

**A Political Economy of the 2014 FIFA World Cup:
Global Capitalism, Sport Mega Events and the Perceptions of Porto
Alegre Residents Impacted by the FIFA 2014 World Cup Works**

by

Billy Graeff

**A Doctoral Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of
Loughborough University**

School of Sport, Exercise and Health Sciences

February 2019

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Acknowledgements

The academic task, like most of the tasks we assume during our life, is hardly individual. To carry out my doctorate, I needed the support of several people. I found in old and new friends the care and the assistance I needed. And I hope to be able to give back, throughout my life and my academic career, to these and to those who in one way or another come to cross my path. Just as I crossed the path of so many people in my endeavour on the old continent. I would be unfair if I tried to name everyone who contributed to my PhD. I would inescapably leave someone important out. Thus, I prefer to dedicate this thesis, the result of 5 years of work, to those who know how to give practical meaning to solidarity. My old and new friends know that they are part of this increasingly rare group. Thank you.

Notwithstanding, I would like to mention one factor that positively influenced the development of my doctoral studies: the training offered by Loughborough University. First, my supervisors were very supportive of my ideas and often my discussions with them were the starting point for a journey of immersing myself in subjects that until then I did not know much about. Second, the activities promoted in the context of the School of Sport, Exercise and Health Sciences, whether regular or not, were of singular importance for the advancement of my academic life. Third, the Library and the Doctoral College offered very practical courses for those in my academic development phase. These courses focused on issues such as: Exploring Academic Writing Style; Academic Writing Style & Grammar - Exploring Noun Phrase Usage in Academic Writing; Finding information for your literature review and Beyond - Theory; Finding information for your literature review and beyond - Practice; Reading and Writing Research Articles - Exploring the Discussion Section; Being Effective as a Researcher; Strategies for reading journal articles; Academic Citation - Summarising, quoting and referencing; Incorporating Sources through Effective Summarising, Paraphrasing and Harvard Style Referencing; and Effective Communication Skills for Academic Settings.

Additionally, I could not fail to thank some people in particular. Prof. Richard Giulianotti was more than a supervisor. Over the five years we spent together on my doctorate's journey, he was a key part of my academic development. Thank you.

My second supervisors, Prof. Ian Henry and Prof. Paul Downward spared no effort to contribute to my PhD. Thank you.

Dr Joe Piggin, who followed the development of my work as an internal examiner, constructively supported and criticised my work not only at annual assessment meetings but also day-to-day. I became your fan. Thank you.

Over the four years I spent in Loughborough, I had the opportunity to work with several colleagues in disciplines that were offered in undergraduate and postgraduate courses. In particular, in

the modules Introduction to Sociology of Sport, Olympic Studies, Sport Policy Analysis, and Global Issues in Sport. These opportunities for professional growth were promoted mainly by Dr Dominic Malcolm, Dr Jamie Kenyon, Prof. Ian Henry, Prof. Richard Giulianotti, and Dr Joe Piggin. Thank you.

During my stay in Loughborough, I tried to make the most of every opportunity. So, I tried to open every door, to watch every class, to dialogue with every person that I considered interesting. Colleagues as Prof. Alan Bairner, Dr David Howe, Dr Borja García, Professor Barrie Houlihan, Dr Elisavet Argyro Manoli, Dr Carolynne Mason, Dr Rachel Sandford, Dr Serhat Yilmaz, Dr Alex Thurston, Dr Ines Varela-Silva, Prof. Joseph Maguire, Prof. Barry Bogin, Prof. Paul Downward and Dr Christof Leicht were especially receptive. Thank you.

The staff at the School of Sport, Exercise and Health Sciences was always collaborative and I would like to thank everyone, especially Carl Shaw (Carlinhos), Tereza Lingard, Ramesh Mistry, Jenny Sutton, and Jo Bebb. Thank you.

My Ph.D. colleagues. The list of all who contributed to my work would take a lot of space. You were more than colleagues, you became friends, family. Unathletico forever! Print the legend, guys! Thank you.

A special hug to the team of Brazilian students who have been brightening at Loughborough University, especially Marcel Lanza, Thais Sardá, Fernanda Goltz, Fabio Ferraz de Almeida and Bruno Henrique Louzada. Thank you.

Loughborough Futsal Family. What a journey. At the Loughborough Students Futsal Club, I found a real family with all its interconnections and dramas. I can say that I learned a lot and taught a bit in the context of our activities. And proudly refer to the terrific campaigns and titles we have achieved. It was through futsal that I met one of the most amazing people in the world. A person who, among other things, gave pause in his life to help me with the text of my doctorate. Dr Idefe Pérez Jiménez, thank you for existing.

