

Youth culture, production of feelings, and expression of affections: “Zico guerrilla” in the streets of Juiz de Fora¹

Cultura jovem, produção de sentidos e expressão de afetos: “Zico guerrilha” pelas ruas de Juiz de Fora

Culturas juveniles, la producción de significado y la expresión de afecto: “Zico guerrilla” por las calles de Juiz de Fora

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Abstract *Youth cultures are built based on the formation of a social bond that has the city as a medium of communication. The urban space becomes a place of interaction in which symbolic constructions work in the configuration of identities and affections from a sense of belonging. In this article, we notice that the repetition of a symbolic image of an idol, the footballer Zico, through urban artistic interventions, acts as an aggregating element of identification and affection for a group of residents in the city of Juiz de Fora.*

Keywords: *Youth cultures; urban art; expression of affection; Zico; Juiz de Fora.*

Resumo *As culturas jovens constroem-se partindo da formação de um laço social que tem a cidade como meio de comunicação. O espaço urbano torna-se*

¹ The initial version of this article was presented at the round table Communication, Art, and City of the VII Forum of Debates of Peoples and Cultures of the Americas – Cities in Debate, which took place in 2013 at the State University of Rio de Janeiro.

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local de interação no qual construções simbólicas trabalham na configuração de identidades e afetos, de um sentimento de pertencimento. Neste artigo, observamos que a repetição de uma imagem simbólica de um ídolo, o jogador de futebol Zico, por meio de intervenções artísticas urbanas, funciona como elemento agregador de identificação e de afeto para um grupo de moradores de Juiz de Fora.

Palavras-chave: *Culturas jovens; arte urbana; expressão de afetos; Zico; Juiz de Fora.*

Resumen *Las culturas jóvenes se construyen a partir de la formación de un lazo social que tiene la ciudad como un medio de comunicación. El espacio urbano se convierte en lugar de la interacción en lo cual las construcciones simbólicas trabajan en la configuración de las identidades y las emociones, de uno sentimiento de pertenencia. En este artículo, observamos que la repetición de una imagen simbólica de un ídolo, el futbolista Zico, a través de intervenciones artísticas urbanas, actúa como elemento agregador de identificación y de afecto para un grupo de residentes de Juiz de Fora.*

Palabras clave: *Culturas juveniles; arte urbano; expresión del afecto; Zico; Juiz de Fora.*

Submission date: 09/03/2014

Acceptance date: 08/12/2014

Introduction

Social space, a place of belonging, the contemporary city constitutes a crossroads of cultures and it rises as an important object of research in the scope of the debates related to the constitution of contemporary social relations. Under the effects of an economic and medially globalized world, the city builds its local characteristics based on a mixture of physical and symbolic boundaries based on imagination and daily life of its residents and of information and experiences of people who come from outside and that add elements to the local “culture”. It is a dialogic, dialectical space, but the protests and demonstrations that have taken place in the streets of large Brazilian cities have made them also be viewed as a place of struggle, dispute, and confrontation.

Addition, actually, is a good word to use when one reflects on the urban space: the layers of voices, polyphony—as stated by Canevacci (1993)—add up and overlap in the city’s construction. The city is, in fact, a privileged stage where the difference manifests itself locally. These layers refer both to the architecture, the ruins of cities previously established in the same place, as much as to the layers of cultural information of the different origins that are added, merge, and even the voices of different social groups who come and settle there. All these layers and voices dialectically interact and constantly are entering into conflict. So we can observe the protests instead of from a pessimistic perspective, from “the angle of the conflict’s sociologically positive character” (Simmel, 1983, p.123), as one who understands that from the confrontational interaction may also arise interesting negotiations for society.

It is with this perspective that this article is built: a look at the artistic interventions in urban space, mix of transgression and collective representation of values, ideas, feelings, worldviews, conflicts but also fashions and “trends”. A fruit of “youth cultures” that point to the city as media and medium of communication of values, these interventions synthesize worldviews, *l’air du temps*.

