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TWO MAGICAL SPACES? – ESTÁDIO DOS AFLITOS AND ARENA PERNAMBUCO UNDER MARC AUGÉ'S ANTHROPOLOGY OF SUPERMODERNITY VIEW

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ABSTRACT

Having the arenas construction for the FIFA World Cup Brazil, Clube Náutico Capibaribe's fans meets in the middle of a major change scenario: on one hand, the old stadium, laden with affective meanings; on the other, Arena Pernambuco, product and stage of new consumption patterns linked to football in contemporary society. Following Marc Augé's Anthropology of Supermodernity as theoretic lens, from an approach aligned to the Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), we undergone present ethnographic study, in the period of game exchange mands from one stadium to other, in order to understand such stadium symbolic constructions as identity spaces for the blank-red supporters. We observed that Aflitos is a space with strong identity ties with the fans. Arena Pernambuco, however, began only seen as a modern space, but became to have its characteristics and new habits gradually assimilated.

Keywords: Places. Non-places. Identity spaces. Football fans. Clube Náutico Capibaribe.

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1 INTRODUCTION

In the preparation for the 12 cities that received the FIFA World Cup, millions of reais were invested in public and private investments in works and programs, such as those on urban mobility and tourism development (DAMO; OLIVEN, 2013). Among them, the works around the old and new stadiums were aimed at meeting the new demands of football and specifications requested by FIFA, including safety, environmental impact and technical specifications aimed at comfort for spectators and professionals involved (FIFA, 2011). For Brazilian football, works around the stadiums signal the definitive arrival of the concept of arena, which illustrates both a new experience linked to the act of watching a football match as new business opportunities related to football (FERNANDES, 2013).

The Arena Pernambuco is the product of a partnership between the State Government and Consortium Arena Pernambuco, signed in June 2010 and financed by the Federal — through the Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento (BNDES) — and State government (PERNAMBUCO STATE GOVERNMENT, 2010); a construction work amongst other ones that aimed improving urban mobility (PERNAMBUCO STATE GOVERNMENT, 2013). The presence of three clubs of significant importance — Sport Club do Recife, Clube Náutico Capibaribe and Santa Cruz Futebol Clube — offers the possibility of generating revenues for the new venture, since they are among the 20 clubs in the country with the largest number of supporters (PLURI CONSULTORIA, 2013), in addition to the fact that Pernambuco is the state of the Northeast Region that has the largest number of fans of the state's own clubs (PLURI CONSULTORIA, 2012).

In this scenario, the partnership with Náutico was born. Signed in October 2011, the partnership foresees for the club — in addition to part of revenue from ticket sales — investments on improvement works in its training center and a monthly revenue (SILVA, 2011), representing the club opportunity for growth. However, is interrupted a story around the Aflitos Stadium — officially, Estádio Eládio de Barros Carvalho —, in use by the club since 1917 (CORDEIRO, OLIVEIRA, VIEIRA, 2013). The stories of the club, the fans and the Aflitos, as well as the context of the Arena Pernambuco construction bring out particularities of these two spaces: on the one hand, the old stadium, loaded with affective meanings for the fans; on the other, the new arena, product and stage of new patterns of consumption linked to football in contemporary society. This situation reveals the reproduction of patterns of consumption linked to specific social groups, which we point out as one of the four thematic areas of the Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), a set of theoretical perspectives that has been pointed in recent decades as a new path in research of the consumer (ARNOULD; THOMPSON, 2005; GAIÃO, SOUZA; LEÃO, 2012).

In order to understand the characteristics linked to these two social spaces, we adopt Marc Augé's Anthropology of Supermodernity (2012) — mainly in relation to the concepts of Place and Non-place — by which we can examine the differences between spaces with symbolic constructions different. With this basis, we direct our study from the following research question: **How are the symbolic constructions of the Estádio dos Aflitos and the Arena Pernambuco characterized as the identity spaces of the Clube Náutico Capibaribe?**

This study is justified by the fact that it deals with the scenario of changes in football and the impact that this process imposes on the clubs and their fans, which have come to be seen as important groups of consumers. Among the possible study perspectives that we can raise about the presence of the fans and their relationship with sport, we highlight an important thematic field that has gained in recent years: fan studies. In this field, we observe the active and creative engagement of individuals around the cultural products of which they are fans, be it music, comics, literature and sports (BENNETT, 2014).

As examples of research whose object of observation are stadiums seen as social spaces, we mention Capraro (2004), who studies the process of constitution of the club's identity of Clube Atlético Paranaense and the role of Arena da Baixada in the production of this identity; Prieto and Viana (2009), that analyze the organization of the social space of the Maracanã, starting from the idea that the soccer is loaded with values originating from the relation between individuals and the space, taking into account the Brazilian context; Toledo (2013), which discusses the impact of the Corinthians Arena, built in the Itaquera neighborhood, in the state capital; and Barreto and Nascimento (2011), which refers to the link between the fans of a team and its stadium, with respect to the joy of victories, the sadness of defeats and the relationships between individuals who share this space.

2 IN THEORETICAL FIELDS

In social and anthropological research, the concept of space is of great importance, since in a given space (simply geographic) it has a symbolic load, built in the social dynamics between individuals of groups that live there. This construction is based on social activities sometimes programmed, sometimes extraordinary, and may vary between different social groups, which occupy the same space. Aiming to understand the role of social groups in the dynamics of meaning construction, whether of their consumption practices or of shared spaces, and the way in which social spaces themselves carry values and meanings for social groups, the study is based on two theoretical perspectives presented below: as a field of research, we present the Consumer Culture Theory (CCT); as specific social theory, we describe the Marc Augé's perspective of supermodernity.

