intolerance.

If the racial democracy was a major symbolic effectiveness in the past and, to some extent, still survives in the present, we cannot think that, in cultural and intellectual fields, this ideology was absolute consensus. Florestan Fernandes promoted an argumentative turn on the interpretation of race relations and racism in Brazil. Contrary

to the original intention of UNESCO, Florestan Fernandes and other researchers questioned the basis of racial democracy and discovered that the adjective, under which the national identity rests, is in fact a fallacy. Fernandes (1965, 1972) said that there is racism in Brazil, and that this practice would be even more widespread in Brazilian society.

However, this racism would have one specificity. Reflected in Florestan Fernandes, Schwarcz (2003) notes that, in Brazil, there is a particular form of racism: "[...] prejudice without being biased". It means that, "[...] the tendency of Brazilian people would be keeping up the discrimination, despite considering this attitude outrageous (for those who suffer) and degrading (for those who practice)" (Schwarcz, p. 202). In daily practices, Brazilian racism was established through informal means, and more subtle.

In fact, it seems to be stepping on ambiguous soil. To Schwarcz (2003, p. 241):

[...]it seems that we met at the crossroads created by two interpretations. From Gilberto Freyre, who built the myth of racial democracy, to Florestan Fernandes, the deconstructed it, ranging right in the middle of the two interpretations, equally true. In Brazil there are two different realities: on the one hand, the discovery of a deeply mulatto country in their beliefs and customs; on the other hand, the location of an invisible racism and a hierarchy rooted in intimacy [...]. The fact is that, in Brazil, "race" is a joint problem and a projection. It is still necessary to rethink the impasses of that continuous construction of national identities that cannot be placed in the common trench of uniformity, if they are not just an easy equation of racial democracy.

Brazilian football dramatizes the ambiguity and complexity, or, in the words of Schwarcz (2003), the "two different realities" of Brazilian race. This remembrance occurs mainly because the reasons of the defeat would have dramatized the racial debate..

### 2 THE SCENE OF WORLD CUP 1950

In the mid-twentieth century, Brazil was a country in search of affirmation. Hosting the IV World Cup - until then the most important sporting event held in the country - would contribute to national self-assertion, by several aspects. Soares (2002) suggests that the conduction of this event would bring many internal and external meanings to Brazil. It was the first World Cup to be held after the Second War. Indeed, international relations were still being rebuilt. The decision to sponsor did not meet only the interests of sports, other elements "came into play" at that time: it was a project to

disseminate a new image of Brazil, particularly in Rio de Janeiro, the Federal Capital then.

The Maracanã stadium, the biggest in the world, would be the capacity symbol of the Brazilian". Let's remember that the complex of the "biggest", the "great", the "rich" and "beautiful" land, territory, forests, rivers etc. are in the pride elaborations of the national identity in Brazil, for example, in Celso (1997). The construction of Maracanã was done in record time. In the words of Mayor Mendes de Moraes, "the immortal proof of the greatness of our people" (PERDIGÃO, 2000, p. 38). The stadium was identified with the country and housed the diversity of Brazilian people in its bleachers (MOURA, 1998).

With consecutive victories, Brazil was, little by little, considered the favorite for winning the Cup. The country would not only demonstrate their ability to organize and conduct, but also the best and most beautiful football playing style. That was the tone of the material published not only in the Official Sports, as well as other periodicals of the time. At that time, the success of the team would help Brazilians be proud of themselves. The national self-assertion grew as Brazil won their adversaries. The metonymy was possible: the success of Brazilian football and the construction of Maracanã were the courage to see a future and great success for the nation.

The Cup of 1950 gained a privileged space in the memory of Brazilian football. We dare say the defeat of the Brazilian team in that World Cup is marked in memory of national football by the emphasis given by scholars, both at the time and nowadays. The texts that recall those finals give the tone of the feeling that hit the country after the defeat: adjectives to describe it take usually an exacerbated tone. For example, the book "Dossiê 50 – os onze jogadores revelam o maior segredo da maior tragédia do futebol brasileiro" (Moraes Neto, 2000), the "biggest frustration that took over a huge audience in a football stadium" or "the defeat of defeats" (Moura, 1998, p. 135).

