



The beach as a place of memory and sociability

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Abstract

Introduction: Sport and urban space are a unique binomial. The city as a privileged place for social practices is an important mean for sports and a consequent production of memories plus more sociability.

Methodology: It includes a literature review and field research to observe the events in addition to virtual questionnaires for the subjects: amateur players and beachgoers.

Results and discussion: The beach stands out as a place of differentiation and conflict, which institutes segregated codes, norms and uses; and it is also somewhere for mediation of conflicts arising from the intensity of uses that are required for this space. Ultimately, the beach is a place of dispute for space, from work activities to sports and leisure activities. Going to the beach is an intense socializing exercise.

Theoretical and methodological contributions: Highlighting literature and field research as a support for research actions that have landscape, memory and sport as fundamental themes for thinking about the urban space, especially in places where there is use of leisure over time.

Conclusions: It is observed that the beach is a place where conflicts and disputes for space occur in an intense way, but the sociability that is formed around such a pleasant environment and focused on recreational and leisure activities also becomes a mark of identity. From Rio. Copacabana is a world reference for the volleyball practice and a venue for several international championships, including the 2016 Olympics. Thus, the shore is an important public space as a place of leisure and sociability in an urban environment.

Keywords: Volleyball. Sociability. Memory. Beach. Copacabana.

A praia como lugar de memória e formação de sociabilidades

Resumo

Introdução: Esporte e espaço urbano formam um binômio singular. A cidade como lugar privilegiado de práticas sociais possui no esporte um uso importante para a produção de memórias e para o fortalecimento de sociabilidades.

Metodologia: Inclui revisão de literatura e pesquisa de campo para observação dos eventos, além da aplicação de questionários via ambiente virtual com jogadores amadores e frequentadores da praia.

Resultados e discussão: Destaca-se a praia como lugar de diferenciação e conflito, que institui códigos, normas e usos segregados; a praia como lugar de mediações de conflitos advindos da intensidade de usos que são requeridos para esse espaço e a praia como lugar de disputa por espaço, desde atividades de trabalho às atividades de esportes e lazer. Frequentar a praia é um exercício intenso de socialização.

Contribuições teórico-metodológicas: Destacar a pesquisa de literatura e de campo como suporte para ações de investigação que tenham a paisagem, a memória e o esporte como temas fundamentais para se pensar o espaço urbano, sobretudo, em lugares onde há uso de lazer ao longo do tempo.

Conclusões: Verifica-se que a praia é um lugar onde conflitos e disputas por espaço se dão de forma intensa, mas a sociabilidade que se forma em torno de um ambiente tão agradável e voltado para atividades lúdicas e de lazer torna-se também uma marca da identidade carioca. Copacabana é uma referência mundial para a prática do vôlei, sede de campeonatos internacionais e das Olimpíadas de





2016. Assim, a orla é um espaço público importante como lugar de lazer e sociabilidade em meio urbano.

Palavras-chave: Vôlei. Sociabilidade. Memória. Praia. Copacabana.

La playa como lugar de memoria y formación de sociabilidad

Resumen

Introducción: El deporte y el espacio urbano forman un binomio único. La ciudad como lugar privilegiado para las prácticas sociales tiene un uso importante en el deporte para la producción de recuerdos y para el fortalecimiento de la sociabilidad.

Metodología: Revisión de literatura e investigación de campo para observar eventos, además de la aplicación de cuestionarios vía entorno virtual con jugadores amateurs y bañistas.

Resultados y discusión: La playa se destaca como un lugar de diferenciación y conflicto, que instituye códigos, normas y usos segregados; la playa como lugar de mediación de conflictos derivados de la intensidad de usos que se requieren para este espacio y la playa como lugar de disputa por el espacio, desde las actividades laborales hasta las actividades deportivas y de ocio.

Contribuciones teóricas y metodológicas: Destacar la literatura y la investigación de campo como soporte de acciones de investigación que tienen el paisaje, la memoria y el deporte como temas fundamentales para pensar el espacio urbano, especialmente en lugares donde hay uso del ocio en el tiempo.