2.1 Consumer Culture Theory

Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) is a term created by Arnould and Thompson (2005) to group together a series of theoretical perspectives and consumer research that address both experimental, sociocultural, symbolic and ideological aspects of consumption, as well as relationships between consumers, cultural meanings and the market (ARNOULD; THOMPSON, 2005). This perspective allows for a greater theoretical development about the consumer figure, with the support of an anthropological approach (PINTO, ZAMPIER, 2013); in it, the heterogeneous distribution of meanings and the plurality of cultural groups existing in the socio-historical scenario, contextualized by globalization and market capitalism (ARNOULD and THOMPSON, 2005), are explored. These perspectives included in the CCT form an alternative view of the economic-cognitive perspective present in the managerial-driven research (SOUZA et al., 2013), proving to be more pragmatic than the mainstream view of consumer behavior research (OSTERGAARD; BODE, 2016).

The focus of research at the CCT is on the experiences and meanings of market-driven consumer practices (BETTANY, 2007; GRANOT et al., 2014) and how the construction of knowledge on consumer culture has changed the ontological basis of object to the subject-object relationship. This made the object of consumption something that consumers give meaning to in this relation: the meaning of objects is attributed by the subjects; consumer practices are performed by subjects using such objects; and the experiences and identities of subjects are derived from objects. In the work prior to the CCT, there was over-determination of the social by the object. With ontological change, the object is now determined by the social (BETTANY, 2007).

In revisiting the points presented in the 2005 publication — as well as in analyzing the repercussions of this work —, Arnould and Thompson (2007) present the good reception of the CCT in the academy which, among other things, served to justify topics and methods for members more skeptics of the academy, showing that the CCT has gained strength as a discipline. However, the authors noted that criticism was also made. Firat and Tadajwski (2010), for example, stated that the CCT left aside some important aspects and impacts of the consumer culture, as well as the alienated dependence of consumers on certain brands and products, and the role of production and work relations in the development and articulation of individual identities. Nonetheless, if the CCT, on the one hand, presents epistemological and methodological divergences when compared to traditional approaches in the field of research, it is, on the other hand, an important path for studies involving power dynamics and subjectivities, for example (EARLEY, 2014; PEÑALOZA, 2014), since the plurality of theoretical lenses possible with the CCT makes the cultural complexity present in social practices are the targets of the research of such an approach, which makes the CCT a perspective close to traditional disciplines of the human sciences, such as sociology and anthropology (CHRISTINO; PAIM, 2009).

CCT research tradition has observed the plurality, fragmentation and fluidity of consumer culture practices from empirical studies that analyze the relationship of these practices with specific socioeconomic and market scenarios (ARNOULD; THOMPSON, 2005). The symbolic, experimental, sociocultural and ideological aspects of consumption explored by the CCT are addressed and described in four thematic areas (ARNOULD; THOMPSON, 2005): *consumer identity projects*, which refer to co-constitutive and co-productive ways in which consumers forge a diversified - and fragmented - sense of themselves; *market cultures*, which addresses the distinctive features of the relationship between the market and culture; *socio-historical patterns of consumption*, which observes institutional and social structures - such as communities, social classes, gender and ethnicities - that systematically influence the consumption; and *consumer interpretive strategies and mediated mass market ideologies* in which the systems of meanings that tend to channel and reproduce consumers' thoughts and actions in the defense of the dominant interests of society are examined. Gaião, Souza and Leão (2012, p. 332) corroborate these central ideas by stating that

CCT focuses on how consumers continuously generate and modify the symbolic meanings of their consumption, present in brands, advertisements and in the very use of material goods as a whole, building expressions of their personal and social particularities.

We localize our research within the CCT approach in the thematic area of market cultures, since our object of study shows dynamics that involve socio-cultural practices characteristic of specific social groups. We have in question the practices present in a specific subculture — that of football fans — in their main social interaction's scenario — the stadiums — which in this study we specifically address football supporters, the old club stadium and the new arena, in which the blank-red supporters began to frequent. Considering the present relationship between groups and social spaces, we deal in the next section with the discussion proposed by Marc Augé about Places and Non-places.

2.2 Marc Augé's Anthropology of Supermodernity

Within the social and anthropological researches, the concept of space is of great importance, because a given space has in itself a symbolic load, built in the social dynamics between individuals of groups that live there. In general, each company has specific relationships between

space and time, built from and in social activities, whether extraordinary or scheduled, as are ceremonies and rituals. Such activities allow “feel” the time as a concrete element. Within each society, however, the relationship between time and space is influenced by different social units, ranging between different social groups. Thus, we have, for example, a relationship between time and the city in its normal days, but that in carnival the relation between space and time is specific.

An important point to address here is the difference between the concepts of space and place. For Mocellim (2009), a space may be merely geographical; but may, however, contain several places, inasmuch as processes of signification of space can be carried out by different groups, thus forming different places. Attached to the place is the idea of time which, in the case of a traditional place, is related to the daily life of individuals; thus, the understanding of time is linked to events of nature such as dawn and dusk and periods of rain and drought, which because they are cyclical, may imply the appearance of rituals and changes in the organization of the community and the reorganization of space itself geographical.

According to Harvey (2012), time — as well as space — is a naturalized basic category, by “assigning common everyday senses” (p.188), different meanings for each subgroup of society: “each distinct mode of production or social formation incorporates a particular aggregate of practices and concepts of time and space” (p.189). And, as other authors have pointed out, capitalism sees the mode of production as providing changes in the material practices of social reproduction, as well as in space and time.

A space occupied by a society is loaded with meanings, through group activities; there is thus a space that “culturally delimits an identity, and a set of social relations” (MOCELLIM, 2009, 81). In the same way, other authors presented concepts related to studies of urban spaces — such as Michel Foucault (heterotopias), Manuel Castells (spaces of flows and places), Melvin Webber (nonplace), Françoise Choay (cyberspace) and Michel De Certeau (place and space), as highlighted by Sá (2014).