During the final period of the construction of my thesis, some people were of great contribution. Among them, the examiners, Prof. Alan Bairner and Prof. John Horne. But also, Dr Jorge Knijnik, Prof. Barry Bogin, and Prof. Paul Downward. Thank you.

Nottingham Trent University opened its doors so that I could experience teaching in a whole new environment. It was a great experience. Part of my PhD progress was because I could share my ideas with colleagues and students at Trent University. Thank you, Dr Carla Silva, Dr David Hindley, and Prof. Mary Nevill for the opportunity. Please pass on my thanks to all the colleagues I worked with during that happy period.

Dr Paul Bretherton. It would not be possible to count how many times over the last 5 years you came to the aid of this non-native English speaker. For the long conversations, for the lessons, for the corrections, for the exchanged experiences, for a friendship without price, thank you.

Daiana Viacelli Fernandes. My partner. When, in 2011, we talked about a possible United Kingdom term, I am sure none of us would have guessed that it would be so intense. Ulysses was born on a cold night in January 2015 in Nottingham and confirmed the power of the experience. If the world were fair, you would hold a doctor's degree from what you lived in the four years we spent together in Loughborough. When we returned to Brazil in 2018, Ulysses had already visited 26 countries and was only 3 years old. He also deserves a degree! But most of all, you two deserve my most sincere recognition. Thank you for being by my side in the good and the best moments. But also, in the most difficult times.

Finally, nothing I related to in this passage would be possible without the support of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES). Thank you, CAPES.

Abstract

The objective of this thesis is to develop a political economy of sport mega events that includes the impact that such events have on the everyday lives of people directly affected by development projects linked to these events. The research questions that assist the realisation of this objective are 1. what are the links between global capitalism and sport mega events?; 2. in what ways can the knowledge produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup?; and 3. how do people who are directly affected by sport mega event development projects perceive such events?

This thesis is organised into four parts. The first part presents theoretical debates and deals with issues related to global capitalism (chapter 2). This part also presents a relatively independent study in which it is argued that a renewed policy of sport mega events allocation has been developed, and where a first examination of the socioeconomic consequences of the most recent changes regarding the configuration of such a policy is displayed. Chapter 3 provides a discussion on what constitutes a sport mega event. Then, chapter 3 examines how sport mega events are studied, and debates what makes mega events so attractive to so many different social actors. Chapter 4 addresses specific issues related to opposition to sport mega events. In this chapter, the dynamics that surrounded the 2013 Confederations Cup and the 2014 World Cup in relation to the June Journeys, as the massive demonstrations that took over the streets of the country in 2013 are known, are analysed.

The second part of the thesis explains the ontological and epistemological premises and the foundational aspects of the study (sub-chapter 5.1). The ontological and epistemological framework employed throughout the study is based on historical and dialectical materialism. Part II also presents the research objective and the research questions (sub-chapter 5.2). Chapter 5, then, develops to discuss and explain the methodological issues of the thesis. The research methodologies and techniques used in the development of the research were literature review, document analysis, interviews and survey.

The third part of the thesis is composed of one chapter, results and discussion (chapter 6). In that part of the thesis the results of the survey conducted with residents of areas affected by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre are presented and discussed with the support of aspects presented in part I of the thesis and collated with elements produced from the document analysis and the interviews.

The fourth part of the thesis displays the conclusions (chapter 7). To associate aspects from the different spheres of the research in the construction of a political economy of sport mega events and the 2014 World Cup, the chapter initially reaffirms the importance of the ontological and epistemological positions upon which the advancement of the thesis is based (sub-chapter 7.1). Next, the discussions made from the literature review (chapters 3 and 4) on the topic of sport mega events (sub-chapter 7.2) are addressed. Then (sub-chapter 7.3), considerations made in chapter 2 of the thesis, specifically looking at the links between global capitalism and sport mega events are engaged. Subsequently, are presented

the concluding analysis on the perceptions of residents of areas impacted by works of the 2014 World Cup in the city of Porto Alegre (sub-chapter 7.4). The chapter then exhibits the recommendations of the thesis (sub-chapter 7.5). Finally, the chapter displays the limitations of the research and implications for future research (sub-chapter 7.6). This sub-chapter is sub-divided in order to discuss the limitations of the research (section 7.6.1) and the implications for future research (section 7.6.2).