In this text, specific interventions were studied about the use of stickers with the image of the former footballer Zico. Pasted on walls, poles, public places of the city of Juiz de Fora in Minas Gerais, for some these images of an “idol” are bothersome because they invade the public space, while for others they are an addition because they bring together fans of a footballer of an important team and of the national Brazilian football team.

In terms of methodology, observation began of *stickers sur place*, or in other words of their placement around the city. A documentary study was also used that gathered media materials and finally an interview was conducted with their author. Our theoretical framework is based on reading authors such as Canevacci, Simmel, and Le Breton to think about how artistic interventions build processes of significance and can work in the production of feelings and in the expression of affections in the urban space.

The city as a space for communication

Many times thought of in economic terms—in accordance with Weber’s (1973) and Simmel’s (1973) approaches—the city, besides being an architectural, urban space, it is a place of cultural and social issues and is a complex space for communication. In a certain sense, it is actually around communication that the city can be read. As Caiafa wrote, “the city was constituted as an outward appearance, as an exposition” (2007, p.119). A place where the different, the foreigner is seen and meshes.

Robert Park (1973) showed that in the 1930s there were ethnic lines raised in Chicago that delimited worlds whose codes functioned as true identity barriers. The notion of a marginal man started with him, whose definition opened a horizon for the analyses centered on the interactions of the social types that inhabit the city. This look on the outside appears in Caiafa’s reading when he writes that “in cities a powerful external space is generated in contrast to the interior of the enclosed spaces of family and provincial media. A space that precisely receives

these strangers, who come from outside, but also from the city itself since it is as exterior” (CAIAFA, 2007, p.119).

This game of amalgams between inside and outside, interior and exterior, identity and otherness, forge the shifts that explain the identity transformations. The metropolis is multiple in urban and social realities, in memories, languages, and special representations of the various groups or individuals who form it. Its residents are affected by this multiplicity while at the same time set the dynamics of this process. This perspective is consistent with the thinking of Simmel when he writes that “the psychological basis of the metropolitan type of individuality consists in the intensification of nervous stimuli that result in sudden and uninterrupted change between external and internal stimuli” (1973, p. 12).

The amount of stimuli that the metropolis causes, while it can be stunning, does generate a search for relationship bonds and sociability. A sociability that Simmel calls “superficial” and that “keeps itself from the clashes with reality through a merely formal relationship with it” (1983, p.169).

Thus, individually or collectively, life in urban areas imply in sociability, affection and disaffection, construction of emotions, and their expression. Le Breton sums up this thought when he wrote that “man is emotionally present in the world. Existence is a continuous thread of feelings more or less alive or diffuse that can change and contradict themselves over time and depending on the circumstances” (2009, p. 111). Man is also affectionately in the city, even if his attitude is *blasé*, stunned by so many impulses.

The affections resulting from the social relationships combine to favor the look of urban space as well as media space, convergence, and intercultural aspects that maintain, however, bonds of belonging and of affection. The city rises as an object that admits a chorus of many voices. As Canclini wrote when thinking about the urban ideal models “the city becomes denser when loaded with heterogeneous fantasies. The city that is scheduled to operate and designed in a grid, spills over, and

multiplies into individual and collective fictions” (2007, p.107). The city therefore becomes cities, receiving as many as are the voices in it if they want to listen. There are as many cities as there are points of view.

A place of affection, of communication, of large spaces, and not always well defined in terms of function, large cities also become *locus* of the meeting of young people. These groups emerged throughout the twentieth century in several cities, a series of cultural aesthetic manifestations and bodily rich such as graffiti, hip-hop, funk, break dance, and the recent “passinho do menor” in Rio de Janeiro. These physical and symbolic spaces, *à la fois*,

are venues for large groups of teenagers and students to come together and they mark the festive recovery of the street as a place of articulation of social relations; they are areas of immediate interaction. The corners are the “private” space of young people. There they meet, take possession of the territory, build their identity, leave their marks, explain their ideas, exercise aesthetic sensibility, and occupy the city. (OLIVEIRA, 2007, p. 67-68)

The meeting of groups around a practice of sports, body, or aesthetics generates interaction, conflict, and identification, which, in a word, produces effervescence. People experience situations and sensations in a group through a shared effervescence. As Maffesoli would say, “community of ideas, impersonal concerns, and stability of the structure that overcomes the peculiarities of individuals are some of the group’s essential characteristics that are based mostly on a shared feeling” (1987, p.138).