Augé (2012) uses the term Anthropological Place (in this work we will use only “Place”, to refer to this type of social space) to designate what is referred to as a “concrete and symbolic construction of space” (p. 51), which has as characteristics to be constitutive of an individual identity or a social group — when space makes possible the construction of social relations between the individuals of that place —, and also enables the creation of historical ties with society. Thus, a Place has an identity, relational and historical character with a certain society.

On the other hand, the author reports that the transformations of the contemporary world have drawn the attention of the anthropological gaze and highlight three important dimensions that describe what he calls “supermodernity”, involving the question of time, space and the figure of the individual: factual overabundance, spatial superabundance and individualization of references (AUGÉ, 2012). It is in this scenario that the idea of Non-Place arises. It refers to a space without specific identity linked to itself, and that “need not have shared meanings about itself, just need to be identified for the purposes for which is dedicated” (p. 87). Examples of Non-Places are airports, hotels and places that are not living environments: places of passage, according to the author. Thus, Non-Places are impersonal and, unlike what occurred in traditional places, time is in the present and is displaced.

A simple comparison between a Non-Place and a Place — supported by the idea that the former is a non-symbolic space and the latter a symbolic space — offers a negative view of the concept of Non-Place. We point out that, since Non-Places represent transformations of (and in) society, it is not possible to affirm that they are devoid of meanings, since in Non-places it is mediated “a whole set of relations with itself and with others that only indirectly concern to their

ends" (AUGÉ, 2012, p. 87). A contractual relationship is created between the individual and the Non-place. In this relation, the other link existing between the two entities is communication: Non-place is always communicating and defining itself by words — the texts that propose us its "way of using" or its "social rules", expressing them as prescriptive, prohibitive and informative. With this disclosure of rules of socialization, Non-Place creates an identity that is assumed by all passers-by in that space: passengers in an airport, consumers in a mall and viewers in a cinema are examples of this (AUGÉ, 2012). This can be seen in one of Giulianotti's observations (2012) in his study on the constitution of soccer fan identities: Non-Places are often characterized in order to ensure alignment with their visitors; the author illustrates this with the fact that many Non-Places are, in certain situations, adorned with football club symbols, "coldly and in accordance with the market" (GIULIANOTTI, 2012, p. 30). It is as if what each individual is outside of the Non-place has no relevance to this space.

In short, we understand that in the Non-Place are represented aspects and tendencies of a current social order, which assigns a load of meanings to certain social spaces. In the same way that other spaces will have exclusive meanings for a specific community, Non-Places are "the measure of the time" (AUGÉ, 2012, p. 73), since they are products inserted in a contemporary context. In addition, the concepts of Place and Non-Place worked by Augé (2012) bring to the issue of space the discussions about otherness, since the processes of symbolization are present in the practices of social groups not only to understand and configure spaces, but also the groups themselves; with factual overabundance, spatial superabundance and individualization of references, we have the transformation of "we" into "others" (SÁ, 2014).

3 METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

The present research follows the qualitative tradition of an interpretative perspective, in which one tries to understand the social context of the object of study through the point of view of the individuals belonging to the observed social practices (CRESWELL, 2010). On the other hand, it also adopted a semi-inductive character, in which the theory, before presenting itself as a predictive model, assumes a role of lens for interpretation of the findings (LEÃO; MELLO; VIEIRA, 2009). In particular, it is a study of ethnographic character. For Creswell (2007), in making use of ethnography, a researcher describes and interprets patterns of values, behaviors, beliefs and languages learned and shared from a cultural group, involving the participation of people who interact with it over time.

The research corpus consisted of observations of the physical and social environments of the two research loci, Estádio dos Aflitos and Arena Pernambuco, including its surroundings, involving all aspects related to the act of going to the stadium, such as the movement outside the stadiums before and after games, fans' arrival and departure to the stadiums, their accommodation in the stands, behavior of the fans during the matches and movement in the intervals of the games.

The observation period was between April and December 2013. In the meantime, we follow 18 matches, valid for the Brazil Cup, Pernambuco Championship, Brazilian Championship, South-American Cup and an international friendly (held on the inauguration of the new stadium), cobrindo the last five matches at the Aflitos Stadium and the other at the Pernambuco Arena. The observations were recorded by means of field notes, written or recorded in audio, which were transcribed in observational texts.

These data were transformed into observational texts. From these, we seek to describe in detail the spaces and activities that occurred during the collection period; is what the literature on ethnography calls dense description (PORTELLA, 2012; LAGE, 2009). This type of reporting is

the object of ethnography, which must hierarchize complex meaningful elements found by the researcher and thus seek “to perceive the interstices, the reticles, the unsaid. In a dynamic of interpretive understanding” (PORTELLA, 2012, p.61). For Geertz (1989), in a dense description it is possible to keep connected symbolic forms to the events and social occasions of the common life. To this end, the author states that

[...] the attention requirement of an ethnographic report does not rest so much on the author's ability to grasp the primitive facts and distant places and take them home as a mask or a gouge, but to the extent that he is able to clarify the which occurs in such places, to reduce perplexity - what kind of men are these? - which naturally originate the non-familiar acts that arise from unknown environments (GEERTZ, 1989, p.26).

In this research, the construction of the corpus and the analytical procedure were validated by criteria that aim to guarantee the quality of the work. For this, we use the criteria listed by Paiva Júnior, Leão and Mello (2011). The use of such criteria is very important within the qualitative research because, according to these authors,

to the extent that qualitative research develops critical reflection and accumulated knowledge, it is necessary that its researchers fail to address implicit criteria for evaluating and guiding research, ie, no longer leaving such criteria implied and likely not to be perceived or understood, in order to adopt more explicit criteria and investigation processes that allow the understanding and replication of the study (PAIVA JÚNIOR; LEÃO; MELLO, 2011, p.191).