Key words: Sport Mega Events, Sociology of Sport, Political Economy, Brazil, 2014 FIFA World Cup, Porto Alegre

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List of Abbreviations

ANCOP	National Articulation of Popular Committees of the World Cup and the Olympics
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CBF	Brazilian Confederation of Football (Confederação Brasileira de Futebol)
COHRE	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
ECB	European Central Bank
FGV	Fundação Getúlio Vargas
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOC	International Olympic Committee
ISO	International Sports Organisation
NCLCPWCO	National Coalition of Local Committees for a People's World Cup and Olympics
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
RPSMEA	Renewed Policy of Sport Mega Events Allocation
SESGE	Extraordinary Secretary of Big Events (Brazilian Government)
TAR	Territory, authority and rights
TCC	Transnational capitalist class
UN	United Nations
U&CD	Uneven and combined development
USA	United States of America
WB	World Bank

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Introduction

‘Strange’, mused the Director, as they turned away, ‘strange to think that even in Our Ford’s days most games were played without more apparatus than a ball or two and a few sticks and perhaps a bit of netting. Imagine the folly of allowing people to play elaborate games which do nothing whatever to increase consumption. It’s madness. Nowadays the Controllers won’t approve of any new game unless it can be shown that it requires at least as much apparatus as the most complicated of existing games’ (Aldous Leonard Huxley, *Brave New World*).

According to FIFA own’s figures, the 2014 FIFA Men’s World Cup reached 3.2 billion viewers, and at least one billion people watched the final¹. Numbers such as these provide evidence for how sport has become an important element of contemporary society. Frequent media exposure and meaningful inclusion in people’s lives contribute to making this importance continue and evolve (Bourdieu, 1990a; 1990b; 1990c; Brohm, 1978; Dunning, 1992; 2010; Elias & Dunning, 1985; Stigger, 2002). At the same time, sport has gained much greater prominence within the economies and politics of many societies, at least since the late 1980s, for example through the sport-related growth of global corporations such as Nike and Adidas in merchandising, or Sky/Fox in sport-related mass media. Also in terms of the political appeal for cities and nation-states to host sport mega-events such as football Men’s World Cup finals or the Summer Olympic Games, such events have gained increasingly economic and political weight (Blake & Calvert, 2015; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Roche, 1994; 2000).

These processes of sport’s global and commercial expansion are particularly evident in football and in football-focused mega-events (Giulianotti, 2002; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). In chapter 3 of this thesis, definitions about what is a sport mega event are presented. Nevertheless, at this opening juncture, we may initially think of sport mega events as ‘large-scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance’ (Roche, 2000, p.1, no emphasis added).

More specifically, sport mega events in general and the football Men’s World Cup in particular have been increasingly shaped by transnational businesses, which come to influence these events through increasing amounts of revenue, such as in terms of television rights, ticket sales, and corporate ‘partnerships’ or sponsorships (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2004). These events have also been progressively engaged in specific forms of securitisation, which invariably have negative consequences for poor communities in the event location as well as increasing costs (Boyle & Haggerty, 2009; Eisenhauer, Adair & Taylor, 2014; Houlihan & Giulianotti, 2012; Matheson, 2006).

Additionally, these events have been also strongly related to policies of gentrification, which tend to regularly impact in local communities and political economies (Allmers & Maennig, 2009; Gaffney, 2013; Schausteck de Almeida & Graeff, 2016). All of these processes are only possible due to the gigantic

¹ <https://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/2014-fifa-world-cuptm-reached-3-2-billion-viewers-one-billion-watched--2745519>

size such events have grown to (Giulianotti, 2011; Müller, 2015a), which illustrates both the importance of sport in the broader context as well as the role sport mega events have in such circumstances. Moreover, sport mega events have been increasingly associated with the logic of capitalist modernity (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Roche, 1998) and have tended to be ‘the creations of political leaderships and economic elites’ (Roche, 2008, p. 287).

However, it is important to note that despite the growing significance of sport mega events and sport in general, the sociological study of these topics has long struggled to be taken seriously within the academic field. As Horne and Manzenreiter (2006, p. 1) state:

it is surprising that the sociological and social scientific study of sport - ritualized, rationalized, commercial spectacles and bodily practices that create opportunities for expressive performances, disruptions of the everyday world and affirmations of social status and belonging - was still seen as something as a joke by mainstream sociology until recently.

Indeed, as Bourdieu (1990a) declared years ago, ‘the sociology of sport: it is disdained by sociologists, and despised by sportspeople’ (p. 156). Arguably, research into sport mega events represents one field in which the sociological significance of sport, and the relevance of sociology for examining sport, may be actively demonstrated. Thus, sociological research on sport mega events can contribute to the development of a sociology of sport that has a stronger position within the academy.

Nevertheless, even though sport mega events also have the potential to significantly impact the lives of regular citizens, the perceptions of residents of host countries and cities are commonly ‘overlooked’, especially those of people living near the events’ venues and development projects (Bob & Swart, 2009, p. 47). So far, most of the knowledge produced on sport mega events has tended to consider the global political economy of sport mega events and the perceptions of residents of sport mega events hosts, separately. To address this gap, this thesis presents an analysis of the FIFA 2014 Men’s World Cup which brings together elements of a global political economy and the perceptions of residents impacted by a development project related to the event.