Conclusiones: Se observa que la playa es un lugar donde se producen intensos conflictos y disputas por el espacio, pero la sociabilidad que se forma en torno a un entorno tan agradable y enfocado a las actividades recreativas y de esparcimiento también se convierte en una señal de identidad local. Copacabana es un referente mundial para la práctica del voleibol, sede de varios campeonatos internacionales y de las Olimpiadas de 2016. Así, la costa es un importante espacio público como lugar de esparcimiento y sociabilidad en un entorno urbano.

Palabras clave: Voleibol. Sociabilidad. Memoria. Playa. Copacabana.

1 Introduction

Thinking about the beach boardwalk of a city, with the sands and the sea as references to welcoming the population for leisure and enjoyment, is something that highly values a place, because it refers to an idea of nature, associated with something of extreme beauty and meaning for mankind. Corbin (1989, p. 39) claims that the coastal relief corresponds to the Creator's intentions: "It was God who arranged the sand on the coast so that it forms a barrier. The beaches and the dunes are not seen as the result of erosion, but as elements of an architecture, built after the deluge." In cities that have accessible beaches to the population, the sands and the sea are associated, still, with sidewalks, bicycle paths, and with a range of activities that make the whole environment particularly dynamic and valuable. The city of Rio de Janeiro is well known for its extensive and exuberant coastline, and for Copacabana beach, one of the most remembered beaches - one of the most praised for its set. No wonder it was declared as cultural urban landscape by the World Heritage (United Nations, 2017).

Considering that, this article highlights the Rio de Janeiro beach boardwalk, with its many beaches, to approach the social relationships that are formed, from the most conflictive, characterized as a dispute over space, to those that are developed with the purpose of extracting a source of income in the supply of services, including those characterized as cultural, such as artistic and social manifestations. However, it is worth highlighting the



sociabilities formed by the main reason that leads people to frequent the beaches: the use of leisure and sports. In Copacabana, it is verified that volleyball, which takes place on this beach, holds quite particular characteristics for the formation of memories. In fact, by itself, volleyball always has an insertion in the beaches, by moving not only the people who play, but also those who watch and participate from that landscape, as the results of our most recent researches point out. (Tavares, 2020; Tavares; Vaz; Matos, 2020).

Therefore, sport and society are highlighted in urban space studies, because "sports, as a social phenomenon, take place under certain historical and geographical conditions, although this last set of conditions is not always recognized (MASCARENHAS, 1999, p. 49). Moreover, it is noted that the territoriality specializes from sports practices in the space:

The sports culture essence - or sports cultures - is to convert space into territory / territories to help reveal the spatial dimension of the main issues that cross contemporary societies, at different levels and scales. Sport is like a reflection of social reality, but also, for many, one of the tools of social intervention - public policies, education of individuals, conceptions and practices of animation, etc. - that promotes the expression of belonging, identities, and the tensions that these may cause (CALLÈDE; AUGUSTIN, 2010, p. 293, free translation).

The main theoretical milestone that stands out in this research refers to the territorialities studies of sport, mainly in territorial mediation, when, frequently, city residents redefine their place in society. The notion of territorial mediation complements "the concepts of territory and territoriality or mediation, emphasizing the regulatory role that acts between individuals and their place of living, near or far" (AUGUSTIN, 2018, p. 84, free translation). This mediation, therefore, is fundamental to analyze cultural and sporting practices, since it highlights the links with the place, with space, with diverse territorial scales, and with social and spatial relations revealed by it, as Augustin points out.

It is important to point out that the contemporaneous city has been the object of many actions and, also, of studies about its dynamics. Even so, sports have not always been the preferred subject of analysis. Elias and Dunning (1992, p. 17) have already stated that sport has been forgotten by most sociologists, due to the difficulty to think about the issue at a distance from the dominant values characteristic of western societies, which prevented the understanding of "the sport's social meaning, the problems it poses, or the action field it offers for exploring social structure and behavior areas that, in most cases, are ignored in social theories". Thus, this study field has been awakening interest, whether in the sports field, of great social reach, or in the small events that are part of everyday life. By extension, beaches become important places in coastal cities, which offer a diversity of activities related to sports and leisure, enriching social and cultural life and contributing to sociabilities formation that are relevant to urban life.



