

Copacabana: government programs, leisure and volleyball

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SUMMARY

A city is made of multiple places. Notably, Rio de Janeiro's Copacabana is full of many features that contribute to its worldwide recognition. In this context, this paper aims to highlight the intimate link between the beach and volleyball. In order to do so, the methodology consists of bibliographical research. The historical and theoretical data collection allow the analysis of government programs related to enhancing the practice of sports and leisure. It is known that leisure activities (and their regulations) in Copacabana Beach Boardwalk have definitely changed over the last hundred years. Ultimately, this research concludes that volleyball at the beach is worth special attention since it is a piece in the puzzle of Rio de Janeiro's landscape and a great urban social activity.

KEYWORDS Sport. Beach volleyball. Public space. Government Programs. Copacabana.

INTRODUCTION

Articulating a discussion between government programs and sports and leisure in Copacabana Beach Boardwalk is a great challenge. First of all, there is a need to understand the relevance of the State as a power instituted to guarantee order and to make it possible for people to coexist. Specifically in Brazil, social rights precede civil rights, that is, the right to work and the right to health, for example, were guaranteed before the right to freedom and the equality of citizens.

This paper examines the relationship amidst government programs and the demands of civil society for the formulation of legal guidelines for the practice of sports on beaches. We also make a historical recovery of leisure and pay attention to the need to combat the intrinsic idea that this term suggests the opposition to work. In this context, it is important to highlight that the Sports and Leisure became a part of social rights in Brazil as of the Federal Constitution of 1988, since then, it has become the object of investigation, study and theme of insertion in government programs. In the beginning of the 19th century, when the population started migrating from the countryside to the city, and especially in the 1970s, when this reality reached its apex, it was noticeable that public spaces in large cities needed to be better adapted to leisure. Thereafter, the government presents programs and actions for sports practices at the beach based on a survey regarding the beaches of Rio de Janeiro carried out by The Pereira Passos Institute and other public agencies.

Ultimately, the final considerations of this paper highlight the importance of the existence of government programs aligned with the demands regarding the public space, which are increasingly larger in number and more complex in characteristics such as sport and leisure on the beach help to reveal.

2. OBJECTIVES

This article mainly aims to provide reflections about the importance of government programs related to leisure, especially in public spaces. The focus of the study is beach volleyball in Copacabana, where the professional and amateur practice of this sport is prominent.

3. METHODOLOGY

The methodology through which this work was built is based on a bibliographic review. The topics approached to weave the reflections presented below are articulated between government programs, their relationship with leisure and with the public space, with emphasis on the sports practiced on Copacabana Beach Boardwalk.

4. RESULTS

4.1- GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

Politics and economics have always figured as primordial human actions, which developed, above all, in the articulation of ideas in the social sphere. Aureli (2008), in his article "Towards the Archipelago," recovered Aristotle's thought related to ancient Greece to explain the difference between the art of politics and the art of economics. The first was related to the public interest, to the common good, and thus allowed different groups to coexist/live together. The second, on the other hand, concerned the private administration, since the term "oikos" means home; the authority of the economy, therefore, did not act in the public interest, but in its own interest.

By highlighting that "the man is a political animal," Aristotle was referring to the essence of the individual, to his nature and, for this reason, he emphasized that politics came from the polis, that is, the space of many, of coexistence among individuals and groups and, in this way, the art of politics had the obligation to transform conflict into coexistence, into solution. To close this thought, the author highlighted the public space of the Agora as being the political space where discussions and confrontations took place for the sake of public interest, while the private space of the house, controlled by the economy, was the basic social space that guaranteed the natural reproduction of its members. When we think about government programs, we must keep in mind that the transformation of reality depends on the wise articulation between politics and economics. Only then it will be "possible to redefine the sense of city as a place of confrontation and also of political coexistence between individuals" (AURELI, 2008, p. 119).