Therefore, this introduction presents first the objective and research questions of the thesis. In sequence, it will provide a summary of the main discussions conducted throughout the thesis, organising such discussions as related to macro and micro dimensions of the research. Lastly, I explain how combining macro and micro spheres of the research provides an integrated narrative that advances our understanding of sport mega events.

1.1 Objective and research questions

To begin the development of a political economy of sport mega events, I turn to the classic work of Karl Marx. In the preface to his book ‘Contribution to the critique of political economy’ (1973 [1859]),

Marx states that he analyses elements such as capital, landed property, wage-labour, the State, foreign trade, the world market, to construct his critique of the political economy. That is, for Marx, the political economy constructs an explanation of social phenomena from the interaction between the various components that make up society, with emphasis on political and economic aspects. For Marx, political economy creates an explanation of reality that is ‘a rich totality of many determinations and relations’ (Marx, 1973 [1859], p. 41).

For Collinson, ‘political economy analysis is concerned with the interaction of political and economic processes within a society: the distribution of power and wealth between different groups and individuals, and the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time’ (2003, p. 3). Thus, in this thesis, the political economy of sports mega events means the construction of a narrative that addresses global and specific elements related to sport mega events, considering the different spheres and actors that interact to develop the relationships involved by and from such events.

Thus, the objective of this thesis is to develop a political economy of sport mega events that includes the impact that such events have on the everyday lives of people directly affected by development projects linked to these events.

To pursue this objective, I sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the links between global capitalism and sport mega events?
2. How can the literature produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup?
3. How do people who are directly affected by sport mega event development projects perceive such events?

These questions enabled me to investigate the following critical fields/areas/issues which interconnect the global political economic construction of sport mega events, the knowledge produced around and specifically focused on sport mega events, and the everyday sociocultural experience of sport mega events: global capitalism, urbanism, uneven and combined development, literature on sport mega events and in opposition to them, and the perceptions that people affected by such events have in relation to these events.

The approach I chose can be understood through the interrelation of macro and micro dimensions that interact in the construction of the political economy of sport mega events. The macro dimension of the research focused on the investigation of the relationships between global capitalism and sport mega events. Thus, the macro dimension of the thesis was organised to contribute with the development of the first two research questions: ‘what are the links between global capitalism and sport mega events?’ and ‘how can the literature produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup?’.

That is, this sphere of research analyses seeks to know more about how global capitalism and the universe of sport mega events are related (chapter 2). In this part of the thesis, I discuss which trends of

global capitalism sport mega events have been following. I identified the territorial expansion, the fractioning of the productive process and the outsourcing of phases of the productive process as some of the most important features of the current relationship between global capitalism and sport mega events.

The macro dimension of the research also approaches the knowledge produced specifically about sport mega events. In this part of the literature review (chapters 3 and 4), texts that focus specifically on the theme of sport mega events were discussed. The analysis of the bibliographical production of the area revealed important aspects for the research. For example, from this analysis, it was acknowledged that different authors and organisations took different views on the event, and I used those different views as a key reference in my fieldwork.

The micro dimension of the research is related to the perceptions held by those directly affected by development projects associated with the 2014 FIFA Men's in relation to housing, education, health, security, public sphere performance, employment/economy, and the FIFA 2014 World Cup. In this section (chapter 6), I explore the perceptions of people who have been affected by the 2014 Men's World Cup in the host city of Porto Alegre. Topics that appear within the macro dimension are also presented to survey participants and interviewees. This was done so that the research could, in addition to knowing the perceptions of the respondents, also problematise issues present in the first parts of the thesis.

For example, security issues are part of the macro analysis. Thus, a set of questions related to security is part of the survey and the theme was also discussed in the interviews so that I could compare different approaches to the topic. As well as in relation to the health area, which has been affected by the neoliberal policies that are part of the discussion that I present in the context of the macro dimension of the research. The research included in the survey, then, a set of questions related to health.

However, respondents to the survey and interviewees have not made direct references to the role of neoliberal policies in health performance. Nevertheless, I inserted references to the discussions made in chapter 2 regarding neoliberalism in the section that discusses health throughout chapter 6 (Results), and that in my view contributed to the understanding of more global questions that are implicated in the performance of health within this research. Thus, in addition to presenting the results of the survey conducted with residents of areas affected by the development projects linked to the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre, chapter 6 also contributes to the explicitness of the relationships between the global and local spheres involved in the production of a sport mega event.

1.2 Thesis organisation: macro and micro dimensions of the research

In the following sections (1.2 and 1.3), I present the analytical organisation of the thesis. In section 1.2, I present more clearly the macro and micro dimensions of the research. In section 1.3, I evidence how combining macro and micro spheres of the research created an integrated narrative. In these

sections, the way the thesis is organised in relation to its analytical aspects is presented with examples that are later developed in the specific chapters of the thesis. But initially, it is important for the reader to know the structure of the thesis.