Moreover, investigations on the memory of this event still seem to confirm, despite the action of time perish, their stay at the level of individual memories. In fact, as shown by Moura (1998), that match transcended the condition of sports fact to rise to the dramatic or mythological dimensions, becoming a historic moment for the nation. On that game, the journalist and playwright Nelson Rodrigues (1994, p. 116) notes that "every nation has its national catastrophe, something like a Hiroshima. Our national catastrophe, our Hiroshima, was facing a defeat to Uruguay in 1950".

Sunday, July 16th, 1950. This should be the date for the crowning of the team

and the consecration of Brazil. More than winning the Cup, Brazil should do so undoubtedly, with great advantage to score goals, to not leave any doubt about their superiority. Nelson Rodrigues (1994, p. 116) said he heard the narrator Gagliano Netto swear - "Brazil will win 8x0" (RODRIGUES, 1994, p.58). The journalist supplements, noting that it was not an isolated optimism:

millions of Brazilians have the same fanatical certainty. The celebration feeling had already been installed in people's souls. And we did not want a tight victory. A little score would be humiliating to our pride. We wanted a massive set of goals. Therefore, when faced with 200 thousand patricians and scratch it scored 1x0, it was not enough for our thirst and our hunger. We wanted four, five, half a dozen. And you know what happened (RODRIGUES, 1994, p. 116).

In the final match, Brazil had the advantage of playing for the tie, in their field, encouraged by the voices of approximately two hundred thousand fans. Indeed, it had all the ingredients to win. The result is, more than half a century, known, but not accepted: Uruguay ignored the benefit of the tie, and won against the crowd. It beat Brazil, in Brazil. After the match, at the compliance with the score, the conjunction "if" became the enemy: Brazil would have been the champion if Barbosa had not let that ball in, if the delegation had not changed the headquarters, if the crowd had not gone mute after so the Uruguayan goals, etc.

The fact is that Brazil lost to Uruguay. The commotion was general, according to reports. The result was the collective frustration that even today, after more than half a century, reflected in memory and in the popular media "expert". Incidentally, Souto (2002) states that a historic event only lasts in popular memory, when it approaches to a mythical model and becomes more true when it gives history a deeper and richer destiny, even if it is tragic. The sense of Eliade is confirmed when we observe the constant academic and media concern with the "Defeat of 1950". What should have been a final match of a World Cup became a breeding ground for socio-anthropological analysis of the Brazilian society.

Girardet said (1986, p. 55) that "[...] when society suffers, it feels the need to find someone who can charge its evil, who can avenge its disappointment. In Brazil and other countries, football is treated as a national issue. So it is also from football that the tragedies of that that unequal and blended society is triggered. Indeed, when the team suffers a defeat in major competitions, we tend to find a culprit that can impersonate a failure, something well known in the Judeo-Christian tradition. The defeats,

interestingly, cannot be explained simply by a team playing better than Brazil. In every defeat, there is more than football: the nation's prestige and self-esteem are at stake (ARCHETTI, 2003). Therefore, the "football country" cannot lose its superiority to another, which contradicts the spirit and prestige of the attribution of such adjectives. When Brazil loses, the explanation is that it "lost to itself". Perhaps, therefore, the creation of victories or defeats are "so revealing of deepest feelings, that are not limited to technical analysis of matches" (HELAL, 2001, p. 153).

That defeat meant, to Vogel (1982), the failure and death of the nation as a whole. It is noteworthy that, as mentioned, it was the same nation that began to reach for a developed world. In an attempt to prevent this national project from also being "defeated", the causes of defeat were revised or reinvented. Gradually, the grounds were being prepared for the Uruguayan victory. The reasons are many. Six myths are the main constituent of that defeat: the alleged slapping of the captain in the Uruguayan player mustache, the silence of the Maracanã after the second goal, the celebration feeling, the "do not retaliate", the "trembling" or lack of fiber and, finally, the "Frango de Barbosa" (SOUTO, 2002). In association football language it means an individual failure of the goalkeeper as a result of the opponent's goal. It stirred the racist debate about the qualities of players of African descent, "Barbosa would be marked by racial intolerance and blamed for the defeat "(TOLEDO, 2000, p. 72).