We adopted as the first quality criteria the corpus itself: its construction took place within a period of time in which it was possible to collect and describe a rich variety of data, since we were able to follow both scheduled events (such as games of the Brazilian Championship, disputed both in the Aflitos Stadium, as in the Arena Pernambuco), as well as unscheduled events and specific circumstances - as a manifestation of fans and a game for the South American Cup, involving their local rivals Sport - thus ensuring its representativeness. Other criterion was the clear, rich and detailed description — a criterion that is directly linked to our commitment to the idea of dense description, since we safeguard the fulfillment of this criterion, seeking to look at and describe particularities of common and incidental events. The third criterion used was that of reflexivity, which refers to the self-reflexive attitude of the researcher. This criterion was present throughout the research process, which provided a constant “restructuring of the questioning process” (PAIVA JÚNIOR; LEÃO; MELLO, 2011, p 198). Finally, we also adopt triangulation, a criterion by which we try to reduce the possible contradictions in the results of the research. The specific type of triangulation used was that of researchers. In the research, all the analysis performed by one of the authors, responsible for data collection, was validated by the other.

4 RESULTS DESCRIPTION

We organized our ethnographic report by separating the descriptions made according to the locus of observation, followed by the interpretation of the findings in the light of the theoretical perspective adopted.

4.1 In the observation fields

In this section we present the reports of our observation. In the first part, we describe aspects and situations that characterize the relationship between the fans and the Aflitos Stadium, as well as of the space itself; already in the second part we describe elements of the Arena Pernambuco and of the situations promoted by the contact and occupation of the space by the blank-red supporters.

4.2 A match at the Aflitos

Given the location of the club — in Aflitos, a residential neighborhood located in the Northeastern Zone of the city of Recife - we noticed that most of the fans arrived at the stadium walking. The fans came from all sides: from the small streets near the stadium and those that lead to one of the main avenues of the neighborhood, where is located the blank-red club, the Conselheiro Rosa e Silva Avenue. It is from her that we observe the highest volume of fans arriving at the Afflicted in the matches that we accompany; this avenue, where we also arrived at the stadium, was the main point of observation.

Several were the meeting places of supporters before the matches. The fronts of the headquarters and the stadium, fast food restaurants, supermarkets and bus stops were the most common places, both for those waiting for one or more friends, and for those who made of these local points of concentration for larger groups, such as members of supporters club.

Many of the older fans wore the colors of the team from head to toe: shirt and cap of the team, worn either with a shorts with the club badge or with another clothes in white or red. These fans were more zealous for their clothes than the other fans, especially the younger ones; we found that some of these youngsters were wearing shirts of other teams, except the local ones and those whose colors were the same as those of Sport or Santa Cruz, the local rivals. Behavior and care for costumes can illustrate the long-standing relationship between older fans and the club, as many of these supporters probably attended (or still frequent) their social activities. The impression is that, for the “old guard” of the supporters, going to the field properly uniformed is like going to a social event that requires an appropriate outfit.

Along the way, we find several audiences present in the spaces involved in the daily life of a game played at the Aflitos. As they approached the stadium, the fans were confronted by the police. In addition to the common presence of the police inside the stadium, checking the fans at the entrance, and depending on the circumstances of the match and the opponent to be faced, the number of police officers was significantly higher; on the day of a match against Santa Cruz, for example, we observed a significant presence of policemen in the region, who were there to avoid possible conflicts between rival fans, especially the supporters club.

Another important public we met in the area was the street vendors. With the prohibition of selling alcoholic beverages inside the stadium, the services offered by the street vendors became the main option for those who wanted to drink beer and have a snack with friends, before the start of the game. All that was offered could be found all the way made toward the Aflitos, as at the street corners, bus stops, in front of the entrance of the clubhouse and at the

main entrance of the stadium. In spite of the visible significant demand of the fans for what was offered by the street vendors, this informal trade suffered from competition from formal points located nearby and in the club itself. The practicality, the diversity offered and, especially, the cheaper products were the strong points of the itinerants; for example, with five reais it was already possible to eat a simple skewer and have a beer at the entrance of the stadium, minutes before starting the game. But part of the supporters, however, was not a user of these services; many of them opted for bakeries, snack bars, restaurants and fast foods.

In this same space of action of the street vendors, we found the money changers, who apparently worked without any problems near the box office of the club. These money changers were walking down the Aflitos neighbourhood, in the quest to offer tickets to fans beyond the reach of competitors or even to avoid possible punishment; so it was quite common, as we saw on the days of the matches against Santa Cruz and Portuguesa, in which a significant audience was already expected, the approach of money changers hundreds of meters away from the stadium.

Options were also offered at the club's premises for those who were waiting for the games to begin. Beers were not sold inside the stadium, but at the clubhouse premises, in a bar; this fact can be understood as a timely interpretation adopted that allowed to circumvent the state prohibition. This bar is located in a space of the headquarters, in which there was a big screen transmitting the games, causing that many fans chose to watch the matches there.

Near this bar and other club facilities we find one of the accesses to the stadium, apparently used by the club members that chose to enter the headquarters and, from these, we observe that many are elderly, who attend the games predominantly at the Chairs, area of the stadium located in the central region of the countryside, on the opposite side of what we will call here the Central Bleachers.

The other access is the main entrance of the stadium. In this entrance, we find three accesses signaled, but only one of them separated from the others by physical obstacles, such as walls and grids; the first one marked "Credentials/Authorities/Press" and the other two as "All with the Invoice"¹ and "Náutico's Supporters Ticket". These divisions, however, do not separate the supporters definitively, because in the inner space all meet to have access to the field.