The thesis is organised into four parts and seven chapters. Part I comprises the literature review and focuses on global capitalism and sport mega events. This part contains chapters '2. Global capitalism and the uneven and combined development of sport mega events', '3. Sport mega events', and '4. Opposition to sport mega events: Global and local dissenting voices'. Part II contains the ontological and epistemological premises of the thesis, and a discussion of the methodological approach and data collection methods used. In this part is chapter '5. Research methodology and methods'. Part III presents the results of the fieldwork research and the discussions of the results, chapter '6. Results and discussion'. Part IV presents the conclusions of the thesis, chapter '7. Conclusions'.

1.2.1 Macro dimension

The macro dimension of the thesis approaches the broader sphere analysed in the context of this research: global capitalism and sport mega events. The relationship with the research developed here is given through the first two research questions: what are the links between global capitalism and sport mega events?, and how can the literature produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup? The analysis of the macro dimension of the thesis explores broader features related to trends of global capitalism that have become incorporated by sport mega events. Such trends are related mainly to territorial expansion, the fractioning of the productive process and the outsourcing of phases of the productive process (Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1994; Maher, 2016; McMichael, Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1995; Meszaros, 1995).

Throughout chapter 2, I demonstrate how sport mega events expanded their territory, happening outside the Global North, following the trend of territorial expansion of global capitalism. Subsequently, I point out how sport mega events have adapted and developed their way of fractioning the productive process and outsourcing phases of the productive process. Additionally, traits of uneven and combined development theory, which is addressed specifically in chapter 2, could also be found throughout the analysis and utilised to contribute to a deeper and more complex understanding of the relationship between global capitalism and sport mega events (Allinson & Anievas, 2009; Anievas, 2009; Mandel, 1970; Novack, 1966; 1976; Rosenberg, 2010; 2013).

The analysis of the macro dimension additionally permitted issues related to urbanism and the strengthened relationship between the city and sport mega events to be addressed. The analysis which I present in this thesis demonstrates that such a synchronicity is due to the increasing power of cities to make political and economic decisions (Harvey, 1989) and to the growing entrepreneurial nature of both cities and sport mega events (Hall, 2006; Hiller, 2006). That is, aspects of urbanism have been

fundamental to understanding sport mega events (Hammersc, 2012a; La Barre, 2014; Newman, 2007), and that is why I studied them in the context of this thesis. Moreover, in Part I, I considered policies and politics related to disputes among global/world cities and candidates to such a status in relation to sport mega events (Friedmann, 1986; Sassen, 1991; 2012; 2016).

This research aims to better understand the relationship between broader issues related to global capitalism and the perception of residents of areas affected by development projects linked to sport mega events. Hence, I considered the literature specifically produced from the study of such events an important part of this investigation. Thus, the macro level of the research also focused on exploring literature produced from sport mega events and attempted at articulating the knowledge required to answer the second research question: ‘in what ways can the knowledge produced on mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup?’.

The analysis performed in the literature focused on sport mega events revealed that the field of studies encompassing sport mega events yields discrepant results. This may be because sport mega events studies tend to focus on economic impacts, disregarding other dimensions of the influence they can have on host cities and countries (Vico, Uvinha & Nuno Gustavo, 2018).

Additionally, relationships between researchers, owners, promoters, broadcasters and sponsors of sport mega events can also be considered problematic within the field of studies, having the potential to produce contradictory results (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). For example, van den Berg and de Nooij (2013) pointed out that interests may lead to biased readings of history and the choice of certain examples ahead of others. The authors evidenced how the Barcelona 1992 Olympics have been continuously used as an example of a successful Olympics, despite the unique characteristics that were attached to that edition of the Games.

Numerous authors argue that the success of Barcelona 1992 was only possible due to an intense process that involved wide participation of the population and public entities in a context of strong political competition that ultimately converted the Games into a strategic instrument of urban renewal and regeneration, with respect to local, global and strategic planning (Botella, 1995; Brown, 1992; Brunet, 1995; 2002; Calavita & Ferrer, 2000; Essex & Chalkley, 1998; Gold & Gold, 2008; IOC, 2012b; Marshall, 1996; Monclús, 2003). Furthermore, the Games organisers and the city of Barcelona could optimise the acquisition of funds due to the ongoing processes of re-democratisation (in Spain) and integration (into Europe). Major investment in new transport systems, housing and the rejuvenation of neglected areas are referred to as positive actions in terms of legacy related to that edition of the Olympic Games. These features led the Games to have a budget that invested 83% of its funds in urban regeneration (Capel, 2007).