Given this, we must infer that the importance of the State, with well-defined rules and the instituted power is essential for this coexistence to be possible, because otherwise there would be barbarism, as already highlighted by Hobbes (2003, p. 60): "Even if there is a great multitude, if the actions of each of those who compose it are determined according to the individual judgment and the individual appetites of each, it cannot be expected that it will be able to give defense and protection to anyone". The subject of state responsibility, however, is not new:

Historical references help to define the type of relationship that was built between the State and society in Brazil during the 19th century. Far from meeting the population's demands, the State, on the contrary, repressed them. One can even say that the Brazilian State practically did not assist society. The abolition of slavery, in a way, portrays this situation. After liberation, no measures were taken to insert the former slaves into the body of society. Without any kind of institutional political support, this population had to rely on its own luck (BESSA, 2006, p. 94).

Thus, there is definitely a difficulty in balancing the role of the state in each time and place. Boneti (2007, p. 12), recalls that "the end of the Cold War, as well as the globalization of the economy lead to build another understanding of state and nation," in which the state ceases to be "an institution ruled by law, at the service of all social segments". The gradual risk is that it makes politics lose "its force of social transformation to be vilified in a mere mechanism of administration of private interests in detriment of public responsibility" (BESSA, 2006, p.99), mainly in countries where the democratic experience is less consolidated.

Therefore, once this reality is understood, we can infer that the defining agents of government programs originate in the relationship between "State, social classes and civil society" (BONETI, 2007, p. 11) and, thus, we need to stop associating government programs with social rights or analyzing only the allocation and management of public resources. It is necessary to take into account other factors "that involve the organization of civil society, class interests, political parties and other agents that determine the elaboration and management of government programs that originate in civil society" (BONETI, 2007, p. 8).

Egler; Tavares (2012) recognize the importance of government programs (which were analyzed by researchers from different laboratories of research institutions in Rio de Janeiro) "in the context of a computerized and globalized society, and of a perception that recognizes the field of government programs by new disciplinary and institutional transversalities". From this perspective, the understanding of government programs goes through the "ability to produce an action for the benefit of public interests, which moves away from the way of thinking of it as the result of an action originated only in government organizations" (EGLER; TAVARES, 2012, p. 9).

This statement, however, does not exempt the State from the duty of ensuring the social survival of the group, as highlighted by Boneti (2007, p. 48): "it is about preserving the collectivity (the collective act) as opposed to the individual (the individual act). The preservation of the collectivity, therefore, is done through the guarantee of basic essential services," but with independence, as civil society, which is the "sphere of society composed of all networks, voluntary associations, businesses, clubs, organizations and families formed by citizens independently of the government" (GIDDENS; SUTTON, 2016, p. 335).

Henceforth, in the scope of this work, it is worth going over some specificities of the government programs that relate more directly to the aspects and instances of leisure in the cities — where many government programs are demanded by daily life, as in the Rio de Janeiro seashore.

4.2 – GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS FOR LEISURE

The association of leisure with government programs is a possibility of understanding the city and cultural aspects today. After all, as Dumazedier (1973, p. 139) once stated, the participation of the population in culture is fundamental, especially in democratic societies, since they have "powerful diffusion techniques".

Thinking about the city today, therefore, presupposes creativity in order to create solutions to reduce the countless problems that only increase as time goes by. Creativity in the management of cities directs to the articulation between social and artistic activities, creative sectors, and government aiming to produce a cultural effervescence that attracts talent, promotes social diversity, and strengthens the creative potential of companies and institutions (REIS, 2017).

The discussion about leisure is complex and pertinent in contemporary society. Some scholars say that the theoretical framework of leisure is composed of two major theoretical-methodological references: Functionalism and, on the other hand, Marxism and its historical-dialectical materialism, prevailing a functionalist emphasis on the terms leisure and culture, as Padilha (2002, p. 127) states:

In our daily lives we all experience compensatory and utilitarian leisure; we consume leisure and entertainment like any other commodity and fail to use our free time in creative activities, close to nature and that somehow benefit community life.

With the rise of mass societies, leisure becomes a subject of studies from the second half of the nineteenth century, since the experiences that do not belong to the scope of work are directed to the interests of the Social Sciences. In the sociology of leisure, since the birth of industrial society, 19th century social thinkers foresaw the importance of leisure or "free time" in relation to the reduction of industrial work. Even so, they failed to understand its dynamics, the specific properties of the phenomenon and its main implications (DUMAZEDIER, 1979). In Brazil, these concerns will find resonance in the speeches of engineers and sanitarians responsible for major reforms in the centers of capital cities in the early twentieth century (GOMES; MELO, 2003).