In this common area, we find one of the stadium's bars, which sell water and soda; there, we found some vendors authorized to trade snacks. It is in this space that fans often find their acquaintances and interact there, before being separated by the partitions of the stadium. On the day of the match against Crac, from the state of Sergipe — valid for the Brazilian Cup —, held in the early evening, we could see in this space fans who, coming directly from work, stopped there to make a quick snack before the start of the game. This small space was still used by the broadcasting teams of the games to park the vehicles with antennas.

In the access to the field, the only apparent division that existed was that one that, in a side, get part of the supporters to the Chairs (access that is closer to the seat) and, on the other side, there was the entrance to the All with the Invoice grandstand for the Central Bleachers. This access was shared by the fans of the two spaces, divided by a fence, so that only those with tickets to the Central Bleachers could have access to the space.

In addition to the description of the spaces outside the stadium, we can divide the spaces found within the Estádio dos Aflitos and their respective occupants. Some club members, officers, and counselors were located in the Chairs, a space where a young supporter — who took the role of "guide" in our first visit to the Aflitos — referred to as "old men space". This space was

¹ It was a program of the Government of the State of Pernambuco that allows the exchange of invoices for points that can be used in exchange for tickets for games and other events.

closer to the place where players enter the field and were the most expensive tickets of the stadium. On the opposite side, in the Central Bleachers, were “ordinary” fans, who bought tickets, either by making use of the half-ticket benefit (available to club members and for students) or buying the ticket in full. On the side of the stadium earmarked for the All with the Invoice program were those who were able to exchange their program points for game tickets; it is in this space, for example, that the supporters club were found. However, it was not an exclusive space, since those fans who bought tickets from the bleachers could stay there. On the opposite side of this sector of the Aflitos was the space destined for the rival fans and a small space, closer to the end of the Chairs sector that was destined for blank-red supporters; apparently, sought out this space those people who did not like to stay in the heaviest parts of the bleachers, such as old people and couples.

In these spaces, as well as in the areas outside the stadium, we could observe the fans interacting, either in small groups — in conversations among friends, for example — or in situations in which there was a significant participation of the collective. An example of the most expressive of this type of interaction is the classic cheerleading (“N, A, U, T, I, C, O! Náutico! Náutico! Náutico!”) That, although it can be sung on the streets, in public transport and in the course of departure, is more expressive when sung at the beginning of the game; is the song that wakes the fans and the team.

With the approaching start of the match, most of the audience begins to arrive. Meanwhile, those who were already in the stands expect the beginning of the game usually speaking; when they are in a group of people already known, the themes of the conversations are more varied; but for those going alone to the stadium, team performance was the theme of the conversation that united the fans. In our observations on the bleachers, for example, it was quite common to see nearby fans start the conversation with those at the side.

For those who chose not to leave the venue in the busy bleachers to buy something to eat or drink in the stadium snack bars, sellers allowed to sell on stadium premises were the option, since the risk of losing their place in the stands in days of major games was huge. Sodas, water, popsicles and peanuts were the most served; in some cases, the relationship between the customer and the merchant was ancient, since some sellers were called by their names.

During the waiting period of the beginning of the game, everyone was seated. But the majority stood up at the beginning of the game: the blank-red team was received by the clapping of hands and with most of the fans standing. Even on the days of the games in which the fans were unmotivated, since the fans were often disbelieving at what they were about to see, the start of matches was similar; whether the game was animated or not, the blank-red battle cry was sung before the ball rolled. Not to mention the fans attending the game in the Chairs sector, most of those present stood for much of the game. Many even attended the match standing at the grating that separated the fans from the field, and there they shouted for the team, the coach or the flag. In the Central Staircase, at its lowest levels - we considered here as the lowest level that aligned approximately at the level of the field -, the height of the step was lower, making it not possible to sit with comfort.

During the match, an important thermometer of the game’s atmosphere began to work: the sit and stand of the supporters. In the calmer situations of the game (uninteresting or apathetic), the supporters sat; however, at critical or tense moments, such as a threatening counter-attack or a foul to be charged at the entrance of the opposing team area, and in times of ecstasy and expectation such as a goal or the final minutes that decree victory time, the supporters stand. In this dynamic, chants — such as “Let’s win, Náutico!” — worked as motivators, both

for the team on the pitch and for the fans. Guided by the supporters club, the rest of the fans responded; in one of the most interesting moments observed, a sequence was produced by the battery of one of the supporters club and, immediately, the other fans reproduced with clapping, forming a dynamic between the fans.

The atmosphere of the exit of the stadium was often linked to the result of the match. In our collection period in the Aflitos, we did not see any euphoric exit; even in the victory of Náutico over his tricolor rival was not so much enthusiasm, as the final score (2 to 1) was not enough for the blank-red team to qualify for the final of the Pernambuco Championship. In the other situation of victory (against Ypiranga, for the Pernambuco Championship), as the game did not have great importance, the apparent sensation of the fans was to be satisfied with the scoreboard; it was a quiet escape at the end of it all.

To the fans who live near the Aflitos, the return was obviously brief. For some, the time spent in the outbuildings of the club was expanded, because going to the bar of the club headquarters was an option to sit and drink beer and talk about the match with friends or simply to buy something and go home. Others chose to “stretch” the end of the game in establishments located on the outskirts of the stadium; those who took their children to the stadium, for example, the day of game ended in the nearby fast food restaurants and fast food restaurants.

The way home was longer for others. Those who used public transportation followed to their bus stops; the closest ones were a few meters from the Náutico headquarters, located on Rosa e Silva Avenue and Amélia Street; others were more distant, such as Rui Barbosa Avenue, Governador Agamenon Magalhães Avenue and Derby Square.