The defeat was the emergence of internalized racist representations in Brazilian culture. Gordon Junior (1996) complains that the representations on the Cup of 1950 tune with the theories of the nineteenth century that saw the future of Brazil with pessimism, by the presence of black people among the races that comprised the population. Such theories, when adapted to the Brazilian reality, faced miscegenation with pessimism, which was extended to the future of the nation (Schwarcz, 2002): "That's the way it will be while we depend on black people [...]", "this racially impure society could not to reach anywhere anyway", "for big decisions, we couldn't count on black people and mulattoes. They chicken our. As did Barbosa when he debuted in the Brazilian scratch" (GORDON JÚNIOR, 1996, p. 72).

The justifications created to explain the "national defeat" is similar to those that explained the delay of Brazil. Depending on the goal that resulted in the victory of Uruguay, Barbosa was "elected" as the main culprit for the misfortune of the Brazilian defeat, as observed by Moraes Neto (2000), in the ear of his book: "he had to bear the weight of the curse of Ghiggia's goal on his shoulders to the grave. This weight was

synthesized by Barbosa in the sentence: "[...] The highest penalty for a crime in Brazil lasts for thirty years. But I've been condemned since 1950" (MORAES NETO, 2000, p. 118).

The Mário Filho's book, "The Black in Brazilian Football", published in its first edition in 1947 and republished in 1964, was considered, until very recently, a source of data about the past of Brazilian football and social relations in that sport. In the second edition, the narratives about the defeat of 1950 won the prestigious "official version" (Soares, 1998). Racism, cultivated and denounced by the reprint of 1964, was reinforced when the culprits of the defeat emerged: Barbosa, Bigode and Juvenal. Mário Filho chose these three players to prove the existence of racial prejudice in football and called that process "rise of racism", an even more intense racism.

The chronicles that were written later by Mário Filho insist in that issue. In the commotion that took over the stadium, some fans blamed coach Flávio Costa:

[...]but almost everybody would turn against the black of the scratch: it was Bigode! it was Barbosa! '[...]. The Brazilian who accused the Brazilian would naturally vent to stay out. The truth is that we are a sub-race. A race of mulattoes, an inferior race. When we had to face the worst, we would all freak out (RODRIGUES FILHO, 1964, p. 290).

Soares (2002) found that the "rise of racism", made by Mário Filho, was not found in newspapers in 1950, nor in their own writings, which happened during the event. It should be noted that Mario Filho, immediately after the Cup of 1950, did not like the supposed racism charge, or feeling of "lack of fiber" or "race" that reigned in the air. The word "race" in context "was the idea of 'grain' of 'lack of courage' of provision and love for the fight, as Machiavelli thought about the patriotic armies" (SOARES, 2002, p. 181). However, our issue is not located in the investigation of the facts or in the search of evidence of racism occurred after the defeat of 1950. We want to understand how the a posteriori construction of Mario Filho over the rise of racism gained strength and survives until the present day.

# 3 BETWEEN SOCIAL HISTORY AND CULTURAL HISTORY ON THE COMPLAINT ABOUT RACISM

The complaint about the rise of racism made by Mário Filho became the subject of argument and analysis in various academic texts (DAMATTA, 1982; VOGEL, 1982;

JÚNIOR Gordon, 1996). The different authors emphasize, saved the appropriate differences, the blame falls on those players who did revive the theories of Brazilian racial inferiority. According to those social analysts, the defeat of 1950, according to the racist sentiments that emerged at that time, would be empirical evidence that the fate of Brazilian society was doomed to failure because of its racial constitution.

Soares (1998) noted that, in terms of Social History, the complaint about racism, from Barbosa, is not supported by evidence presented. However, the remembrance in terms of Cultural History shows the tension between the meanings and representations on racism and race relations in Brazilian society. It is recalled that the empirical material we have at hand are numerous remembrances of the complaint that the failure of the goalkeeper was, at the time, in racial/psychological terms, and not in technical terms. Thus, the speech complaining about racism suffered by Barbosa indicates that the goalkeeper would not have had the psychological balance needed to act before a decisive situation. The issues that interest us is thinking about what the constant memory of Barbosa's failure means combined with the subsequent complaint about racism in academic texts.