From this perspective, the city is also a physical space in which groups meet, share, come together, and express themselves. It is the place of art in the street. “The city and its streets are a space of visibility and convergence of multiple orders where interaction takes place between colonial and post-modern, traditional and technological, direct contact and highly mediatized. In this urban environment, art occupies places that are not always conventional (...) and may be in unusual public spaces

and take over the square as a place for live art as well” (Siqueira, 2009, p. 119).

Urban and youth interventions in JF

Everyone has an intervention on the city, whether intentionally or not. The interventions of young people portray symbolically, “the visual history of our time, document situations, lifestyles, highlight social and ritual actors, show and feed imaginations, affections, relationships, fears, desires, and frustrations” (OLIVEIRA, 2007 p. 70). Daily practices strengthen the construction of identities and of group affiliations that resist homogenization and indifference of the media society.

The sticker gains ground among the many forms of art used by groups of young people to organize sociability and belongings, symbolic appropriations, and recognition of identities, along with sharing aesthetics.

A continuation of graffiti, the sticker (or wheat paste-up, as it is also known referring to its traditional format in popular culture) recently invaded the streets of large cities. Linked to graphic arts, the stickers are small pieces of adhesive paper or plastic produced by hand and in sufficient number to be spread throughout the city, creating routes, territorial appropriation, and recognition in different neighborhoods. (OLIVEIRA, 2007, p. 70).

With the ease of application and the versatility of the technique, the sticker can occupy unusual places that are not very suitable for graffiti, for example. The technique “represents a new branch of do-it-yourself philosophy. There is no size limit, and the figures are made either by pen, xerox, silkscreen, or plastic paints, giving it a strong connection with the graphic arts” (OLIVEIRA, 2007, p. 70).

Similar to graffiti, the sticker begins in a more or less refined process of producing a drawing. However, different than graffiti that requires time for its execution, the wheat paste-up is applied quickly and therefore can be glued discreetly. Its durability tends to be shorter than graffiti because the paper is less resistant than the paint made on a wall; however, graffiti

can be covered by other layers of graffiti or posters while the sticker sometimes last years.

Regardless of the technique used, the form adopted, the relationship between young people and the city through urban art must be understood within the scope of culture where identities are built through experiences shared in everyday practices. The symbolic universe of these daily practices is part of the common imagination of the groups and subjects, and therefore reinforces the feeling of belonging.

The imaginary model, the symbolic appropriations, and aesthetic relations involved there point to active subjects who take actions in the city, resignify form and content, express themselves through their bodies, as well as on storefronts, the posts, and urban walls. This way it is possible to capture the meanings that the cultural forms take on for individuals, as well as symbolic dimensions and the models that are articulated through the images and actions. (OLIVEIRA, 2007, p. 65)

If the imaginary model is based on symbolic appropriations of the “real”, the perception of reality that the individuals have is influenced by codes taken on during the socialization process, which means that the discourses present in social interactions eventually designate some keys of preferred reading about reality. It is always within a shared social space that certain interpretations of the world are imposed on others, and therefore identities (of individuals, groups, or geographical areas) should also be thus explained. According to Berger and Luckmann, “identity is of course a key element of subjective reality, and, just as all subjective reality, a dialectical relationship can be found with society” (BERGER and LUCKMANN, 1995, p. 228).

The city of Juiz de Fora in the state of Minas Gerais, located on the border with the State of Rio de Janeiro—and a source of several studies on its so-called “identity crisis” as done by Musse (2008) and Rodrigues and Faria (2012)—is known to have an identity marked by a sense of being on a border (in which it is something and is its otherness at the same time). The relation of affection with characters and situations of Rio de Janeiro are strong with the city residents. So it seems consistent then, in

this context, for an urban artistic intervention from Juiz de Fora to have as its theme a football player from a club from the city of Rio de Janeiro.

