

FOOTBALL AND SOCIABILITY: THE HABERMASIAN AND DIONYSIAN SWING

O FUTEBOL E A SOCIABILIDADE: A GINGA HABERMASIANA E DIONISÍACA 🔗

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Abstract: The objective of this essay is to understand the configuration of football in Brazilian society by relating three authors, Roberto DaMatta, Gilberto Freyre and Jürgen Habermas. Jürgen Habermas and his Theory of Communicative Action will be the foundation of the discussions with the other two authors. The first addresses the issue of football and the dramatisation of society, and the second approaches the dichotomy between Apollonian and Dionysian. As a provocation, the essay seeks to discuss and problematise the relationship between identity, power and reification as burning issues for sociocultural studies of Physical Education and sport.

Keywords: Football. Brazilianness. Habermas. Culture.

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1 INTRODUCTION

This year, 2022, we celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the book Universo do Futebol: esporte e sociedade brasileira (Universe of Football: sport and Brazilian society), whose main author is Brazilian anthropologist Roberto DaMatta.1 It is a seminal book in football studies in Brazil. In this book, the author asks himself why football has become such a national passion, the drama that surrounds it in the stands, in the bars, and in the weekend conversations, bringing with simple politeness and with an aesthetic of few the social system that football represents in our society. This essay seeks, in a timid way, to dialogue with the great master Roberto DaMatta.

Football is a sociocultural phenomenon that represents the main sports manifestation in Brazil. Understanding how it participates in our cultural configuration is pertinent as a way to better describe Brazilian society since it is one of the social phenomena that synthesises the nationality of great territorial scope and cultural diversity.

This essay aims to bring to the debate several faces of the process of football appropriation. To this end, some characteristics were incorporated as tools to analyze this phenomenon: (a) the organic relationship between football, nation and Brazilianness, expressed by the cultural reinterpretation of this modality by the Brazilian people; (b) the Brazilian re-signification of how to play and value football as a national heritage; and (c) the territories and identities of football.

The author of reference in this work will be Jürgen Habermas,² a German philosopher, and one of the most important authors of the 21st century. Among several works of reference in the humanities, I will highlight the two volumes of the Theory of Communicative Action. Mainly the concepts of lifeworld, money system, power system, communicative action, and strategic action.

¹ It is not the intention to prophesise, however, I believe that the book O Futebol nas ciências humanas no Brasil (Football and Social Sciences in Brazil), organised by Sérgio S. Giglio and Marcelo W. Proni and published by Unicamp publishing house in 2020 will be another milestone in football studies. To get an idea, the book organised by DaMatta had as co-authors Luiz Felipe Baêta Neves, Arno Vogel and Simoni Lahud Guedes. In the book organised by Giglio and Proni we have the contribution of 51 researchers, and professor Simoni L. Guedes appears in these two great works, doing justice to the dedication of the organisers.

² I will use Oswald de Andrade's Anthropophagic Manifesto, published in 1928, for the interpretation of the Theory of Communicative Action, combining Habermas's sternness, as pointed out in Stuart Jefries' book Grand Hotel Abyss: The Lives of the Frankfurt School, and the ballet, and the samba, and the Brazilian metaphors, to absorb and resignify the Habermasian categories. That is why I put in the title of the essay "Habermasian swing".

I will try to make a small dialogue between Gilberto Freyre³ and Roberto DaMatta⁴ and Habermasian thought. With the former, I will relate the antagonism between the Apollonian and the Dionysian to refer to dancing with the feet, making an analogy between the lifeworld, where the space of the Dionysian is, and the system of power and currency, where the space of the Apollonian is or would be. With Roberto DaMatta the idea of dramatisation and cultural identity would substantiate the symbolic relations that occur in the lifeworld, involving the objective, social and subjective world.

To build the argument of this text, I will first work with the Habermasian categories. In another moment, I will dialogue with Roberto DaMatta's reflections on the dramatisations of football and its cultural expressions, building bridges with the concepts of language structures and speech acts, and then relate some themes that summarise the Freyrian dichotomy of Apollonian and Dionysian and the Habermasian dichotomy of systems and lifeworld.

2 BRIEF COMMENTS ON THE THEORY OF COMMUNICATIVE ACTION

For Habermas, from the publication of the two volumes of the Theory of Communicative Action (2012a; 2012b), the lifeworld is the storehouse of human knowledge, the place of development of society and its symbolic production, which represents normative, subjective, objective, and associative structures that are fundamental for the consolidation of community life (BETTINE, 2021a).