However, all these different vectors cannot be observed in the most recent editions of sport mega events, nor are they frequently mentioned in most of the literature focused on sport mega events. Thus,

it seems clear that in certain circles certain examples and types of information are chosen to the detriment of others.

This discrepancy may also be caused by the relatively important share of research funding that FIFA and the IOC provide within the field of studies, as I point out in chapter 3. According to Horne and Manzenreiter, these are undemocratic and non-transparent institutions and ‘those that challenge this, or write about it critically, may become persona non-grata...’ (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006, p. 12-13). Hence, the dependency on funding may lead researchers to soften critiques and to avoid certain themes in order to secure continued funding.

In terms of tendencies identified, unlike the trends between global capitalism and sport mega events, which are more clearly observable, the examination of the literature on sport mega events presented conflicting results. For example, I evidenced in chapter 3 that media exposure is considered one of the main aims of potential hosts when bidding for sport mega events, but the literature is not consistent on whether such an exposition may have only positive results for hosts or not (Hall, 2006; Horne, 2007; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Manzenreiter, 2007; Roche, 1994; Silvestre, 2009).

Additionally, sometimes celebrated, the participation of big transnational companies is also acknowledged as a problematical issue by some scholars due to the commercialisation and corporatisation of sport mega events, I indicate in chapter 3. That is because these characteristics of commercialisation and corporatisation, have been associated with questions such as the decline in popular participation in sports, the weakening of the relations between populations and cultural aspects of sport, elitism, the declining of spontaneous time-spaces within sport, gentrification, and corruption (Beacom, 2013; Black, 2007; Eick, 2011a; Giulianotti, 2011; Giulianotti & Brownell, 2012; Giulianotti, Armstrong, Hales & Hobbs, 2015; Hall, 2006; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Kennedy & Kennedy, 2012; Maguire, 2011; Meier & Garcia, 2015; Nauright, 2004).

Furthermore, the literature on sport mega events presented a clear divide between ‘expected’ results and verifiable results. In chapter 3, I approach such a division according to the models used to produce such knowledges, i.e. *ex-ante* and *ex-post facto* (Barclay, 2009; Owen, 2005; Matheson, 2006; Sterken, 2007). I discuss throughout that passage that *ex-ante* studies have been part of a discursive resource used by sport mega event owners, promoters, organisers, sponsors and broadcasters. By discursive resource, I refer to the discourses typically used by sport mega events owners, promoters, organisers, sponsors and broadcasters (Allmers & Maennig, 2009, Baade & Matheson, 2016; Mehrotra, 2011; Roche, 1994; 2000; Sterken, 2007; Szymanski, 2002; 2011). Characteristics of these discursive resources are that they are (a) upwardly biased; (b) based on studies commissioned by parties interested on the success of bids or evaluations of the events, as national and transnational elites, being part of governments or companies; (c) based on studies funded by stakeholders such as FIFA and the IOC, or government agencies; (d) organised in a way that such a discourse does not evidence advantages gained by the the sport mega events franchise owners or their closest associates, as sponsors, for example; (e)

based on assumptions, such as that sport mega events are beneficial; and (f) predominantly use *ex-ante* research as support, preferably recent research, and which does not present data from older editions where problematic issues may be more visible. Additionally, in chapter 3, I discuss why *ex-post* research has been considered more accurate and reliable in the context of sport mega events studies.

At the macro level of the research, I also engage with studies focused on residents of localities where sport mega events are situated. Initially, such analysis identifies that there is a shortage of research meant to apprehend such perceptions (Kim et al., 2015, p.22). However, despite this shortage, studies are found and examined. The review of these studies reveals that, as mentioned above, the perceptions of people living near areas affected by development projects linked to sport mega events as well as the perceptions of people directly impacted by such projects have been historically overlooked in the literature (Bob & Swart, 2009).

I also learned through such a review that several different methodological tools have been adopted in the academic environment to capture sport mega events hosts residents/locals' perceptions on different issues. Then, for being dissimilar, such tools produce results that are not always comparable.

Consequently, the production of research with approaches that encompass several different issues may facilitate the process of comparison among the diverse studies on the field in the future. Also, the definition of universes and samples presented distinctions within the studies consulted. Populations of regions, countries and cities are often used with little importance given to the representation of universes and samples.

Thus, the overall indication coming from this element of the macro dimension was the need for research on people living near and affected by development projects linked to sport mega events; and, for research which calibrates scales (universe and samples) so more consequential and comparable works can be produced (Gursoy & Kendall, 2006; Kim & Petrick, 2005; Kim et. al, 2015; Li, Hsu & Lawton, 2014; Prayag et al., 2012).

For the development of this thesis, these findings are extremely important. First, I could find orientation from such indications about the importance of researching people directly affected by development projects associated with sport mega events. Additionally, these findings supported the position that the fieldwork research to be developed in the context of this thesis should address different themes, and that this aspect of the study should investigate the perceptions of local residents.