4.3 A match at the Arena

Located on the banks of the BR-408, in the currency of São Lourenço da Mata, Arena Pernambuco is today, in the middle of nowhere; a scenario quite different from the densely urbanized area in which the head office of the Clube Náutico Capibaribe is located. The way for those who chose to go to Arena via public transportation was the metro-bus system. Considering the proximity of the neighborhood of the Aflitos with Agamenon Magalhães Avenue, those fans who live near the old stadium had the option of starting their route to the Arena following by this avenue, by bus, to the Joana Bezerra Integration Terminal. There, the final destination was the closest stations to the Arena.

On the day of the inauguration, for example, for a good number of fans, the trip to the Arena was, at least in the impressions that passed us, the first experience of using public transportation; the suspicion and certain fear were visible: one could see in the conversations about the metro and the accommodation of the wagons, in the concern in knowing which station to disembark (and not lose sight of it, in the maps of the scattered stations, and in the arrival at each station), and in the photographic registers and social networks of the new experience; printed on the face of many fans (especially the female ones) was the astonishment with the amount of people — and, on the way back, with the time and concern for violence.

Despite the operation of the Cosme & Damião Station, the point of connection between the subway and the Arena became the Integrated Passenger Terminal (TIP), from where the fans departed for the Arena, and disembarked there on the BR-408. The Cosme & Damião Station was used in special situations. As an example of this, we can highlight the day of departure between Náutico and Sport, valid for the South-American Cup: to avoid potential clashes between the supporters club of the two teams, the one of the Sport traveled, via subway, the stretch between

the Joana Bezerra and Cosme & Damião stations, following via bus for the Arena; meanwhile, the Náutico's supporters club landed at the Rodoviária station.

TIP has become an important meeting place for fans, since it was there that most fans who went to the Arena via public transport had to go. On game days, the terminal was dressed in red and white: coming mainly from the subway station, the fans were coming. The arrival of the supporters club was easily noticed, since the small groups of them arrived singing their songs from the arrival at the station and from there to the integrated terminal, they jumping and singing in the eyes of the other passersby and the police. Still in the integrated terminal, we found two publics that interacted, directly or indirectly, with the fans. Like every place with a great circulation of people and thanks to the presence of fans in large numbers — mainly supporters club — military police were always present. These were also present in the subway stations, where we could see the action of these police officers in the organization of wagons and in the process of appeasing the members of supporters club. In one of the trips to TIP by way of subway, we could see, for example, a situation in which passengers from one of the cars were transferred to another, because the wagon in which they were occupied exclusively by members of supporters club. From the start of the games at the Arena to the end of the year, other audiences — the coaches at the terminal — gave the fans the information they needed to continue the journey to the finish point. The advisers also sought to order the fans to enter the buses that would follow to the Arena.

The other way to get to the Arena is by private transport. For the fans who chose this way, the Arena made their own parking areas available. The ample space has specific areas destined for cars, motorcycles, buses and vans, for which different prices are charged. The right of access to places can be bought in advance, such as tickets for games, at the various points of sale of the club and Arena Pernambuco. During the collection days, we identified some alternatives to the use of the Arena parking lot. We got to see the use of a cleared area within the limits of the Arena and the BR-408, but this alternative was quickly discovered and eliminated probably by management Arena. Another example of an option came to our attention: a steakhouse located on BR-408, near the Arena. This restaurant has become an option for many fans who, besides being able to park for a cheaper price than the one charged at the Arena, could have lunch or dinner there before departure. We saw this practice in games played in the afternoon, when it was possible to see a significant amount of alcohol occupying the tables of the enclosure.

Although used to the traditional structure of Brazilian stadiums ("bleachers", "social", "chairs" and "general"), as it was in the Estádio dos Aflitos, the fans found a bigger structure and a proposal of space distinction. In general, with the exception of the lower ring of the western sector (the Premium Seats) and the baignoires, the other areas of the Arena offer the same structure of cafeterias, bathrooms and access. However, a pricing policy was created which, over the course of the game season, was changed, taking into account the nature of the game and, as seen in the last games of the year, the team's bad campaign and consequently, the search for tickets.

The more expensive tickets were destined to the Premium chairs and the baignoires, since they had a own policy of price, being possible the rent by season. These spaces were offered for both the blank-red supporters and the general public; in some occasions, it was possible to see flags and fans of the visiting teams in the sector of the chairs. On the day of the game against Sport, for example, we could see that some baignoires, located on the opposite side of those occupied by the blank-red supporters, were used by the red-black supporters.

In other places, the lower ring of the eastern zone of the Arena was the most sought by the fans, having as second alternative the lower ring of the south zone. The upper ring, in most games, was destined for those users of All with the Uncome program and, varying between the

lower and upper rings, the north zone of the stadium was where the visiting supporters were.

In the sector destined to All with the Invoice program was where they predominantly concentrated the supporters club. As the location of the users of the program began to vary widely, the presence of the fans did not have a fixed position in the Arena; however, we could observe that the one that is probably the biggest supporters club, the Fanático — at least the best known one — was positioned in the center of the sector, while the others were located at the extremities.

The lower ring of the east sector is geographically equivalent to the Central Bleacher of the Aflitos Stadium, as it is on the opposite side to the accesses of the Prime area, and it was here that most of the “ordinary” supporters opted for go. As in the Aflitos, there is not a sector in the Arena for the member’s club; they could allegedly purchase discounted tickets in all sectors of the Arena; however, the eastern sector was the most sought after. The southern sector was the second option of the “ordinary” supporters; in the games of the Brazilian Championship, this sector was generally offered by the lower value charged in the Arena.

We observed that the architecture of the Arena was adapted, aiming to promote the separation of spaces, common in the reality of Brazilian football. The Arena had its spaces separated by grids, which prevented an individual who bought a ticket from one sector go to another. Such action was taken after the first two games held at the Arena; in the first game (the inauguration of the space), the problem was more evident, as many fans bought tickets to the east sector, which were occupied by others who bought tickets from other sectors.