The system, in turn, is formulated by the perspective of gains over the other, from the colonisation of the lifeworld and the incorporation of language aimed at strategic use (BETTINE 2021b). The system, for Habermas, is divided between the money system and the power system. Habermas, according to the interpretation proposed here, points out that the material evolution of societies is a consequence of their cultural evolution (HABERMAS, 2012b). He studies the development of society through social evolution, taking language as a starting point, being concerned with the forms of interaction of man in the world (GUTIERREZ; ALMEIDA, 2013).

The symbolic structures of the lifeworld are reproduced on the way to constitute valid knowledge, building solidarity and forming people capable of speaking and acting.

³ Gilberto Freyre defends a racial democracy in his trilogy The Masters and the Slaves (1933), The Mansions and the shanties (1936) and Order and Progress (1957). He presents crossbreeding as a factor for balancing social relations in Brazil, camouflaging an institutionalised racism during the years of Brazilian enslavement. In the Preface to Mário Filho's book O Negro no Futebol Brasileiro (The Black Man in Brazilian Soccer) (1947), Freyre makes the same analogy, now thinking about football, building a narrative that this space is racially democratic. There is an extensive bibliography that demystifies this imaginary. The recent study by Marcel Tonini (2020) "Essa é uma realidade": os racismos vividos e narrados por negros em várias áreas de atuação no futebol brasileiro addresses these issues very competently. For further discussions on Freyre's work I recommend Cf. Jessé Souza: Gilberto Freyre e a singularidade cultural brasileira (2000); David Lehmann: Gilberto Freyre: a reavaliação prossegue (2008). I do not share Gilberto Freyre's ideas and I dislike the concept of racial democracy, however, in this study I will draw on the Dionysian and Apollonian duality that Freyre used in sports chronicles. Freyrean duality was adapted by the American anthropologist Ruth Benedict in the book Patterns of Culture (1934).

⁴ Roberto DaMatta in a text in the newspaper Jornal da Tarde of 2006 entitled Dionysus versus Apollo uses Freyre's references: "It is the confrontation of a football that Gilberto Freyre — invoking the Greek god of ambiguity and excess called Dionysian, ours; in struggle with a style of playing, in which the charisma that leads to individual moves gives way to the automatic and routine meshing of the team, in a systematic, predictable, rational and apollonian way of playing: theirs" (DAMATTA, 2006, p. 83).

The process of new forms of understanding and construction of knowledge is made possible by the integrative structure of the lifeworld, such as (a) semantic dimension, (b) social space and (c) historical time. But there is the other side, the systems, where the manifestations of crisis and disturbances of reproduction occur, the pathologies of society, which in cultural reproduction appear as loss of meaning of culture, loss of legitimacy of society and in personality there is the crisis of orientation and educational crisis. In today's society, the market and its variations towards virtuality constitute the main example of functions and contexts that flow through people's hands, not perceiving the dynamics of this system within the reality that surrounds them.

Modern societies demonstrate that there is a systemic differentiation, providing a space for interest-driven conflict and another space where the communicative potential is exercised. But this is a constant struggle of the lifeworld trying to contain the teleological forms of action, which try to invade its spheres.

The differentiation of the market system destroys traditional forms of solidarity. Democratic forms of political formation and the imposition of a universalist morality break up social relations established by consensus.

By incrementing the analysis with the modes of language use, Habermas built a symbolic reference of worlds that make up the lifeworld, which would be the objective world (institutions about which true statements are possible); the social world (legitimately regulated interpersonal relations) and the subjective world (experiences to which the subject has privileged access to manifest itself truthfully before an audience). Communicative manifestations are inserted at the same time in different relations with the world. Communicative acting depends on a cooperative process in which the subject uses the three components of the lifeworld. Verständigung (understanding) means the union of the participants of communication on the validity of a speech; Einverständnis (consensus) means intersubjective recognition of a validity claim that the speaker unites with a speech act.