2 Objectives

The central objective of this article is to highlight some common sociabilities on the beaches, with emphasis on those formed by volleyball in Copacabana. The specific objectives include to identify and reflect on the forms of the beach occupation, verifying regulated activities and, also, conflicts and disputes over space, since the "carioca" beachfront is highly valued as a meeting point for leisure in the city.

3 Analysis method

The working method used is the most common in research of a qualitative nature, such as this one. A wide literature review was carried out, with emphasis on investigations that point to the relationship between sports and urban spaces and the history of the place, with Copacabana Beach as the highlight. Furthermore, field research was carried out between 2016 and 2020, with the systematic observation of activities on this beachfront, which stretches for almost four kilometers, but, also, triggering the memory, since one of the authors was a resident and volleyball player for many years there. Another important action of the research was the questionnaire application, by virtual means, with people who frequent the space. Some testimonials of our two hundred respondents are, here, highlighted, being intermingled with other researches that had the "carioca" beach boardwalk and Copacabana beach as theme.

Key people were chosen to send the questionnaires, through contacts made throughout the field research, distributed by the six stretches of the beach boardwalk, subdivided based on the very existence of the six rescue stations. The first "shootings" were through social networks, and then followed randomly. As a result, many responses came from people who know about the sports practice in Copacabana beach, and others not so much.

The queries of the questionnaire were divided into three blocks. We resorted to Sack (2009), through the understanding that territorialities, theoretical framework of this research, are formed from three different instances (Classification, Communication and Control). The questions were presented in a "running" way (in sequence) in the questionnaire, that is, the respondents did not perceive any division of the questions by blocks, but, for the research, it was important to organize these three contents. In the first block, the questions focused on how the respondent identifies himself/herself (name, age, where he/she lives, etc.). In the second block, the questions addressed the reasons that lead the interlocutor to go to the beach, which stretch he/she usually goes to, and why. The last block talked about how the speaker perceives the beach in relation, more specifically, to the volleyball presence. In this block, open questions were introduced, as a way to identify more qualitative queries. From this set of articulated actions, it was possible to extract some results for discussion, as shown below.



4 Results

The results we want to emphasize point to three fundamental aspects that, in the same dimension, articulate with our objectives: (1) the beach as a place of differentiation and conflict, which institutes codes and norms (official and cultural), helping to create valorization places and, consequently, of segregation; (2) the beach as a place of mediations of conflicts derived from the intensity of uses that are required for this space; and (3) the beach as a place of dispute for space, which causes the existence of workers (who seek sustenance) and the adepts of sports and recreational activities (who seek enjoyment). Together, the highlighted aspects contribute to the complex sociability network that takes place along the beach boardwalk.

4.1 The beach as a place of differentiation (and segregation)

In a documentary about the beaches of Rio, named "Faixa de Areia" (Kallmann and Silva, 2007), with duration of a little more than 94 minutes, there are several interviews with people who frequent the city beaches - held predominantly on sunny days. The documentary includes 45 takes on various beaches, both oceanic and well urbanized (Copacabana, Ipanema, Leblon), as well as the beaches on Guanabara Bay (Urca, Flamengo, and the so-called "Piscinão de Ramos"), in addition to the beaches on the city's West Zone (Barra da Tijuca) and the "Restinga de Marambaia" (a military area, with restricted access). The video is a light and loose record about diverse subjects, and asks some questions such as "Is the beach a democratic place?", "Is the beach a good place to flirt?", or "What is your dream?". The unfolding of these questions and the richness of the many respondents testimonies - anonymous and, also, some well-known figures - allow a good record of the "carioca" way of life associated with the beach.

One of the ideas that should be taken up in the general universe, recurrent when the beach is mentioned, is its understanding as a democratic place. This idea should be relativized, since it is a public space in which, theoretically, all citizens have the same rights. As is popularly said, the sun may rise for everyone, but it shines with different intensities for each group of beach goers.

The documentary opening takes place with an interview with two young people at São Conrado beach. They begin by saying that they live in Rocinha, but, there on the beach, "it's okay for a "gringo" to come, the respect is the same for everyone". However, as the conversation goes on, they go deeper into the theme and say that, in reality, "we are running out of leisure time" and "young people have no service (work)". Besides, they define themselves: "we have our color" - the young are black and make us think that they are targets of prejudice, including at the beach, which is close to their house (Kallmann and Silva, 2007).