The portion of the fans who arrived earlier at the Arena used to enjoy the space before the start of the matches. Many of them circulated around the Arena facilities and took photos in their surroundings; others took the opportunity to grab a bite and talk about amenities.

The big screens entertained fans from the opening day of the Arena: groups of friends waved at the camera and couples kissed when they were focused. On the big screens were also passed to the fans various informations about the Arena.

From the information transmitted on the big screens, in all the games (and in a few days, we noticed that it was transmitted more than once) a welcome video of the Arena was played for the fans; in it, a brief history of the Aflitos was transmitted, in which were shown important moments of the team and the old stadium, as well as important players and the party of the fans; the video ended up showing the Arena as the new home of Náutico. Although we do not know the official reasons for the constant display of the video before the games, it is clear that its role is linked to the goal of making Arena a special space for the fans, showing that it is their new home, however, without disrespecting the memory of the supporter and its relationship with the old stadium. We saw this effort by the management of the Arena to transform it into a space legitimized by the fans — and, in this way, take them to the field, which would increase their revenues with the increase of the public and the services offered in the Arena.

Big screens helped announce that the match was about to begin. Minutes before the match, we could see the teams’ lineups and the refereeing trio. Until shortly before the relegation of the team — although, mathematically, the blank-red team was already relegated rounds before the end of the championship —, the moment of presentation of the escalation of the players were remarked with enthusiasm by the speaker of Arena, a character quite present in the course of departure. With the commencement of the announcer’s work, it was known then that the match was about to begin; for those who were still standing, it was time to find the best seat.

We also observed different ways that the fans adopted to watch the game. Almost all spectators watched the game sitting. The architecture of the Arena allows, in any seat, the fan to have a complete view of the field. But some fans still preferred to watch the game next to the small

wall of protection, which separates the public from the field. In addition to these, the supporters club also remained standing during the game, in the middle of the bleachers. The stance of these supporters was strongly opposed by the organization of the Arena, represented in the dependencies by advisors and private security — two acting publics during the games — that sought to control this situation. Over time, control became more subdued, allowing the manifestations of the supporters club and the permanence of those posted on the walls of the stands. But, at the height of animosity, the officers entered the camp with the help of the military police, when necessary.

As in the Aflitos, the “sit and stand” dynamic was present in the Arena — although in the Arena, the reaction of the fans was more visible, since most of the fans remained seated: the fans stood up to accompany critical moments of the match and, at the time of the goal, the fans did not hold in the chairs. In the first victory of Náutico in the Arena, against Internacional (3-0), it was the first time that the majority remained standing, tense, awaiting the end of the game. However, due to the bad campaign of the team, standing during the game meant leaving the field earlier; some fans, near the end of the match — and, as in a good part of the games played there, next to another defeat of the team —, they moved to the entrance of the bleachers and there used to see the end of the game, in hope of some reaction of the blank-red team; but with the final whistle, it was time to return.

We also observed the question of time in the Arena. Unlike what happened in Estádio dos Aflitos, where the time of the fan’s stay around the game climate could be extended within the club’s facilities, we observed that in the Arena the time of living in the environment closes briefly, because there were no attractive attractions nearby; the process of returning home had begun. Now, at the Arena, the distance was not easily beaten on a walk.

Among the three ways that the supporters had to leave the Arena, we note that for those who opted for the car trip, return meant deal with the traffic on the highway, caused often by themselves, on leaving the Arena. For the few who used the steakhouse we talked about as a parking option, the trip to the Arena could end, depending on the time of departure, in a dinner with friends and family.

There was still the taxi option. As was usual, when the end of the match was approaching, the announcer of the Arena informed that the blank-red supporters would be the first to leave, and also informs that the taxi stand is in the northern sector of the Arena. With the end of the match between Nautico and Vasco da Gama, the fans began to leave quite angry with another defeat suffered from the team.

For those who would use public transportation, the final whistle started a race to the bus stop. Thousands walked to where they were left on arrival at the Arena; as we described earlier, the integrated bus and subway system underwent several changes aimed at improving the service. In each modification of the adopted procedure, problems in the implantation appeared, generating confusion and indignation among the passengers. However, these problems only affected the first phase of the trip, because when arriving at the integration terminal, the rest of the trip was quieter.

4.4 In field with theory

Regarding the situations presented throughout the previous section, we show that, in addition to the change itself, involving Aflitos Stadium and Arena Pernambuco, there have been changes involving the fans and their relation to the two spaces. And, with the comparison between the two spaces, we observe the meeting between a traditional and historically constructed view along the presence of the blank-red supporters at Aflitos Stadium, and, on the other side, a space that possesses, in the same way, its rules, but which at that time, although known,

were strange and, mainly, not legitimized by the fans. We emphasize first that our ethnographic account of the practices of fans in spaces known to them corroborate the location assumed here within the approaches of the CCT: sociocultural aspects of a community of fans were evidenced from consumption practices.

In analyzing the relationship between the spaces and the fans, we can see, using the theoretical support based on Augé (2012), that the history of the club, built over the years in the neighborhood of the Aflitos, makes the stadium a Place recognized by its fans. Thus, because we identify that the whole act of going to the game in the Estádio dos Aflitos also involves a relationship of the fans with the streets and other spaces present in the vicinity of the stadium, the notion of Place can be extended beyond the boundaries of the field. Signs of this relationship between the fans and the stadium are seen as we can identify elements and characteristics with relational, identity and historical traits. Such traits are evidenced in the fact that most of the fans seem to come from the neighbourhood; in the consumption practices of the members in the headquarters of the club and of the other fans in the entrance of the stadium; in the interaction of the fans with other publics (police officers, money changers and vendors, for example) present in the Aflitos Stadium and nearby; and in the cordiality among the fans in the historically demarcated spaces within the stadium. In addition, the very relationship between the club and the neighborhood itself illustrates the historical character of the place, since the club has been the scene of the social life of the residents of that region over the years. This relationship also illustrates the relational character, since aspects related to traditional families and to the origins of an aristocracy society of Pernambuco are symbolized in the club.