In the second and decisive goal of Uruguay, the ball seemed to pass under his body. This bid, for some, was seen at the time and still today, as individual failure. If we suffered the decisive goal in the analysis of the game, we could have thought of it as a result of a technical failure, whether Barbosa was black, or not. The alleged failure should have been explained by the language of the game plan. Explanations about the defeat shifted from a technical analysis of a football game and were anchored in an already existing category that informs the representations about the "black race". On the symbolic level, the Brazilian defeat was explained by internalized representations in the Brazilian memory about black people.

In this case, the representations on the "black race" pre-exist to the failure of the black Barbosa. That is the question asked by those who complain about racism. Even with little evidence that analysts are reporting the presence of racism in Brazilian society. Applicants sayings recall, but not explicit, that the "black is not reliable", or that "if a black person is not up to something when they come in, they will probably be when they leave". However, this "popular knowledge" does not exist outside of individuals but rather between them, within a particular society (ORTIZ, 2003).

We understand that two worlds coexist in the collective memory of the defeat of 1950: the drama, which is revealed in the symbolic level of the culture that reveals the

existence of racism in Brazilian society and that, by borrowing the words of Damo (2000, p . 56) about the "temporality of the event", which highlighted proper aspects of the football clash and therefore the reasons of the defeat are restricted to the sphere of the game and the failure of other players are explained, not just the ones of goalkeepers.

Barbosa has become one of the badges necessary to denounce the racist representations of emotional instability, the lack of rationality necessary and even the lack of character and confidence of black people to occupy the strategic position of goalkeeper. It is speculated that the fault attributed to Barbosa for the defeat of 1950 rekindled a prejudice and its due complaint that "a black is not supposed to be a goalkeeper". Discussing this theme, writer Luiz Fernando Veríssimo recalls that "[...] when Barbosa let Ghiggia's ball in, in 1950, the prejudice until then disguised became hardened and superstition"(Verissimo, 1999, p. 18/19). This sensitivity was further confirmed in the words of Helton, then goalkeeper of Vasco da Gama: "[...] I know there was a legend that a black goalkeeper was bad, but I always tried to ignore it. I really intend to make people forget this kind of prejudice. We are all brothers".

This prejudice is based on hegemonic representations made by the science of the nineteenth century that, by prioritizing the races, suspected of rational, moral and psychological ability of blacks (Schwarcz, 2001, 2002). Such representations were constructed and diachronic generated within the national culture. The meanings of these representations are needed to understand the ground on which rests the contentious Brazilian racial debate.

One of the arguments that have gained prominence was the racial constitution of the Brazilian population. In the same direction, Vogel, also taking Mário Filho as a reference, reminds us that:

in the defeat of 1950, the black, especially Barbosa, Juvenal and Bigode, became scapegoats for the disaster. There had been a lack of will. For major decisions, it was not possible to have black and mulattoes. Right when we needed them, they would chicken out. This, ultimately, was our inferiority as a nation. The Cup of 1950 reignited a debate that dated back to the "Estado Novo" times - the problem of the deficiencies of the Brazilian race (Vogel, 1982, p. 99).

However, we cannot incur at this time to an anachronism in history: the chronicles of Nelson Rodrigues and the works of Mario Filho were generated at a particular time, where there was great concern about the racial debate. Let's recall that it

was in that same historical context that UNESCO funded research in Brazil, and that the Afonso Arinos law was approved in 1951. It means that the presence of racism in Brazilian society was in the center of the discussion.

Which ways take the Barbosa remembrance? When you realize that memories are linked to this broader social network, we understand that the past is updated by the social structures of the present. Thus, the mnemonic narratives that recall racism in Brazilian society, through the Barbosa's failure, should be highlighted. These narratives should be understood as tips of an iceberg: what emerges and appears on the surface allows us to raise broader issues that are below sea level and end up forming conditions to show the submarine part. Is there a way to communicate racism submerged in Brazilian society, which, in turn, operates with a logic of its own inclusion and exclusion. From this system we can understand the complaint of academic texts on how to exclude this racism. This is not about making the history of the Cup, but to build a new sensitivity to understand the way Brazilian society turns its racism on. Victimizing Barbosa through the remembrance has a pedagogical function: "we cannot be racists".