Gomes (2014) states that leisure was regarded as a counterpoint to work in the early twentieth century. Today, leisure is understood as a human need with three fundamental elements as its backbones: (1) playfulness, (2) cultural manifestations, and (3) social time/space, which should providentially include populations and groups from minority and non-urban contexts. This concept proposed by Gomes meets the understanding of Dumazedier (1979, p. 28) regarding the dynamics that produce leisure: "Leisure is not idleness, it does not suppress work; it presupposes it. It corresponds to a periodic release from work at the end of the day, week, year, or working life".

Until 1920, only 3% of the Brazilian population practiced some form of activity that could be considered sporting. For some authors, the only popular sport until the end of 1920 was soccer (BUENO, 2008). During the military government period (1964 to 1985), the hegemonic model focused on high performance sports expanded. During this period, school physical education, for example, became one of the means to select the fittest and most skilled subjects. It was a society project that aimed at creating conditions for subjects to be able to work and for the country to become a developed nation, with the main focus on the population's physical fitness (BRACHT, 1999). That is, an instrumentalization of sports, in line with a vision typical of the time in which leisure was an idea that opposed work.

Starting from a conceptual premise, Andrade (2001, p. 39-53) visits the etymological point of view the word leisure, which comes from the Latin verb "licere," meaning to be lawful. Currently, there is the sense of the term as idleness, slackness, laziness. The author also problematizes Joffre Dumazedier's classic concept of leisure, which restricted leisure to those voluntary activities after getting rid of professional, family, and social obligations. Work can also be a playful and pleasurable activity, but it is not what accounts for all the necessary existential and recreational manifestation.

Thus, in summary, "Leisure is a complex social practice that encompasses a multiplicity of playful cultural experiences contextualized and historically situated" (GOMES, 2014, p. 3). Sport joins leisure as an activity that is quite characteristic of human and social activities, and both, Sport and Leisure, are supported from the legal point of view. Even so, when they become the scope of a government program, Sports and Leisure need to go through a bureaucratic trajectory "submitting themselves to different instances, and may undergo modifications until they reach the operationally of the action for which they are intended" (BONETI, 2007, p. 67-68).

The recognition of Sports and Leisure as a part of Social Rights in Brazil came with the 1988 Federal Constitution. From the legal point of view, the right to leisure was safeguarded in article 6, which includes rest and leisure along with other Social Rights, and, since 2001, there is an obligation for municipalities with more than twenty-thousand inhabitants to have a participative Master Plan for planning the guidelines.

In this context, it is important to contemplate government programs from their elaboration to their operationalization (BONETI, 2007, p. 69):

Government programs preserve the logic of sharing public resources, or when they are only aimed at an administrative intervention in social reality, these policies preserve the logic of benefiting specific social groups, regions, municipalities, etc. In this case, a government program, after leaving the legislative instance and going through the bureaucratic sector, goes towards its operationalization and it always commanded by coreligionaries of the political party that claims to be the author of the project.

Thus, after the institution of the theme at the federal level, government programs related to leisure are legal foundations that must support and offer quality leisure activities for the population (GOMES; MELO, 2003), then assuring the public space a prominent role.

4.3 – GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS FOR LEISURE IN THE PUBLIC SPACE

Living in the 21st century implies, for the most part, living in the city. Since the 1970s, the world population has changed the supremacy of living in the countryside to living in cities, a process that had already begun after the Industrial Revolution with the offer of work in urban centers. With so many changes in the productive and spatial sphere, society has been organizing itself based on the management of issues of the cities, and, therefore, cities have become the object of study of several disciplinary fields, due to the richness and complexity they hold.