In our questionnaire, in turn, most respondents stated that they understood the beach as a place for everyone. Despite this statement, shared by many, there are blunt versions that expose another reality, such as the one from a respondent to the documentary by Kallmann and Silva (2007), who affirms: "I am not a hypocrite, it is a matter of education: children throw sand and this is annoying, yes. There is no education, go to Piscinão de Ramos".

When invited to comment about volleyball on Copacabana beach, our survey respondents raised some interesting points, such as: "I think the beach space is very democratic and at Copacabana the sand stretch is very wide", which leads us to deduce that there is enough space for the peaceful interaction of everyone. Two other respondents highlighted the difference on the beach when it is very crowded and when it is very empty: "on sunny weekends, the beach gets very 'messed up' and disrupts our routine here in the hammock". For another respondent, "it is a delight to enjoy the beach when the people leave, the sun gets less intense and the wind reduces". In the two reports, we can verify that the ideal beach does not match with many different people gathered in this so-called democratic space, despite the majority of the respondents have affirmed that the beach belongs to everyone, as, in principle, is true.

Figure 1

Leisure and sport bringing life to the beach boardwalk. Copacabana beach near Station 5



Source: Elaboration by the author (January, 2019).

Another idea that seems quite usual is that the beach, as a democratic place, is a pacified space. In the documentary by Kallmann and Silva (2007), an interviewee in Ipanema highlighted the fear of violence that must exist in Piscinão de Ramos, besides the lack of identification with people from there. He also ratified that this seems to be a consensus among



the residents of the south zone, who "look at the sea and go, at most, to Maracanã". Finally, the interlocutor reflected a little more and concluded that Rio "is a very segregated city, yes".

4.2 The beach as a place of mediations

Certainly, the segregation existing in the city extends to any place in the urban space. At the beaches it would be no different, and perhaps the phenomenon occurs since the beginning: the fact is that "the current practice of frequenting the beach first emerged in Copacabana and Ipanema, which were (and are) beaches with wide stretches of sand". Barickman (2016, p. 4) highlights that this extension of the sand stretch "allowed beachgoers to develop in them a range of activities that became part of the practice of frequenting the beach", but always involving the parameters creation for the frequenters and for the activities.

Donadio (2011, p. 6) clarifies that, from 1927, "the hours of the rescue service extended to 11 am and still could not handle the growing population that demanded the baths". Therefore, the extensive stretch of sand obviously contributed to the growth of "entertainment on the sands, especially sports games. By this year, foot-ball, volley-ball and shuttlecock were already being practiced in Copacabana.

This reality of the 1920s, however, went along with what transgressed, in the view of the time, the habits practiced by beachgoers and that were highlighted by Barickman (2016, p. 13): "[...] the press complained about bathers who bothered other bathers by taking dogs to the beach or playing sports - soccer and shuttlecock - on the sand", in the same way that "they criticized the 'very light' and 'immoral' outfits that many bathers wore".

These so-called "abuses", still restricted to habits, were attending to the invitation of the extensive sand stretch, a fact that generated disturbances and prohibitions. Donadio (2011, p. 14) points out that "the games sometimes advanced to the smooth sand stretch, next to the waves, disturbing the movement of bathers. Soccer became the main target of complains, as it was read in the newspapers". This target was reached when the deputy responsible for Copacabana "prohibited 'terminally' soccer in the posts of that beach", in the same way that "he ordered the policemen of his district to continue proceeding 'with maximum energy' against bathers who presented themselves wearing outfits" that threatened against "public morality". The control around Copacabana beach was so severe that the "South American Handbook," a traditional English guidebook, quoted in 1925 that Copacabana beach was almost only "a favorite spot for bathing in the sea" (Barickman, 2016, p. 15).

As a result, in the mid-twentieth century, going to Copacabana Beach "constituted a mark of social distinction; it was part of a broader sociocultural identity that many upper and upper-middle-class "cariocas" used to differentiate themselves from the rest of the city's population" (Barickman, 2016, p. 64). This distinction, perceived by the author, over the years,



notoriously lost space to the new contemporary demands that were announcing themselves: the customs adaptation linked to behavior and clothing and, above all, to the increment of sports practices carried out outdoors - such as volleyball, footvolley and "beach tennis". However, the idea of the beach as a place of distinction, of valorization, seems to have been in development, as well as the idea of dividing the space to host the sporting activities that grew on the beaches.