In turn, in front of the features that characterize the existing tie between the blank-red supporters and the Aflitos Stadium, the Arena Pernambuco was seen only like a modern space; a novelty for the Náutico's and the Pernambuco's football fans. Arena Pernambuco entered the history of the fans as a strange space. And, since this space does not have any kind of tie — not only with Náutico fans but also with Pernambuco society — it can be understood as a Non-Place. According to Augé's approach (2012), this is a type of space that is a product of the so-called supermodernity, here illustrated by the new scenario of Brazilian football, which came to the country with the organization of the World Cup. This question illustrates the absence of historical and identity traits between the fans and the social space.

In the same way that the streets near the Aflitos Stadium are occupied in days of games can be seen as the extension of the own club, the ways made in the way to the Arena reveal to us the extension of the Arena to the urban equipment of mobility, like the subway (another Non-Place). The internal signaling of the subway communicates, for those who do not know in which station to descend, the necessary information; is the interface between the Non-Place and the passenger in operation.

The form of occupation of the spaces also shows us particularities in the relationship between the fans and the spaces. With regard to elements that configure a certain space as an Anthropological Place, an example that shows the historical trait of the Aflitos Stadium is present in the walls of space: at the entrance of the stadium and the pilasters of support of one of the bleachers, we observed the presence of names of fans who, in club history, have collaborated directly or indirectly in the reforms that the stadium has passed over the years; these are possible links between families from the region and the club, from which new generations of fans are influenced directly (by parents and older relatives), keeping the tradition of a family. The identity trait appears around the rituals and habits of the supporters at the Aflitos: we have in social practices, in the shared spaces and in the way the fans relate to the stadium, processes of identification that make (or constitute) the blank-red identity (or what is to be).

Although such practices have been took to the Arena, their manifestations are influenced by the new practices — and especially by the rules of conviviality — present in the new stadium. The Arena reproduces its information — informative, prescriptive and prohibitive (AUGÉ, 2012) —, in addition to less significant means, but which fulfill its role, such as printed reports and signs in the Arena Pernambuco, from two interfaces which we consider here as the main ones: the big screens and the guiding agents. These two elements had a constant role in the dissemination and maintenance of the rules of conduct of the space. The screens, in turn, are worth a highlight at the moment. Although we do not know the official reasons for the constant display of a video before the games — in which images of the Estádio dos Aflitos were shown and the Arena was presented like “new home” —, it is evident that its paper is linked to the objective of making the Arena Pernambuco a special space for the fans, showing that there is their new home, however, without disrespecting the memory of the supporter and its relationship with the old stadium.

With the passing of the matches, however, we noticed that the fans began to learn how to deal with the new space. On the one hand, the characteristics of the Arena Pernambuco and, especially, the new habits implanted there, began to be understood. On the other hand, we identified the transfer of old habits of the fans, characteristic of their presence in the Estádio dos Aflitos, which led to the adaptation of rules and the space occupation of the new arena. Realizing that the Arena Pernambuco is a modern space, the fans used the physical characteristics of the space to illustrate the superiority of the arena, even without showing any connection between it and this space. In this process of transformation, we observed the presence of old habits of the fans: we saw situations that portrayed the fan daily naturalized actions and the football environment that were not suddenly left in the old space to give way to new practices linked to the Arena Pernambuco. These old habits represented the identity bond present in the relationship between the supporters club and the Aflitos, and they encountered obstacles in the rules of conduct of the arena. The indications of this beginning of recognition could be seen as that the fans were adapting to the rules of the space and becoming acquainted with the divisions of the Arena; we can understand these points as the emergence of an identity trait in the relationship between the fans and the space. This recognition on the part of the fans was accompanied by a gradual change from the point of view that the fans used to see the Arena Pernambuco: the sphere of meanings that the fan used in the passion was replaced, in some situations, by a more impartial view, the that allowed to see the arena of another way, allowing the beginning of the construction of bonds between the fans and the new space.

5 CONCLUSION: TWO MAGICAL SPACES?

“From the union of two magical colors, strength and race were born. Red de fighting; white of peace”. This is how the Náutico’s anthem begins, building a meaning for the team colors. Can we extend this magic to the analyzed spaces? We had the Aflitos Stadium as the space loaded with ties of identity and history with the fans, and the Arena Pernambuco as a space that represented the novelty, the fruit of a new scenario of brazilian football. But these aspects are being re-significated and generating (becoming) new colors, not so clear, not so pure. Can not we say that the Arena will one day have the same color(s) of the Aflitos — we can not even wait? But just as we can not say whether the Arena Pernambuco will be a space recognized and legitimized by the blank-red supporters at the height of the Aflitos, we can also speculate if this one will not only become a monument described by history, without concrete identity ties for future fans.

As a limitation of the research, we point out the broad physical dimension of the two observation *loci*. In spite of the effort to try to observe different spaces throughout the games that we accompany during the period of data collection, it is inevitable that we have lost specific circumstances. However, the observation that the rituals and behaviors of occupation and use of spaces were repeated in the fieldwork period leads us to understand that it was possible to capture the way they are symbolized.

The present study seeks to contribute to the knowledge about an important — but commonly unexplored — sphere of Brazilian society: the symbolic constructions related to soccer, which affect affective ties and identity positions. In addition, this is an initial effort to understand the cultural implications related to the act of supporting in the new arenas, derived from the much-propagated legacy of the World Cup.

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