When analyzing the transformations that were triggered from this historical-social context, Gomes (2014, p. 5-7) states that "the new configurations assumed, in urbanized centers, by work, economy, politics, education and health, among other fields" impacted "also the traditional notions of space and time until then in force". Even as a part of this transformation process, leisure takes on an antagonistic role to work, largely due to the "characteristics traditionally attributed to it, such as unproductivity, freedom, and pleasure". As scholars on the subject we need to point out that "leisure is a social practice of everyday life that needs to be situated in each time/social space," besides "problematizing the hegemonic understanding of leisure as a counterpoint to work," thus expanding the multidisciplinary reflection around this theme.

Urban planning is one of the fields dedicated to thinking and designing proposals for living in the city. Associated with other fields, such as Architecture and Urbanism, Geography, Sociology, Law, and Engineering, there is the concern with the social demands for the various urban spaces that make up the cities. However, collective life has always included the planning of leisure spaces and equipment in cities, as men have always included the recreational dimension in their daily lives, which makes the concern and planning of spaces for leisure to have been a constant in history, even when not named by the terms we have today, as highlighted (MELO; PERES, 2005, p, 128):

In fact, the concerns with leisure spaces are not recent. In Brazil, already in the 19th century, notably in its final quarter and especially in the city of Rio de Janeiro, we can find the first initiatives aimed at organizing and controlling the population's leisure activities. The context of modernization of the Brazilian society will contribute to make it important for the growing cities at moments of festive life.

It is worth recovering some important landmarks of this theme in the history of cities. According to Mumford (1998), the examples of classical Greece with its various spaces for leisure and entertainment (theaters) and sports (velodromes) are references in the structure of cities in antiquity until today, extending to Rome and all cities in the ancient world. In the Middle Ages, even confined to fiefdoms and castles, there were activities such as games and hunting, which would be even more widespread in the Renaissance and Baroque, with the palaces and bourgeois gardens. It was, however, with the Industrial Revolution that leisure was understood as a requirement for mass enjoyment. In unhealthy factory and domestic spaces in the cities that were growing disorderly were in public parks the possibilities of leisure for the working class.

It was motivated by this issue that cities like London, New York, Boston, and Chicago proposed the preservation and/or creation of extensive green areas in their territories. In these spaces, there was the possibility to have contact with nature, sunbathe, ride horses, and socialize (JELLICOE; JELLICOE, 1995). In France, during the 1970s, there were also citizens who sought the "values of the neo-rurals," that is, "stripped of the illusions of modernity," they sought "an existential milieu of a traditional type, prior to industrialization, urbanization, literacy (...) without necessarily renouncing the gains of their culture" (DUMAZEDIER, 1996, p. 107).

In Brazil, parks were also important landmarks in the articulation between urban planning and leisure facilities. In the colonial and imperial times, the Passeio Público, in Rio de Janeiro, was the first national park, although it was very court-oriented; later came Campo de Santana, Quinta da Boa Vista and Aterro do Flamengo. Man and city have always been dependent on each other, making urban planning a necessity to think about the space for housing, commerce, circulation and leisure (MACEDO, 1999).

Brazil's coastal extension indicates the occupation of cities near the sea. Since the beginning of the 20th century, bathing in the sea has been intensified as a therapeutic measure to treat diseases. Gradually, the beaches help to valorize neighborhoods where they are located more than the central area of the city itself, although the latter also had the proximity of Guanabara Bay. Progressively, the beaches became priority places in Rio de Janeiro's culture for the practice of leisure and sports by the sea, requiring, therefore, a legal apparatus to organize the varied and numerous activities required for these spaces.

4.4 - GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS FOR SPORTS AT THE BEACH

Considering that sport has a fundamental influence in the construction of meanings of urban life in public spaces intended for leisure, we highlight the Copacabana seashore as the central focus of our study, with beach volleyball as the sport in focus, which is an integral part of the history of the neighborhood, since it was in Copacabana that the sport appeared and developed in the country and recently housed the Olympic Games arena. From the organization of small groups in the 1920s, to the maximum global spectacularization in 2016, the theme is relevant for the understanding of the destination of uses in contemporary public space, even more in places of strong significance for the population. When dealing with beach volleyball and the multiple understandings that beach users have of this place and landscape, we highlight the various possibilities of group formation and appropriation of public space through beach volleyball.