The ideology-ridden speech says that black people would have been integrated to society after the abolition in the wake of racial democracy, unlike the North American context. However, the accusations that the defeat was due to the presence of blacks in the team, show the following logic: the belief that Brazil is not a racist nation that operates only at the level of discourse. In relations among actors, racism works as a symbolic system not shown explicitly, in which ideas, values and actions are products formed and informed by the meanings constructed over hierarchies imposed on the Brazilian culture. The speeches that ranks races in order to legitimize slavery, moved up to explain a supposed racial inferiority. The recognition of equal rights among Brazilian citizens granted after the abolition of slavery did not mean the eradication of old and current prejudice.

The accusation of racism in Brazil is an explicit repudiation of pessimistic thinking on the ethnic constitution of Brazil, strongly formed by blacks. We cannot forget that the press acts as a guardian of the collective memory and that the materials published, even today, partly follow the interpretations of the past. If "remembering" is an action related to the reconstruction of the past through "social structures" of the present, which senses take the constant memory of the defeat as an attribution to blacks in the team?

The fact that the memories of this defeat have as bulwark the tragedies of the

race-racism amalgam shows that this pair is a taboo subject in Brazilian society. Remembering it leads us to the permanence of the wound of slavery and the particular form of racism that resides in the national memory. The memory function would be to take the blame attributed to Barbosa as negative example. Why is racism denounced if it is said that there is none in Brazilian society?

The answer lies in the tension of values and meanings of identity opposed the construction of the imaginary community - in the sense of Anderson (1983) - of the "Brazilian nation". It indicates a sense that one cannot be racist in the society that supports the belief in "racial democracy" in a kind of moral discourse that recognizes and affirms that racism is harmful and against the Brazilian common sense. Once the face of racism in Brazilian society is illuminated, how could it be proud of the identity myth of its racial democracy?

It also reveals a sense of repugnance to the means by which blacks were exploited, subtracted of their rights and their status of humanity and especially the way Brazilian society is formed around its ethnic shades. Current analysis of Pena and Birchal (2005-2006) suggest that, regardless of their color, the vast majority of Brazilians have a significant degree of African, European, and Amerindian ancestry. The genome of every Brazilian would be a highly variable mosaic formed by the contributions of the three ancestral roots corroborating, in the biological point of view, the myth of identity of the "Fable of the three races" proposed by DaMatta (1981). Because of this poor correlation between color and ancestry, it makes no sense to speak of "populations" of "white Brazilians" or "black Brazilians".

Considering the ethnic configuration and adopting the "fusion" as a national and distinctive issue, the dilemma is: how can Brazil be racist? How can racism be tolerated if it insults the identity of a people consisting mostly of black and brown people, according to the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) classification? How to view a future of harmony and progress in a country where 45.37% of blacks and mulattos in society today would be in a situation of social, economic and symbolic inequality?

It seems that we are really dealing with a particular form of racism - the "Brazilian-like racism" - which is characterized by the coexistence of two contradictory movements: the inclusion and exclusion (TELLES, 2003). The coexistence of these two movements allows us to understand the results of a survey conducted in 1988 in Sao Paulo, where 97% of respondents stated not having prejudice and 98% - of those

interviewed - said that they know other people who, yes, had prejudice (Schwarcz, 2003, p. 180). Check that there are two movements:

- a) When 97% of respondents claim not to have prejudice, are claiming that, at the individual plan, the interviewee does not distinguish between different 'races' and, in fact, includes a "black" as equally valuable to the entire Brazilian society. He sees the "fable of the three races", in the sense of DaMatta (1981) as true.
- b) In the group plan, when the interviewees denounced "others" as the "racists", they, by deduction, are saying that there are people who make a distinction of "race" or "color" among members of the same society. It means that Brazil of "racial democracy" is a racist country.

This is the paradox of Brazilian society. The national ideology of the racial debate is effective, just for being contradictory. The effectiveness of the national ideology primes by the coexistence of two opposite conceptions of the same object: race relations in Brazilian society.