When using symbols to rescue personalities and worldviews, young people come together in bonds of belonging and identity built in these interactions among residents that have the same emotional relationship with the myth portrayed. The intent is to try to rebuild this path of belongings by studying the images pasted on the city's walls. Thus, in an inter-cultural urban space where art is revealed as multiple, it is interesting to analyze the symbolic ransom of the former football player Zico throughout the streets of Juiz de Fora.

Football, Zico, and the production of meaning

Arthur Antunes Coimbra, known as Zico, played professional football between the years 1971 and 1994. Although he has been retired as a player for over twenty years, he is still considered the greatest idol of the Clube de Regatas do Flamengo from Rio de Janeiro and one of the top athletes of the Brazilian national team in the 1970s and 1980s. Many fans till today still identify with this former athlete. As written by Helal, "Football is able to mobilize and attract thousands of people and can be understood as a cultural form that promotes the integration of the country, causing society to find a sense of wholeness rarely found and other spheres of social life" (1997, p.5).

Football enables the population and the audience of mass media to gain an approximation with national symbols. Football in Brazil, along with being a sport, is also a form of socialization of people, a highly complex system of communication of values. Da Matta had observed that "Brazilian football can be studied as being capable of causing a series of dramatizations of the social world. One of the essential features of the drama is its ability to attract attention, reveal, represent, and discover relationships, values, and ideologies that may be in a state of latency or virtuality in a given social system" (1982, p. 29).

The narratives of the life trajectories of sports idols often focus characteristics that turn them into heroes. According to Helal (2003, p.20),

Zico was the greatest idol of Brazilian football and the star of a generation of victorious players in their clubs, but who did not win a World Cup with the national team. Thus,

the narrative around Zico is part of the list of universal archetypes of heroes. It shows us that heroic acts themselves, in isolation—in this case, the victories, achievements, and goals in football—are not enough. The hero has to meet further requirements such as perseverance, determination, struggle, honesty, and unselfishness to take on this position. And Zico meets these criteria quite fully. Zico's biographies highlight the constant challenges that he overcame with the "weapons" of his personality to achieve success. (HELAL, 2003, p. 23).

The repetition of a story and the image of an above-average player representing a victorious generation to the fans of Flamengo have ended up forming a myth out of Zico. Because a myth is something real, with meaning, that conveys knowledge, the image of the player, always under construction, keeps this story up-to-date with new generations while the version of a victorious history of the Rio de Janeiro club appropriates the symbolism to strengthen its own image. The repetition of Zico's image demonstrates its validity and strengthens its explanatory value. Zico's face during his heyday with Flamengo, represents the rescue of values such as talent and effort that lead to wins and titles. An idol, with traits of a hero, a symbol, noting that "the symbol is, therefore, a representation that gives rise to a secret meaning; he is the epiphany of a mystery" (DURAND, 1988, p. 15).

"Zico guerrilla"

In December 1989, in a soccer match between Flamengo and Fluminense, Zico scored the last goal of his career for the Rio team. The match took place symbolically in Juiz de Fora. Twenty years later, in December 2009, a group of fans recalled the goal, the player, his image, and his depictions with an urban intervention in the city of Minas Gerais. In a

movement that the organizers themselves termed as “Zico Guerrilla”⁴, about one hundred images of the player’s face as it was during his peak were scattered around the city of Minas Gerais using the technique of stickers.

The “weapons” of the group’s participants, according to the video they posted on the video-sharing platform YouTube, were as follows: “spray, paper, love, and Guerilla” (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=keluIRHoBxI>). It was with these instruments that they have created, reproduced, and pasted in various parts of the city small posters painted with the image of the player’s face using spray. Due to the effect of the paint, the player’s face doesn’t have any specific traits, so what you see then is the outline with the inside painted with the player’s profile. It is an image to see and understand while walking around the city. An image that only those who know Zico can recognize it, which gives room to understand why people confused it with or turned it into Che Guevara, for example, making interventions on the group’s intervention. An open work, to remember Umberto Eco’s words.