The symbolic structures of the lifeworld are reproduced on the way to constitute valid knowledge, building solidarity and forming people capable of speaking and acting. The process of new forms of understanding and construction of knowledge is made possible by the integrative structure of the lifeworld, since it manages to reproduce old processes with new situations of action and to integrate new lifeworlds,5 whether by means of the semantic dimension (cultural tradition), or by means of the social space (of socially integrated groups), or by means of historical time (succeeding generations). "These processes of cultural reproduction, social integration and socialisation correspond, as structural components of the lifeworld, to culture, society and the person" (HABERMAS 2012b, p. 252).

⁵ In the development of society there is a process of differentiation of the components of the lifeworld. On the cultural level there is a process of formalisation of value concepts, assumptions of communication, procedures of argumentation, abstract fundamental values. At the level of society, legal and moral principles are imposed. Finally, at the level of the personality system, the cognitive structures acquired in the process of socialisation create their own paths away from the cultural contents which formed concrete thought, expanding the worldviews, allowing the subject to exercise interpretative competences.

The semantic field, social space and historical time are dimensions in which communicative acts take place. The interactions that form the network of communicative practice configure the way that culture, society and people are reflected. And this reflection extends to the lifeworld.

On the other side, we have the manifestations of crisis and disturbances of reproduction, the pathologies of society, which in cultural reproduction appear as loss of meaning of culture, loss of legitimacy of society and in personality, there is the crisis of orientation and educational crisis. In social integration, the forms of manifestation of the pathologies are the loss of a collective identity in culture, anomie in society and alienation in personality. In the area of socialisation, the disturbances lead to a breakdown of traditions in culture, a lack of interest in collective affairs in society, and in personality the psychopathologies such as depression and social phobias.

Systemic complexification takes place through complexes of institutions that are supported under the lifeworld: "segmental differentiation is institutionalised in the form of kinship relations; stratification, in the form of status; state organisation, in the form of political power; and the first mechanism of control, in the form of relations between people who hold rights" (HABERMAS, 2012b, p. 301, emphasis added).

Football, as an object of the Theory of Communicative Action, analysed in this essay, was thought in the forms of appropriation by language and forms of interaction, as well as the process of systemic complexification (ALMEIDA, 2011). The symbolic expression of football through the Theory of Communicative Action is reflected as part of the lifeworld, building the community's own relationships, passing through generations, until it is characterised by one of the money or power systems, integrated of joint actions, identified by their ideologies, beliefs, expressions, ways of being in the life of a particular community, region or country.

Based on this reference we can perceive football in different dimensions: as a practice in the space of spontaneous relations — lifeworld; as a practice taught in school and sanctioned by state institutions — power system; or still, as mass football, which reflects a system based on reification⁶ — money system.

Trying not to segment the idea of football, we work on its relationship defined by the totalities of technical traditions and institutions derived from a historical system. an integral and inseparable part of the knowledge shared by a given community. With the phenomenon of systemic complexification pointed out by Habermas (2012b), in current societies, football practised spontaneously gives room for systemic formats. Football seems to live what Habermas calls the pathologies of modernity, such as the cases of corruption in FIFA (HORNE, 2017; BAYLE; RAYNER, 2018), transactions between players without transparency (BETTINE; GRAEF; GUTIERREZ, 2019), players from developing countries turned into commodities.⁷

⁶ Habermas employs the concept of Reification in Lukács' sense, which would be a radicalisation of alienation.

⁷ I consider it important to read the following texts in order to understand the context of pathologies: Cf. ZIAKAS, For the benefit of all? Developing a critical perspective in mega-event leverage, HORNE, Sports mega-events - three sites of contemporary political contestation, DAMO; OLIVEN, O Brasil no horizonte dos megaeventos esportivos de 2014 e 2016: sua cara, seus sócios e seus negócios, BAYLE; RAYNER, Sociology of a scandal: the emergence of 'FIFAgate'.

The "pick-up games", the "spontaneous" matches with their different local manifestations, are a form of cultural expression that clearly suffered with the advances and transformations of the urbanised society. However, other Habermasian concepts enable us to fight against this systemic reification, the organised civil society and the public sphere, which would be the transnational organisations such as Play the Game, Against Modern Football, Sport for Peace and National Articulation of the World Cup's Popular Committees.

The development of big cities and the reproduction of urban space by big corporations have been relentless to the meadow fields and public parks, restricting other forms of football expression and creating around themselves the reproduction of the movement, the market of athletes, as well as dependence on the media as social media are today.