In the sense of Ortiz (2003, p. 133), "[...] representations only have meaning when embodied in the discourse of social actors", there is, from the academic memory, the recognition of a racist ideology in Brazilian society, because they blamed the blacks for the defeat: they are acknowledging the presence of racism in Brazilian society and rejecting the practice in the country's "racial democracy".

In other words, it reveals an overlap of narratives on racism: we would not and cannot be racists at the individual plan, but on the other hand - and contradictorily - society, whose speech say that they all have a drop of "black blood" would be racist. In the latter, the *jus sanguinis* principle seems to act in cultural representations. The comings and goings about the same subject show that racism is still a political, ideological and cultural dilemma of Brazilian society.

## What Brazilians Do Not Forget, Not Even under Threat, Is the So Called 'Frango De Barbosa – A Perspective of Racism in Brazilian Football.

**Abstract:** This paper analyzes the blame attributed to the former goalkeeper Barbosa for the defeat by Brazil in the World Cup of 1950 in the light of the debate on race and racism in Brazil. From the point of view of Cultural History, the presence of the racial debate in scholarly literature (DaMatta, 1982; Vogel, 1982; Gordon Jr., 1996) indicating the former goalkeeper as the responsible agent for this defeat, expresses the meanings of race relations in Brazilian culture. On the symbolic plan, Barbosa became one of the emblems needed to denounce the representations about race and specificity of racism in Brazilian society.

Keywords: Football; history; Brazil; Prejudice; 1950 World Cup; Barbosa.

El Qué Los Brasileños No Se Olvidan Ni Bajo Amenaza Es El Conocido 'Frango De Barbosa: Una Perspectiva Del Racismo Nel Fútbol Brasileño.

Resumen: El texto analisa la culpa atribuida al ex- portero Barbosa por la derrota brasileña en el Mundial de Fútbol de 1950 según el debate acerca raza y racismo en Brasil. Según la visión de la História Cultural, la presencia del debate racial en textos académicos (DaMatta, 1982; Vogel, 1982; Gordon Jr., 1996) que señalan el ex-portero como el algoz en la derrota, expresan los significados de las relaciones raciales en la cultura brasileña. Según el plano simbólico, Barbosa se convirtió en uno de los emblemas necesarios para denunciar las representaciones sobre raza e la especificidad del racismo en la sociedad brasileña.

Palabras-clave: Fútbol: historia. Brasil: Prejuicio.Mundial de Fútbol de 1950. Barbosa.

### **REFERENCES**

ANDERSON, Benedict. **Imagined communities:** reflections on the origins spread of nacionalism. Londres: Verso, 1983.

ARCHETTI, Eduardo. **Masculinidades:** fútbol, tango e polo en la Argentina. Buenos Aires: Antropofagia, 2003.

CELSO, Adolfo. **Por que me ufano do meu país**. 2º ed. Rio de Janeiro: Expressão e Cultura, 1997.

DAMATTA, Roberto. **Relativizando:** uma introdução à antropologia estrutural. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1981.

\_\_\_\_\_. Esporte na sociedade: um ensaio sobre o futebol brasileiro. In: DAMATTA, R. **Universo do futebol:** esporte e sociedade brasileira. Rio de Janeiro: Pinakotheke, 1982. p. 19 - 42.

DAMO, Arlei Sander. **Futebol e identidade social:** uma leitura antropológica das rivalidades entre torcedores e clubes. Porto Alegre: Ed. Universidade/UFRGS, 2002.

FERNANDES, Florestan. **A integração do negro na sociedade de classes.** São Paulo: Dominus-USP, 1965.

\_\_\_\_\_. **O negro no mundo dos brancos.** São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1972. FREYRE, Gilberto. **Casa grande & senzala**. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio, 1933.

GIRARDET, Rauol. **Mitos e mitologias políticas**. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1986.

GORDON JÚNIOR, Cesar. Eu já fui preto e sei o que é isso: história social dos negros no futebol brasileiro: segundo tempo". In: PESQUISA de campo. Rio de Janeiro: Editora da UERJ, 1996. p. 65–78.