By reproducing and pasting images of the player Zico, residents of Juiz de Fora take ownership of an event in the recent past, starting with the last goal of the player, and they rebuild their memory and bring it to the present from time to time. For this reconstruction they use the streets in places such as bus stops, trash bins, electric poles, and walls of commercial buildings, all on the main thoroughfares of the city.

The art with the face of the player, *Zico Guerrilla*, brought together several people in organized interventions. One of the organizers of the action and creator of the image, João Paulo de Oliveira, justified his choice for the footballer.

He is a symbol, like a Brazilian hero. I think it is because of that, for this identity with him, and to know that other people identify strongly with him. It’s a way for me to get closer to these people, but more than that, it is perhaps bringing them closer not only to this vision in relation to

⁴ This action was recorded on a video on YouTube’s site: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=keluIRHoBxI>.

what Zico symbolizes, but also the question of the city, urban life, at a time when we are losing some contact with the urban space. Our life is increasing in speed and this causes people sometimes to not pay attention to where they are walking, which is on streets (OLIVEIRA, J.P., 2008)⁵.

If this approach has the aim of approximation and uses the image of the sports idol to play an important role in this, the urban intervention in the form of posters pasted with the bust of the player in public spaces is also a source of conflict. The artist explains: “the pasting process bothers people. People agree with Zico, but they want to take it off because it’s wrong” (OLIVEIRA, J.P., 2008).

The painted image of Zico’s face—this iconographic symbol—consists of multiple redundancies. And this redundant copy of a face is a representation by the viewer of what the artist has represented and that aims to “populate the city”⁶. It is a humanization of the urban by an artistic strategy.

The participants of the action come together, meet peers, exercise themselves in the use of common codes, and appreciate the symbols chosen to mark the differences. And at the same time they weave a sociability network through art. Oliveira wrote the following related to this:

Graffiti and stickers are currently almost synonymous in the large urban centers and the potential of youth cultures. The fruit of daily life together includes these urban youth interventions presented in various shapes, colors, textures, content, worldviews, and imaginary worlds that make up these discourses. These youth graphic manifestations try to remove the viewer from a passive position as mere consumers, so they are, above all, invitations to meet together and dialog (Gitahy 1999: 16), and propose a discussion and interference in the architecture of metropolises. They are produced continuously by young people of various characteristics and across the city forming multiple fragmented and colored panels that give the metropolis the face of these our times. The city becomes a holder. (OLIVEIRA, 2007, p.68).

⁵ Interview available at the site: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t3VEAddIPag>.

⁶ On this, see the video “People the cities - Indifference” on YouTube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t3VEAddIPag>.

It is interesting to notice that the urban intervention extends into the space of YouTube to go beyond the frailty of the paper pasted to the post and exposed to the weather. The video *Zico Guerrilla* shows in just over four minutes a summary of the intervention: the image of Zico's last goal, the production of posters on the floor, pasting them on poles near bus stops at eye level, on trash bins, and on other urban supports of the images made with black ink on white paper. In the background Jorge Ben sings "Foul close to the goal area. Guess who will take the free kick. It's going to be number 10 from Gávea".

The pasting is done during the day when there is a lot of movement in the downtown streets with people and buses passing alongside the boys pasting the images. The process is quick and discreet, but not hidden. Av. Independência, Rua Halfeld, Av. Getúlio Vargas can be recognized in the images of the video as high-traffic spaces of the city's business area that were chosen to receive the posters.

In the commentary about the video posted, João Paulo Oliveira explains:

The video is in honor of the 20th anniversary of Zico's farewell. The match took place in Juiz de Fora on December 2, 1989. Flamengo 5x0 Fluminense. Urban guerrilla on which the posters are pasted with the Zico's face (sometimes referred to as rooster) in stencil (graffiti). The images were spread throughout the downtown part of the city of Juiz de Fora - Minas Gerais. The idea was to take advantage of the week before the last round of the Brasileirão 2009 Championship to generate a positive energy around Zico, Andrade, and Co. Incidentally, Tromba, the nickname of Flamengo's coach, is born and raised in this city! ⁷

Thus, when using the sticker as art to reproduce Zico's face along the streets of Juiz de Fora⁸, the group brings the myth of the idol, the hero,

⁷ Available on the website YouTube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ke1uIRHoBxI>.