Stadium performances and their hundreds of cameras became panopticons, disseminating habits, customs and, later, shaping interpersonal relationships. In the practice of informal and cultural football the two processes pointed out above occurred: (a) the mechanisation of football through the incorporation of technology (radicalisation of the Apollonian), and (b) the replacement of the search for an unpretentious practice (Dionysian) by a need for consumption, through reification, showing that football is an integral part of the process of cultural transformation.

The process of appropriation of the lifeworld is complex, incorporating aspects such as the loss of identity, the removal of sacred collective symbols and the destruction of a moral (HABERMAS, 2012a). In this sense, the lifeworld seems to live, since the constitution of modern society, a daily struggle with the cultural industry, trying to incorporate technology and reconvert it into an instrument of spontaneous or authentic sociability (BETTINE, 2020). In the case of football, particularly, we live the duality between its new technologies and reification, in which street football can be perceived as a space of resistance in parks, in meadow fields, on the beaches, in a nonchalant way.

Football defined here is not that which remains unchanged over time, but that which preserves and encourages spontaneous socialisation, as well as the collective identity formation of the group that dramatises it, as explained by Da Matta (1982) in Universe of Football. This dimension seems to be the fundamental characteristic of the lifeworld.

Football as a cultural practice via the Theory of Communicative Action would essentially be a social relationship. The essence of this cultural identity, according to DaMatta (1982), is to be linked to the formation of a Brazilianness. Being one more interlocutor of the lifeworld, serving for the evolution of language, institutions and the formation of personality. What DaMatta summarises very well when describing the passage from the individual to the person. That is, when the player takes the field, he guarantees a status of person that connects him to the webs of meaning of his community, and, we are not talking here about the Brazilian national team, we are talking about the matches that take place away from the cameras and journalists who tell the stories of the most popular players. This subject, a worker in the megacities, becomes a person on Saturdays and Sundays when he plays football with his social reference group. It can be affirmed that football is part of the lifeworld, through the integration between people, the search for playing, the desire to learn a body technique and the will to compete.

The complexification of football takes place in modern societies with the (a) institutionalisation of football and (b) rationalisation of movements. The analysis proposed here is concerned with the three trends of football, according to the interpretation of Habermasian theory. The first trend is the one that sees football through the eyes of culture — as a component of the lifeworld; the second trend discusses the role of the state as a major means of control over football — power system; and the last trend points to the function of the market as a reifier of football — money system. Therefore, football expresses the three spheres: Lifeworld, Power System and Money System.

With this, we observe the growth of the concerns with the public, with the consumer, with the sale, with the spectacle of the body as an element of consumption and of notable attention and visibility. Walter Benjamin (1985) saw sport as belonging, i.e., proximity between athletes and public, a feeling of the latter in the sense that they can also take part and position themselves before the show or in their daily practice.

Guy Debord (1997) states that society is spectacularised and the spectacle is the social relationship mediated by images. In the sense pointed out above, and articulated with the Habermasian vision, football becomes an object of use of the other social spheres, to have a prominent role, using them for its own systemic enrichment.

3 FOOTBALL AND BRAZILIAN CULTURE

The social boundaries of football began to be crossed through the formation of improvised teams by the popular sectors, and what used to be simple curiosity for these layers of society became a daily practice. Just as today we see children playing football with stones and balls made of socks, yesterday it was no different. Football was played with improvised materials, on vacant lots, becoming a representation of the existence denied in other social fields, spreading through the ghettos. Soon, teams and clubs were formed by the initiative of small businessmen, workers and craftsmen (FRANCO JR., 2007).

The emergence of sports organisations is linked to the process of identities, such as the formation of groups of immigrants, neighbourhoods or ethnic groups. But football also emerges as a force for spontaneous sociability and the construction of bonds as deep as other social events such as carnival and samba (DAMATTA, 1982). For DaMatta, "football openly establishes trickery as an art of survival and flexibility as a national style" (1994, p.17).

This process of popularisation did not occur without antagonisms, as the dominant symbolic field of football was elitist, using the categories of Bourdieu (2000), the dominant habiti had both the instruments for the practice of football and the English knowledge, rules, techniques, and terminologies. Such process of elitisation

of football was long, for example, the Jornal dos Sports, in the article of August 6, 1915, warned that "football is a sport that can only be practised by people of the same education and cultivation, if we are forced to play with a worker the practice becomes a torture, a sacrifice, but never fun". In this article, the journal seeks to strengthen the elitist habitus of football, which had already gained popularity. Even with the bans in the elite clubs, the free practice occurred in other territories, such as riverbanks, meadow fields, beaches, fields, slums, behind factories, next to schools. That is, there were restrictions on playing in private clubs, however, in the streets, in vacant lots, the practice began to appear in an increasingly spontaneous way.