The transformations in the logic of production that made the city the place where work opportunities were in the late nineteenth century led to reflection on the new social relations that were in check. Starting from the premise of complexity in the formulation of a theory on urbanism, as early as 1938, Wirth (1967, p. 105) pointed out:

The central problem of the sociologist of the city is to discover the forms of social action and organization that emerge in compact, relatively permanent groupings of large numbers of heterogeneous individuals. We must also infer that urbanism will assume its most characteristic and extreme form to the extent that the conditions congruent to it are present. Thus, the more densely inhabited, the more heterogeneous the community, the more pronounced will be the characteristics associated with urbanism.

The contribution of the Chicago School is still recurrent, for the complexity of the relationship between space and its inhabitants is always subject to reflection, as Park (1967, p. 32) attested, as early as 1916, that the city is a state of mind, a body of customs, traditions, and feelings handed down through the generations:

(...) the city is rooted in the habits and customs of the people who inhabit it. The consequence is that the city has a moral as well as a physical organization, and these two interact with each other in characteristic ways to shape and modify each other.

Thus, a subject of reflection that unites the place and its inhabitants, with a strong cultural dimension, the city is a place of observation of phenomena and practices that take place in society, being the subject of study, therefore, of this new disciplinary field called Urbanism, still under construction. The management of this complex organism implies in the formulation of government programs for this part of the city by the sea. The beaches and all the leisure activities that take place there are subject to urban codes and rules that regulate the practices in their domains.

Rio de Janeiro, at a state level, has the Secretariat of Sports, Leisure and Youth (Seelje) which should formulate, coordinate, execute, and promote sports activities in the state of Rio de Janeiro. There is also the Superintendence of Sports of the State of Rio de Janeiro (Suderj), which must watch over the quality of the state's equipment and prioritize the development of amateur sports. Suderj's goal is to offer a broad social base, with citizenship, health, and conditions for promising athletes to emerge.

At the municipal level, however, there is no Secretariat of Sports and Leisure, with the purpose of meeting the demands of this portfolio. The administrative organization of the current City Hall (2017-2020) created sixteen Regional Superintendencies (Center, South Zone, Tijuca, Ramos, Méier, Madureira, regional Inhaúma, Irajá, regional Pavuna, regional Ilha do Governador, regional Jacarepaguá, Barra da Tijuca, Bangu, Campo Grande, Santa Cruz, and Guaratiba) respecting the city's planning areas established in the Municipal Master Plan. According to the Rio de Janeiro City Hall, these Superintendencies are instruments that aim to bring the public power closer to the citizens, acting in a more efficient, directed and agile way.

It is worth noting, however, that the South Zone Superintendence encompasses eighteen neighborhoods (Flamengo, Glória, Laranjeiras, Catete, Cosme Velho, Botafogo, Humaitá, Urca, Leme, Copacabana, Ipanema, Leblon, Lagoa, Jardim Botânico, Gávea, Vidigal, São Conrado and Rocinha), while the Superintendence of Santa Cruz, for example, covers the neighborhoods of Santa Cruz, Paciência and Sepetiba, which already shows a disproportion in administrative terms considering that the neighborhoods in the southern zone, besides being quite dense, receive a floating population that works and visits the place.

Despite the existing mismatch between the state and municipal spheres regarding Sports and Leisure, there is an ordinance of September 18, 2008 (No. 29.881) that consolidates the need to review and update the rules regarding the economic activities in the municipality, and other local ordinances themselves. Within this ordinance, article II - Book II, concerns the rules related to the Maintenance of Urban Order and Coexistence. Regulation No. 16, Sports Practice at the Beaches, states (see Annex 1):