A few years ago, though, the issue of beach control has taken on new contours. Farias (2016) and Santos (2013) point out that the policy called "shock of order", installed in 2009, in the administration of Eduardo Paes (2009-2012 and 2013-2016), mayor of the city of Rio de Janeiro then, was not the best way to ensure urban order. This is because the repressive idea acting in a complex organism, such as the metropolitan public space, exposes social (and urban) fragilities that are far from being solved. On the beach boardwalk, this municipal action led to the standardization of equipment and the regulation of commerce, dividing opinions about the importance of having control over space and about how these actions implied in selective exclusion and gentrification.

The conflict coexistence and rejoicing on the beach seems inseparable, especially on days of many frequenters - this being an issue that differs in each city. In 1917, in Copacabana, when the space was still beginning to emerge as a seaside resort district, there were already regulations for bathing in the sea, between 6am and 9am and between 4pm and 6pm, in specific places, with appropriate clothing and no noise or voices while bathing (Campos, 2010, not paged).

Copacabana beach is (and seems to have always been) certainly a place of great visibility. This observation leads the beach to be a place not only for manifestations on the beachfront, but also for installations and protests on the sand. More than once, for example, the beach was the place chosen to protest against the killings in the city. Many protests made use of crosses to symbolically mark the lives lost, as in demonstrations held in 2007 and also in 2020, on the occasion of the Coronavirus pandemic. In other words, in Copacabana, a beach with great visibility, protesting on the sands is a way to seek greater repercussion for the issues to be discussed.

4.3 The beach as a place of dispute for space – work and space

In our research, most respondents did not point out any conflict arising from the volleyball practiced at Copacabana beach. Still, there were those who pointed out some recommendations, such as: "[...] I just think they should have specific schedules for the volleyball practice at Station 6, for having a small extension of sand", referring to the narrow sand stretch at that point and the discomfort that is generated when the volleyball net is set up



on a sunny weekend - probably compromising the small existing space. Another respondent, instead, highlighted the security that the presence of volleyball nets brings to certain points of the beach: "[...] the nets with the groups help in the bathers' safety, because they are ways to inhibit the action of minor robberies". Yet, another interlocutor questioned the performance of the volleyball schools on Copacabana beach: "[...] lack of signs identifying what are the specific times that the 'authorized schools' can use the space so that others can use the same space free of charge", a clear demand for transparency, regarding the allowed and forbidden uses on the beach.

This theme brings us to another important idea when thinking about the experience on the beaches: the commerce practiced there. In the documentary produced by Kallmann and Silva (2007), for example, there was a large and diverse number of people who gave testimonials that were, to a certain point, touching, such as the young evangelicals who met on the beach, in the Jardim de Alah area, got married and, until today, sell "açai" together on that spot. There is also the offer of services, like the history of the masseur who has a tent in front of a luxury hotel, at Station 9, in Ipanema. In the documentary, interviews are conducted with young people who go to the beach to "make friends with foreigners" and "receive gifts in exchange for affection", which seems to be a euphemism for prostitution - a theme that is often associated with the beach and the Copacabana beachfront.