Other points of view may be associated, such as the incorporation of football into popular culture. For some authors like Caldas (1990) and Guedes (2009), the practice of football is part of a ritualisation of celebration. We can also think about the Eliasian discussion (ELIAS; DUNNING, 1992) of mimesis, of the mimetic character of societies, of the power of imitation in the formation of society, by the process of symbolic webs and meanings and how football participates in this social configuration, in the representation of war, in the colours, in the anthems, in the formation of identities, and in the rituals that arise in time and with time that resignify it. Football is ritualised and ritualises itself. But what is important in this process of dissemination of football, in the interpretation proposed here, is that football and sporting values, using the expression of Sevcenko (2000) in Static Orpheus in the Metropolis, provoked a collective ecstasy in Brazilian society.

In the article Antropologia do óbvio – notas em torno do significado do futebol brasileiro (Anthropology of the obvious – notes around the meaning of Brazilian football), DaMatta (1994) dramatises Brazilian football as a way to constitute our nationality, through the flag, the anthem, and the colours, used in the most diverse Brazilian political and cultural manifestations nowadays. For example, in the demonstrations of June 2013, when football and politics once again came into play in many Brazilian capitals, voices were heard that "my party is Brazil" and the T-shirts of the Brazilian national football team spread through the streets yellowing the disastrous protest.8

4 DIONYSIAN DANCE IN THE LIFEWORLD

A dimension that discusses the appropriation of football by Brazilians also departs from some discussions of Mauss (1974) on body technique representative of a specific cultural identity. If today we can talk about mimicry in the case of football in our society (FRANCO JR., 2007), this occurred because the Brazilian population mastered certain body techniques that allowed them to use football as an instrument of leisure, social activity or identity. The body technique, according to Marcel Mauss,

⁸ International public opinion changed the way of thinking about the relationship between football, Brazil and the World Cup in 2013, when we had the June Journeys in Brazil, just before the Confederations Cup started. The international media wondered if Brazil was still the country of football. Several authors such as Avritzer (2016), Dantas, (2016) and Szwako (2016), discussing the impasses of democracy in Brazil, show us a very consistent reading of the protests of 2013 to the coup of 2016. Another important study to understand the rejection of the population to the Confederations Cup and the FIFA World Cup in Brazil is the study by Ângela Alonso (2017), called Política das Ruas: protestos em São Paulo de Dilma a Temer.

may be understood as the ways by which people, from society to society, in a traditional way, know how to use their bodies.

According to Barreto (2004), Gilberto Freyre started writing about football in 1929 in the newspaper A Província, published in Pernambuco. After several articles, he wrote in 1938 the emblematic text Foot-ball Mulatto, published in Diário de Pernambuco. The following passage is famous: "(...) our flourishes with the ball, there is something of dance or capoeira that marks the Brazilian style of playing football". Freyre thought of football as art and sublimation of various elements of our social and cultural formation. In Gilberto Freyre's words, elements of the national culture, consolidated by the openness to black and biracial people, allowed a synthesis with the footwork game. In a conference given in the United States in 1944, Freyre stated: "The Brazilian game of football is like a dance" (FREYRE, 2001, p.182).

It is interesting to think about the expression "Brazilian game", it distances itself from the formal element, from the football modality, or even from Brazilian football. The game element appears as fundamental and, later, the adjective phrase "Brazilian football", as being something from Brazil. Nothing is more cultural and symbolic than this reference, a clear representation of the Habermasian LifeWorld, or Huizinga's Homo Ludens.

"The Brazilian game is Dionysian, an expression of popular dances, which is expansive, joyful, improvised" (FREYRE, 2001, p.182). According to DaMatta (1982, p.82), football "provides an exemplary experience of legitimacy", engendering a primarily democratic space. Another approach is to think of it as a metaphor for nation, how football has become one of the Brazilian instruments to think and, above all, to classify the world.