Art. 1.º The practice of sports with balls, rackets, shuttlecocks, discs or similar will not be allowed on the water's edge of the beaches of the City of Rio de Janeiro, during the hours between 08:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. § 1.º For the

purposes of the caput, the stretch of sand between the sea and the fixed-point peddlers' tents is considered to be the water's edge. § 2.º Without any time restrictions, sports with balls, rackets, shuttlecocks, discs or similar will be tolerated in areas alongside the promenade, cycle paths and running tracks. § 3.º The provision in the previous paragraph does not apply in cases where the strip of sand at the beaches, between the water's edge and the promenade, is less than twenty meters (20m) wide. Art. 2.º The municipal surveillance agents and the Municipal Guard, in particular the agents of the Beaches Special Group of the Municipal Guard - GEP, will be responsible for the faithful accomplishment of the norm established in this regulation, through legal determination to the offender, and the material used by those who disobey or resist to their determinations can be retained, being its return conditioned to the removal of the offender from the sands. § 1.º In case of imminent risk to the physical integrity of bathers or due to the crowdedness of the beach, the surveillance agents and the Municipal Guard may temporarily impede the practice of sports with balls, rackets, shuttlecocks, discs or similar, in any locations and at any time. § 2.º Once proven the abuse in adopting the prohibitive measure of the previous paragraph, the agents involved will respond in the civil, administrative and criminal scope. § 3.º The enforcement agents and the Municipal Guard should, whenever necessary, request support from the Military Police for the faithful accomplishment of their determinations. Art. 3.º This Regulation goes into effect on the date of its publication."

Therefore, although without an effective policy that congregates several professionals to act more effectively along the extensive boardwalk, the leisure and sports activities that take place along the seashore develop spontaneously in many cases, alluding to the public character of the place, as well as, to the existence of postures that regulate several already established uses such as commerce, leisure and sports. Each beach in the city has aspects that are common and shared, as well as specificities, given the nature of each place. Copacabana Beach as a place of strong international reference has a certain prominence, after all, it is part of the "Rio de Janeiro's Landscapes between the mountain and the sea," an asset that was declared a World Cultural Landscape by UNESCO on December 13, 2016 (NATIONS, 2017, s/p):

Among the main elements that made the city that was born and raised between the sea and the mountains exceptional and wonderful are the Pão de Açúcar, the Corcovado, the Tijuca Forest, the Flamengo embankment, the Botanical Gardens and the famous Copacabana beach, as well as the entrance to the Guanabara Bay. Rio de Janeiro's beauties include the Leme Fort and Hill, the Copacabana Fort and Arpoador, the Flamengo Park, and the Botafogo inlet, among other elements.

4.5 – GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS FOR VOLLEYBALL IN COPACABANA

The city as a place of contemporary life holds countless possibilities of typically urban manifestations, and the public space of the beach reiterates that these manifestations are

democratic as it encompasses people of different interests and social classes, seeking the beachfront as a place for leisure. In Rio de Janeiro, Copacabana Beach is perhaps the best known and remembered place, and volleyball is possibly the most practiced sport, with nets spread from Leme to Posto Seis, which suggest different appropriations and attribute new meanings to the place and the landscape.

The boardwalk as a leisure area has a unique urban intervention experience in Copacabana. It has been used as a promenade since the beginning of the 20th century, but it was only in the 1920s that its use intensified with the growing density of the neighborhood and the construction of the Copacabana Palace Hotel. In the 1970s, the renowned Brazilian landscape designer Roberto Burle Marx and his team designed the new sidewalks along the waterfront, carrying out a large embankment over the old beach to increase the areas destined for pedestrian and vehicle circulation, but maintaining the traditional Portuguese-inspired wave design that characterizes the place. The project became a paradigm of intervention allowing the development of multiple leisure activities with illuminated sand courts to facilitate the practice of sports at night (MACÊDO, 1999, p. 75-76).

Despite being officially on the tourist route of the city of Rio de Janeiro since 1905 (O'DONNELL, 2013), Copacabana beach became popular for recreation only in the 1930s and 1940s, when this public space started to be seen as somewhere that denoted status, since it was also frequented by a dominant class that started to see the boardwalk as a possibility of being healthy and practicing sports under sun exposure, such as soccer, beach tennis, and beach volleyball. Cardoso et al., (1986, p. 123) comment:

The practice of sports at the beach is quite old. Some have survived to this day, others have disappeared with time. In 1945 they played 'pelada' (soccer similar), shuttlecock, boxing, wrestling, or simply do handstands, a practice often done by serious businessmen when they were free of ties and hard collars. After all, in Copacabana 'all complexes end, all conventions are annulled, all prejudices are destroyed'. Years later, the executive, although no longer doing handstands anymore, dedicates himself to other sports, especially volleyball, free of the conventions and prejudices of the tie (emphasis in original).