⁸ In addition to Juiz de Fora, the group did the same in Rio and in São Paulo. "Recently I returned to SP and took a picture of Zico in its district of Liberdade. He was there on Rua Augusta and in Rio on the street up to Santa Teresa, in the district of Glória. I think I did that one in 2010" (OLIVEIRA, J.P. 2012).

back to the forefront and rescues as a winning memory for some fans who identify with the image and the meaning that it expresses.

Final considerations

Urban space is also a media space in that it exposes, shares information, codes, along with good and bad affections. In it, citizens come into conflict, find common interests, and share identities. In this context, the forms of art in the street take on the important task of forming the urban model, building ties of belonging or generating conflicts between the inhabitants and the spaces where they live.

When a group of young people come together to paste small posters with the image recreated of a former football idol, it brings rise to all these elements. It triggers the pleasure of seeing again an admired athlete; it triggers a set of representations of someone who meant emotions two decades ago; and at the same time it triggers disdain from other city residents who see in the stickers a disharmony in the urban set, something that is out of place, trash that should be cleaned and removed. So, urban art, done so without applying for a public permit, without commercial intent, generates conflict. It violates even if the object depicted is a public figure widely accepted and admired by a majority.

When living in the city, walking through its streets, to perceive it concretely every day, individuals construct representations that also stem from their life experiences, from the model on which it is consolidated, and from the narratives on which the social meanings about it are produced and shared in public space. Contact with graffiti, stickers, and other non-official manifestations, along with the statues and monuments officially planted in public spaces, has a role in building models. Graffiti and stickers are ephemeral expression of the contact with the city; statues and monuments are portraits of a time that does not pass, they are the trapping of a time gone by.

The city interferes in people's lives. It is emotionally demanding, as Simmel always reminds us. Thus, people are transformed by the agglomeration, by the speed, pollution, the need to discipline yourself and

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be on guard to protect yourself. At the same time they also transform cities. Urban interventions, activities that require working together in the production, manifest themselves in new forms of youth sociability guided more by affective affinities than by statutes. They imply in a participation, joining a “cause”—the execution of the intervention—which then can generate a result that is not lasting: graffiti fades away, can be removed, can be spray-painted over while the sticker gets wet, crumbles, and other posters can be pasted over it.

Joining residents around a creative intervention constitutes an exercise of strengthening of bonds. As Durand wrote, “reason and science only unites men to things, but what unites men among themselves, in the lowly level of happiness and daily hardships of the human race, is this affective representation because it is lived, which is the empire of the images” (1988, p. 106). The representation of the affection lived is what is going to perpetuate these works in the imagination more than the materiality of the work pasted on the wall.

Using the image of a myth—an above-average player, a “playmaker”, a hero of the football fields—has an effect on the construction/production of meanings of certain residents indicating how to recognize that manifestation. The athlete Zico has a biography that puts him as an important footballer, and this is explored in the stickers pasted up in Juiz de Fora. So, perhaps the sticker bothers people or is out of place, but what about the player, is he bothersome too? What is the place of the sticker with the player’s image?

Perhaps Maffesoli (1987) gives us a key to reflect on about these issues when he writes that “a common subjectivity, a shared passion” for the idol is what unites this “postmodern tribalism or neo-tribalism”. Even so, the joining to groups is always fleeting, there is no concrete objective in these meetings that will ensure their continuity. It has to do with networks of sporadic friendship that come together ritualistically with the sole function of reaffirming the feeling that a certain group has.

This is what we observed in the *Zico Guerrilla* intervention done in December 2009. The gathering of people in the streets of Juiz de Fora

around the reproduction of Zico's images through the art of stickers can be understood as a socializing event, of interaction, of effervescence, a reflection of youth cultures in urban interventions that produce and reproduce feelings from affections. Most of the images are no longer there. Some still remain on the city's walls. YouTube carries the record of the action.

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