From the 1950s to the 1970s, the Brazilian press (Mario Filho, Nelson Rodrigues, José Lins do Rego, João Saldanha, Armando Nogueira) began to associate football with the unexpected, with improvisation and used this as a way of symbolising it as an important cultural trait of the Brazilian way of life. The chroniclers helped in this process of identity construction, as Hobsbawm (1997) would affirm in the introduction to the book The Invention of Tradition, inventing magic that everyone believes, because our football in this invented tradition is extraordinary, unusual, admirable and Dionysian. The voices of these chroniclers created a universe in which it was possible to identify football with national culture. By criticizing the way Europeans play against ours, it is shown that this conflict is one more way to value Brazilian characteristics, one more way to reinforce the Dionysian.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The purpose of this essay was to promote approximations between the *Theory* of Communicative Action and certain categories of Gilberto Freyre and Roberto DaMatta. In this discussion we realise that football continues to share a kind of symbolic operator of Brazilian society, able to promote the two-way flow between the expressions produced by Brazilian players on the pitches, mediated by technologies

and social media, building singularities in national daily life and actively participating in Brazilian political life.

We can describe this daily life by the ways of dressing, speaking and, mainly, the marks that children, young people and adults carry on their bodies, as Marcel Mauss would say. These are the haircuts and dyes, which are changeable, and the tattoos⁹ that carry lasting symbolic traces.

The arguments developed is that there is a tension between a process of reification of the body, the athlete and football, and, at the same time, the arguments developed by DaMatta about national identity and the dramatisations of life that football represents, especially the concept of person, making football an interesting object for us to understand the systemic complexification, the colonisation of the lifeworld, the pathologies of modernity and the daily struggle of the lifeworld via organised civil society.

The singular characteristics that Freyre defined in Foot-Ball Mulatto demonstrate a peculiarity in Brazilian style and culture, far from the spotlight and the big social media, that represent the gesture, the play, the dribbling and the game.

The duality presented by Freyre reminds me of Pieter Bruegel, particularly the 1559 painting The Fight Between Carnival and Lent. It was this same painter who offered us a great contribution in the 1560 painting Children's Games. A bit of these two masterpieces is an inspiration for this essay, because in the first, clearly the Dionysian and the Apollonian confront each other, and in the second, the game appears as a dramatisation of social relations, as an aggregating element of social relations that are configured in a certain community in the lifeworld.

Like any creation of symbols and identities, social constructions are produced by shrouding cultural differences. When I write this essay I am aware that the totality of the world is much bigger than my hands, hence various tensions and contradictions could not be attended to for many reasons. I highlight the interpretative inability of this researcher. Perhaps the great merit of this essay is to demonstrate the wealth of symbolic elements of the Football Universe, to contribute to this fascinating interstitial world between football, sociability, and the Dionysian communicative swing.

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⁹ Cf. PÉREZ A Identidade à Flor da Pele. Etnografia da Prática da Tatuagem na Contemporaneidade. Mana, v. 12, n. 1, p. 179-206, 2006.

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Resumo: O objetivo deste ensaio é compreender a configuração do futebol na sociedade brasileira relacionando três autores: Roberto Da Matta, Gilberto Freyre e Jürgen Habermas. Jürgen Habermas e sua Teoria do Agir Comunicativo será o alicerce das discussões com os outros dois autores. O primeiro abordando a questão do futebol e a dramatização da sociedade, e o segundo, aproximando a dicotomia entre apolíneo e dionisíaco. Como provocação, o ensaio procura discutir e problematizar a relação identidade, poder e reificação como questões candentes para os estudos socioculturais da educação física e do esporte.

Palavras-chave: Futebol. Brasilidade. Habermas. Cultura.

Resumen: El objetivo de este ensayo es comprender la configuración del fútbol en la sociedad brasileña relacionando a tres autores: Roberto DaMatta, Gilberto Freyre y Jürgen Habermas. Jürgen Habermas y su Teoría de la Acción Comunicativa serán la base de las discusiones con los otros dos autores; el primero abordando el tema del fútbol y la dramatización de la sociedad, y el segundo, abordando la dicotomía entre apolíneo y dionisiaco. Como provocación, el ensayo busca discutir y problematizar la relación entre identidad, poder y cosificación como temas candentes para los estudios socioculturales de la educación física y el deporte.

Palabras clave: Fútbol. Brasilidad. Habermas. Cultura.



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CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors declare that this work involves no conflict of interest.

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EDITORIAL RESPONSIBILITY

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