Also, seeking a clear definition for the universe of the research and for the sample involved in the data collection became very important. One of the main contributions of this thesis to the literature on the perceptions of residents of sport mega events host countries and cities is related to the advances made in relation to universe and sample definition. These elements also impacted on the design of the research and reflect on the micro level of the research, which will be presented below.

Image projection, economic outcomes and legacies of sport mega events are then addressed within the macro level of the research as the main aims of potential hosts when bidding for hosting

Games (Barclay, 2009; Baade & Matheson, 2001; Manzenreiter, 2007; Roche, 1994; Silvestre, 2009). All of these elements are problematised and, as with many other elements from the macro level of the research, presented conflicting findings.

As part of the macro level of the research, I also analyse literature, not solely academic work, which has directly or indirectly explored areas of criticism of the hosting of sport mega events. The main criticisms of sport mega events within this non-academic literature are numerous and diverse, and centre on lack of benefits towards the poor and the disadvantaged; the fact that hosting sport mega events constitutes a misdirection of resources needed to meet a wide range of pressing social needs; the increasing budgets of sport mega events; problems related to urban transport; problems caused to the informal economy; problems related to working conditions; disrespect for ethnic minorities, indigenous and traditional peoples; threats to free speech and freedom of assembly; lack of transparency and public participation; problems related to housing and evictions; problems related to violence against poor people; problems related to human rights; problems related to violence against opponents of sport mega events; problems related to inconvenience and disruption brought by sport mega events to cities and countries; the elitist, privatised and exclusionary character of sport mega events; gentrification and elitism of renewed areas; and ‘false promises’ made on the impacts of sport mega events².

In this context, I additionally inserted specific discussions on the June Journeys of 2013 in this passage of the macro level. The June Journeys were public demonstrations that brought millions of people to the streets of Brazil, questioning the political agenda of the country and highlighting issues hitherto distant from most of the population. The June Journeys are seen by different scholars as difficult to comprehend as no economic crisis or conjunctural elements could be easily identified to help explain the outburst of demonstrations (Medina, 2013; Visentini, 2013). It was during the June Journeys that the 2014 World Cup became a matter for protesting among the Brazilian population. ‘We want FIFA standard schools and hospitals’ became one of the most repeated mottos of the marches (Horne & Silvestre, 2016) and leveraged further protests that threatened to impede the Confederations Cup in 2013 and the World Cup in 2014 (ANCOP, 2014).

The macro level analysis contributed to the construction of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup in many ways, offering specific areas of knowledge and making apparent some of the disputes that characterise the field. In relation to the analysis of the literature focused on sport mega events, chiefly, the literature was found to feature significant disagreements between different scholars.

The exploration of the links between global capitalism and sport mega events exhibited tendencies that can be considered solid. The examination of the literature focused on sport mega events, exposed themes that are in constant dispute within the field, and generated results that can even be considered mutually exclusive on occasions. Therefore, the micro level, which involves the investigation

² do not deliver/develop projects advertised during the bidding process/initial process of planning, for example.

of the perceptions of people directly affected by development projects related to the FIFA 2014 Men's World Cup, gains importance in the context of this thesis.

1.2.2 Micro dimension

The micro level of this research narrows the focus that has been constructed from the analysis of the elements of the macro dimension of the investigation. Thus, the focus of the micro level of this thesis is the perception of residents affected by the development project linked to the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre known as Tronco Avenue construction. The approach to such residents and to the theme of the micro level of the research was given according to the third research question: how do people who are directly affected by sport mega event development projects perceive such events? The micro level of the research, the investigation of the perceptions of people directly affected by development projects related to the 2014 World Cup, is based on fieldwork research.

The fieldwork was conducted with residents of Porto Alegre who were directly affected by the main development project of the 2014 World Cup in the city. Porto Alegre was the city chosen as the *locus* of the fieldwork research, initially because much has been said and written about Rio de Janeiro, which was host for the Pan American Games in 2007, the FIFA 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics (Curi, Knijnik & Mascarenhas, 2011; de La Barre, 2014; de Oliveira, 2011; Donaghy, 2015; Gaffney, 2010; Livingstone, 2014; Penglase, 2016; Sánchez & Broudehoux, 2013; Schausteck de Almeida & Graeff, 2016; Silvestre & Oliveira, 2012; Steinbrink, 2013).