Originally from the United States, beach volleyball was born in the early twentieth century, as a "leisure activity during the free time of college students from the rich American west coast" (AFONSO, 2004) and started to be practiced on the weekends at the beaches of Rio de Janeiro, with records of the practice in Copacabana in 1927 (MELO, 2011). It is worth mentioning that the first official beach volleyball tournament took place in December 1946, precisely on Copacabana beach (OLIVEIRA; COSTA, 2010) and seventy years later had its apex when hosting the sport's competitions during the 2016 Olympic Games, when an arena twenty-one meters high, equivalent to a seven-story building, with capacity for twelve thousand people, was assembled on the sands of the beach, in front of Avenida Princesa Isabel.

In the 1950s there were countless nets set up in the morning, from Leme to Posto Seis. The teams were mixed and composed of local residents. According to the Grupamento Marítimo de Salvamento, at that time there were already 256 accredited volleyball nets all along the South

Zone waterfront and most of them were located in Copacabana, and on weekends this number tripled because of the appearance of pirate nets (EMPRESA, 1992). In a survey conducted in 2019, we located 187 tents, 37 kiosks, 109 possible courts for volleyball (and footvolley), with 218 poles installed.

Everyday the volleyball is part of the beach and the landscape, as well as the opposite. In the recreational ideology of the sport, amplifying its meanings by the presence of differentiated environmental conditions close to nature, the beach sands become an arena of territorial dispute for space, which demands boundaries. The city hall has a policy administered by the Municipal Secretariat of Public Order - SEOP - supported by Law 691, of December 24, 1984, art. 136, which exempts the people listed below from TUAP - Tax for the Use of Public Areas (City Hall..., online, unpaginated):

- I - peddlers of newspapers, magazines and lottery tickets;
- II - those who sell at street markets, exclusively, the products of their own cultivation and those of their own breeding — birds and small animals — as long as they exercise the commerce personally by a single registration;
- III - the physically handicapped;
- IV - people over 60 (sixty) years of age, who can prove they do not engage in any other economic activity;
- V - the devices, machines, equipment and coverings destined to the execution or protection of underground works;
- VI - marquees, awnings and "tambinelas;"
- VII - the candy makers called "baianas". Sole Paragraph. The recognition of the exemption foreseen in this article will obligatorily be included in the authorization for the exercise of the activity.

The owners of the poles and those responsible for the volleyball schools that exercise their activities with a certain autonomy at the beaches need to have an authorization issued by this Secretariat and renew it every six months to receive a "nothing to oppose" stamp, in addition to paying the TUAP fee, since they are not exempt from paying the fee, like those mentioned above.

The systematic use of the beach for sports modalities, however, is not a pacified task. The first sporting events at the beach have been the object of consideration for a long time, and Copacabana has been the preferred location for these sporting events:

A diving competition was the first occasion for young cariocas to reveal their particular sporting vocation associated with the sea. Frescoball (beach tennis similar), a supposedly Brazilian invention, appeared in 1945, in front of the Copacabana Palace Hotel, as an adaptation of tennis for the beach. The introduction of footvolley occurred in 1965, also in Copacabana, as an alternative to the prohibition of playing soccer on the sand. The game with balls on beaches and its inconveniences for those who lie on the sand has always been subject to repeated regulations (ANDREATTA et al., 2009, p. 12).

Andreatta et al. (2009) clarifies that in 1968 a decree was issued to regulate the practice of sports on the sands of the beach, which included from Leme to the so-called Pontal do Recreio de Sernambetiba, but in the words of the author "indiscipline ended up prevailing, since each individual always insisted on interpreting the beach as a free territory" (ANDREATTA et al, 2009, p. 13), like most of the sports that insisted and continue to insist on being practiced on the shore, raising some conflict, some regulation, the marking of sporting identities and various appropriations, besides a number of other issues directly related to the management of this singular space.