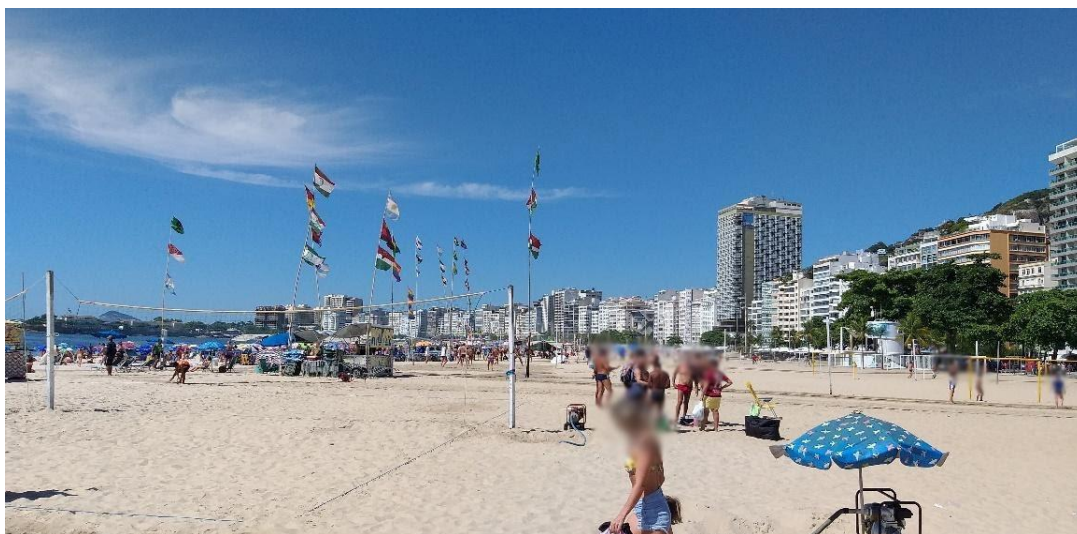
Another example of the reality linked to the beach as a place of commerce was the testimony of a woman who reported collecting cans with her son and mother on Barra da Tijuca beach. Residents of the Complexo do Alemão slum, originally from Pernambuco, declared that, when the collection of cans on the beach is profitable, the day's meal is guaranteed, but there are times when they return home without eating anything. These stories expand the meaning of commerce and habits on the beaches in current times.

Commerce on the beaches can be a fixed, occasional or palliative source of income. A couscous seller interviewed in the documentary states that there are "many lawyers" selling sandwiches on the beach and that, over thirty years of work at Station 6, he managed to provide "schooling for his daughter". Nowadays, he continues selling couscous, but now he brings his family to enjoy the beach with him when he finishes his "workday", right there in Copacabana. About these examples, it is worth mentioning that, although the city has good weather most of the year, the beach commerce is quite seasonal, affected by circumstances.



Figure 2

Volleyball nets, tents and groups of friends. Copacabana beach near to Station 4



Source: Elaboration by the author (January, 2019).

Cantanhede (2005, p. 162) already called attention to the "informal work in its creative fullness" along the Copacabana beach boardwalk. The author reveals that there was there a "wide range of activities, which included a show of trained dogs, capoeira players that read the fate of people passing by, a living statue representing a migrant, shiatsu masseurs, people who measured cholesterol and took blood pressure". There were many actions in one place, and "all these activities aimed at some monetary gain for their practitioners".

About these activities held on the Copacabana sidewalk, Reginensi and Pereira (2013, p. 20) show that "the artists occupy a special place, in the sense that they multiply themselves on the sidewalks of Copacabana, micro places of representations about the media image of the metropolis in two dimensions that oppose and meet each other". In this statement, the authors point to the "exhibition of the periphery culture, of the favela from which they come", in opposition to the "consecration of the capital image of leisure and sports games", represented, above all, by the importance that Copacabana beach has in the scope of Rio de Janeiro - the background for the "construction of a competitive and global city".

The athlete Isabel Salgado, former player of the Brazilian volleyball team also appears in the documentary by Kallmann and Silva (2007) and states that "the beach is her office", because, there, in Ipanema, she trains and works, defending that this is the best place in the world. For her, it is surprising the fact of being in the space, acting as a coach to her daughters, who are professional beach volleyball athletes, and, all of a sudden, coming across "three whales passing by in the sea; this is unique".

The work on the beach has existed for a long time. There are records that Mr. Nonô, for example, has been working in the Copacabana Fishermen's Colony since 1941. The man



relates that, at that time, "fishing was by dragnetting, with cotton and line nets, but, as the years went by, those who practiced this modality died and their children did not continue". Almost ten years after arriving at the Colony, however, the silk nylon appeared and "the dragnet was modernized and the fishermen were also practicing new ways of fishing". Cantanhede (2005, p. 137-138) points out that Mr. Nonô "is known by the volleyball and foot volleyball groups for the nets he knits on the beach by the sea. As the fishing nets are all industrialized, the artesiano "started to make volleyball nets, since the process is similar. He sells the nets all over the world. An example of this was a sale of four nets to Australia".