GUIMARÃES, Antonio Sérgio Alfredo. Preconceito de cor e racismo no Brasil. **Revista de Antropologia**, São Paulo, v. 47, 2004.

HELAL, Ronaldo. Mídia, construção da derrota e o mito do herói. In: HELAL, R.; SOARES, A. J., LOVISOLO, H. **A invenção do país do futebol:** mídia, raça e idolatria. Rio de Janeiro: Mauad, 2001. p. 149 - 162.

LANCENET. Disponível em: <a href="http://www.lance.com.br">http://www.lance.com.br</a>>. Acesso em: 14 jan. 2000.

MAIO, Marcos Chor. Apresentação. In: Pinto, L. A. **O negro no Rio de Janeiro:** relações de raça numa sociedade em mudança. 2<sup>-</sup>ed. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. UFRJ, 1998.

MORAES NETO, Geneton. **Dossiê 50:** os onze jogadores revelam os segredos da maior tragédia do futebol brasileiro. Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2000.

MOURA. Gisella de Araujo. **O Rio corre para o Maracanã**. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1998.

ORTIZ, Renato. Cultura brasileira e identidade nacional. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 2003.

PENA, Sérgio Danilo Junho; BIRCHAL, Telma de Souza. A inexistência biológica *vesus* a existênia social de raças humanas: pode a ciência instruir o etos social. **Revista USP**, São Paulo, n. 68, p. 10-21, dez./fev. 2005-2006.

PERDIGÃO, Paulo. A anatomia de uma derrota. São Paulo: L&PM, 2000.

PESAVENTO, Sandra Jatahy. **História e história cultural.** Belo Horizonte: Autentica, 2004.

RODRIGUES, Nelson. **A pátria em chuteiras:** novas crônicas de futebol. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1994.

RODRIGUES FILHO, Mário. **O negro no futebol brasileiro**. 4<sup>-</sup> ed. Rio de Janeiro: Mauad, 2003.

SCHWARCZ, Lilia. Moritz. **Retrato em branco e preto:** jornais, escravos e cidadãos em São Paulo no final do século XIX. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001.

| <b>O espetáculo das raças</b> . São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2002.  |  |
|---|--|
| Nem preto, nem branco, muito pelo contrário: cor e raça na intimidade. NOVAES, F. A.; SCHWARCZ, L. M. <b>História da vida privada no Brasil</b> . São Pau Companhia das Letras, 2003. v. 4, p. 173 – 245. |  |

SOARES, Antonio Jorge. **Futebol, raça e nacionalidade:** releitura da história oficial. 353 f. Tese (Doutorado) – Faculdade de Educação Física, Universidade Gama Filho. Rio de Janeiro, 1998.

\_\_\_\_\_. Identidade nacional e racismo no futebol brasileiro. In: PRONI, M.; LUCENA, R. (Orgs.) **Esporte:** história e sociedade. Campinas: Autores Associados, 2002. p. 165-190.

SOUTO, Sérgio Montero. **Imprensa e memória da copa de 50:** a glória e a tragédia de Barbosa. 108 f, Dissertação (Mestrado) - Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2002.

TELLES, Edward. **Racismo à brasileira:** uma nova perspectiva sociológica. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará, 2003.

TOLEDO, Luiz Henrique. No país do futebol. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2000.

TURRA, Cleusa; VENTURI, Gustavo. **Racismo cordial:** a mais completa análise sobre o preconceito de cor no Brasil. São Paulo: Ática, 1995.

VERÍSSIMO, Luiz Fernando. **A eterna privação do zagueiro absoluto**. Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 1999.

VOGEL, Arno. O momento feliz - Reflexões sobre o futebol e o *ethos* nacional. In: DAMATTA, R. **Universo do futebol:** esporte e sociedade brasileira. Rio de Janeiro: Pinakotheke, 1982. p. 75 – 115.

WOODWARD, Kathryn. Identidade e diferença: uma introdução teórica e conceitual. In: SILVA, Tadeu da. (Org.). **Identidade e diferença:** a perspectiva dos estudos culturais. Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes, 2000. p. 7-72.

Received on: 02.22.2008 Approved on: 02.16.2009