Farias (2016) and also Santos (2013) point out that the policy called "Shock of order," installed in 2009 in the administration of the mayor of the city of Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Paes (2009-2012 and 2013-2016), was simply not the best way to guarantee urban order. The repressive idea acting in a complex organism like the metropolitan public space exposes social (and urban) fragilities that are far from being solved. On the seashore, this municipal action led to the standardization of equipment and regulation of commerce, dividing opinions on the importance of having control over space and the exaggeration to the extent that these actions implied selective exclusion and gentrification.

The coexistence of conflict and rejoicing at the beach seems inseparable, especially on days that are very crowded with beachgoers. A question that is different in each city. In 1917, in Copacabana, when it was still starting to emerge as a seaside resort neighborhood, there were already regulations for bathing in the sea, between 6 am and 9 am and between 4 pm and 6 pm, in specific places, with appropriate clothing and "no noises and voices" during bathing (CAMPOS, 2010, s/p). Decades passed and the issue of clothing was frequent, even fiscals had to measure the height of the suits to the knees and it was only in the summer of 1950-51, that the so-called Rescue Service at the time became uninterrupted, daily, between 6h30 am and 7h30 pm (BARICKMAN, 2016, p. 4).

Whether on the sand strip or on the boardwalk, in a more positive and pacified view — and equally true, it is a fact that the beach environment certainly stimulates social interaction, as Lobato (2012, p. 99) points out:

I propose the idea that the beach environment is favorable for the development of friendship and sociability networks. The relaxed atmosphere, the sun, the sea, and the escape from routine are elements that make up this scenario. Moreover, there is a great availability of equipment for this to happen, such as bars and kiosks, the wide sidewalk for walking, the bicycle path for biking, the sea for swimming, the nets for playing volleyball, frescobol (beach tennis similar), soccer, and other sports. Copacabana Beach as a whole offers ample possibilities to form groups of friends.

5. CONCLUSION

Today, the discussion about the city permeates the theme of the uses of public spaces. One of the main functions of these spaces is to shelter leisure, especially after the enactment of the 1988 Constitution, which ensures the right to leisure as a fundamental item. In a coastal city like Rio, the city's boardwalk is a place where leisure practices actively take place. Therefore, the democratic management of these spaces is the guarantee for the city to offer and enjoy a

potentially rich scenario of leisure activities. Thus, government programs comprise a marker of the level of efficiency and fairness of the management of public spaces in each city for this issue.

Unfortunately, it is a fact that the relations created and developed by social groups which always originate from a political fact, tend to privilege the interests of the dominant classes. This observation, however, indicates a prevalence, but not a rule or unanimity and, therefore, in order to reverse this play of forces, it is essential to control the natural and social environment to bring about the desired transformations, as Boneti (2007) states. In the case of our object of study, volleyball at the Copacabana Beach Boardwalk, there is a rule for granting the use of poles for setting up nets at the beach, but there seems to be a greater dispute for space with the growing demand for volleyball schools at the beach, which therefore increases the introduction of advertising elements in the landscape.

The possibility of rethinking the city from the historical and established practices of public space uses for physical activities is a unique opportunity to not only comply with the Constitution, but, above all, to understand the potential that exists in this action for the creative transformation of the city, in a more inclusive and democratic way, serving as a starting point to attest the importance of parks for the articulation between urban planning and leisure facilities, which makes this reflection as important as thinking about other spaces, such as housing, commerce, and circulation.

In the city of Rio de Janeiro, volleyball practice ranges from amateur games to international championships and even the Olympics. The dissemination of this sport in the public space is very welcomed, but the forms of occupation always deserve to be better discussed. The population needs support for the activities and sports that mean something to them.

All in all, with the evidence of the city as a place of human life, the investigation of volleyball as a sport and a leisure practice, at the Copacabana Beach Boardwalk for almost 100 years, seeks the possibility of understanding the vicissitudes of contemporary urban life, where the public space at the beach is the manifest condition of a typical Rio de Janeiro sociability.

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