In our survey about volleyball the respondents did not make direct reference to the work developed on the beach, since the vast majority emphasized the use for leisure and for sports. Although, one person made a point of highlighting that the best nets were handmade by Mr. Nonô, in Station 6, ratifying the importance of the craftsman work. Another interesting statement was from a respondent who considers that "[...] beach volleyball is a trademark on Copacabana sands, whether for leisure, health, quality of life, or work", an opinion that dynamizes and amplifies the importance of this modality. Finally, we bring another testimonial that accentuates the importance of the volleyball practiced on Copacabana beach: "[...] it is fantastic to be able to play in such a nice, pleasant, and democratic environment. It is a perfect example of the environmental services of leisure and recreation".

5 Conclusion

Each place in the world, from Rio, or even Copacabana, will configure itself in a certain way, depending on the specificities that are common to it. However, it calls attention to how the beach is a reality that is established, but not necessarily solved. Many meanings and ways of living the beach are explicitly deflagrated when we take a closer look at the people-place relationship. Thus, it stands out how the beach is an explicit place of leisure and, consequently, favorable to the sports practice, and even of work, for this sector.

Furthermore, the beach seems to be really a place dedicated to friendship and love; there is communion with nature, celebration of joy, and relaxation. Consequently, going to the beach is an exercise in socializing. Recorded in the documentary in Copacabana, at Bolivar Street, a group of people, friends for more than thirty years, have a barbecue on the beach. They say that it is a place of "bluster" - since it is a great environment, where everyone knows each other, and good for flirting. One interviewee even says: "I am not looking for (a partner), but if I meet someone...", referring to the possibilities of finding someone to date. There, in that specific territory, the interlocutors conclusively state: "we are united by the beach" (Kallmann and Silva, 2007).



As outlined by Pinheiro *et al.* (2009, p. 66), beaches have never been seen as places for people just to have a bath in the sea. As they develop "along an urbanized network" and are located "in a city with a strong vocation for culture and entertainment, it is there that the population meets to talk, date, arrange new programs and have fun". The beaches in Rio de Janeiro, then, "are a kind of big city square, the metropolis' calling cards".

Lobato (2012, p. 254), in his research, also reinforces the idea of intense sociability, by stating that "the beach environment is favorable to the formation of friendship and sociability networks. The relaxing atmosphere, the sun, the sea, and the routine break are elements that make up this scenario". The author also points out that there are elements that both contribute and facilitate this socialization - "such as the bars and kiosks, the wide sidewalk for walking, the bicycle path for biking, the sea for swimming, the nets for playing volleyball, paddleball, soccer, and other sports". She ends by saying that "Copacabana beach as a whole offers ample possibilities to form groups of friends".

During our research, the great majority of respondents stressed, in fact, the formation of friends' groups and socialization as the main elements related to beach volleyball in Copacabana. There were statements like: "Cup volleyball is a therapy for life where we meet our friends again, chat after the volleyball, have a beer, and keep on chatting and laughing; then we go our separate ways waiting for the next day to meet again", and also: "I believe that besides the sport practice, there is the side of socializing with other people, fundamental for our personal growth".

Hence, it draws our attention the formation of a territoriality arising from the numerous practices of volleyball on the beach boardwalk, by the transformation of a place in the city in favor of a group activity. If, as already stated, there is a sport territoriality, by the way each sport activity is organized and inserted in the urban space, it can be said that there is the formation of a territoriality through volleyball. In Copacabana, a beachfront consecrated as the place of the first experiences of this sport in Brazilian beaches, in turn, it is possible to notice a rich accumulated histories field, evidenced in the formation of specific territorialities, which are inserted in the space and create sociabilities, besides bringing together groups by affinities and common interests.

Going to the beach, in any circumstance, does indeed seem to be a way of inserting yourself and perceiving the world. Nevertheless, it is almost unbelievable how this can happen in an environment that sometimes seems absolutely chaotic and full of disputes. Landscape and memory, when talking about the beach, become attributes that are indelibly inscribed in the urban space, which affirms the strong sociability that happens on the beach boardwalk, as an active form of valorization in the city life - as Rio de Janeiro is an example, and Copacabana, a singular reference.



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