Thus, knowing more about the consequences of the 2014 World Cup in different cities in Brazil is important because it adds to what has been already produced about the event from Rio de Janeiro. But more specifically, the city of Porto Alegre was chosen as the focus of the study and the fieldwork due to being one example of an important Brazilian state capital that managed to become a FIFA 2014 World Cup host city. Porto Alegre is also important due to its historical role in the construction and the development of participatory policies, especially with the creation and development of the Participatory Budget (1989³). Furthermore, Porto Alegre and the state of Rio Grande do Sul have in recent years sought leadership in international and regional processes in promoting, for example, the World Social Forum (2001, 2002, 2003 and 2005) and various initiatives related to the Mercosul and the Cone-sul (Southern Cone). Porto Alegre is also the FIFA 2014 World Cup host city with which I have the closest connection due to my family, academic and political history.

I considered as the universe of the research the 'impact area' of the major development project linked to the 2014 Brazil World Cup in Porto Alegre, as indicated by the Porto Alegre City Hall, the Tronco Avenue construction. The Tronco Avenue is a project launched by the 2014 World Cup Local Committee in 2011 and managed by the Porto Alegre City Hall. The works were initiated in 2012 and

³ <https://www.sul21.com.br/areazero/2014/09/em-25-anos-orcamento-participativo-se-espalhou-pelo-mundo-e-rompeu-logica-clientelista-da-politica/>

should have been finished by 2013. However, many of the procedures are unfinished and several parts of the construction were abandoned (Correio do Povo, 2017). There were an estimated 3465 residences in the area, of which 134 (5%) were randomly selected and visited and one of its residents surveyed. Additionally, 7 (5%) of the respondents to the survey were also interviewed. The survey gathered 50 different pieces of information which dealt with the identification of the residence and the respondent and the themes of housing, education, health, security, public sphere performance, employment/economy, and the FIFA 2014 World Cup. Additionally, the type of ownership the residents have in relation to the residences, and the location of the residences in relation to the Tronco Avenue proved to be important.

The analysis and discussion of these data suggested that sport mega events could contribute to the softening of social issues if projects linked to them would be focused on the disadvantaged. Additionally, these data suggest that sport mega events' gigantism could be at least initially tackled if development projects would be more directly focused on those directly affected. Furthermore, in terms of the perceptions of Porto Alegre residents impacted by the Tronco Avenue construction, every theme addressed in the research was considered to have performed negatively – in other words, the residents were adversely affected in all of the impact issues that are examined by this thesis.

1.3 Combining macro and micro spheres of the research: an integrated narrative

I seek to provide a coherent narrative that effectively combines the two dimensions (macro and micro) examined throughout the research, global capitalism-sport mega events and the perceptions of people who are directly affected by sport mega events' development projects. The connections between global capitalism and sports mega events became clearer because sport mega events political economy broader elements were integrated in a coherent narrative that included knowledge produced from sport mega events. Looking at the two dimensions at once, global capitalism-sport mega events and the perceptions of residents affected by such events, revealed that such events follow neoliberal tendencies, tend to be profitable to elites and detrimental to those who are directly affected by development projects linked to the events.

In terms of the assumed benefits of sport mega events, the narrative exposed that the analysis of the literature focused on sport mega events evidenced that disputes within the field do not allow a clear discernment between what is only discourse and what is based on evidence. Given these points, I found that the perceptions of Porto Alegre residents affected by the Tronco Avenue development works are unambiguous: the FIFA 2014 Men's World Cup performed negatively in all areas addressed. Areas such as housing, security, employment/economy, and public sphere performance produced particularly adverse results for being considered central to the promotion of the event and its discourse, and for being assessed predominantly unfavourably by the respondents of the survey and people interviewed.

Overall, the results produced by this research reinforce that sport mega events have been following trends of global capitalism, that at least part of the field of studies dedicated to sport mega events function as accessories to the discursive resources used by owners, promoters, sponsors, broadcasters and organisers of the events, and that people who are directly affected by development projects associated to sport mega events tend to view such events negatively. Only a wide-ranging approach such as that chosen for the development of this thesis could have made the interrelationship between these different sub-areas.

I want to underline two specific advances of this thesis as contributions to the literature on sport mega events and on the perceptions of people affected by sport mega events. First, the thesis advances knowledge of how people are affected by development projects that are linked to sport mega events perceive such events. I was able to deal, throughout my research, with a population that directly feels the impacts of sport mega events. Probably because of this, the results that I have produced through my research are so different from most of the works in the field of study of residents/locals' perceptions of sport mega events hosts, which tend to use methodologies that do not prioritise direct contact, such as collection techniques that use telephone contacts or communications via mail.

Second, by articulating elements of the macro sphere (global capitalism - sport mega events) and the micro sphere (people affected by sport mega events), I was able to combine and integrate diverse literatures and perspectives that are usually manifested or represented in different areas of academia. In combining and integrating such literatures in an innovative way, I produced a stronger understanding of sport mega events. Discussions that understand sport mega events as events that are part of the logic of capitalism tend to be in the minority of the field of studies. Details about which of the characteristics of capitalism are embodied by sport mega events and how this happens are even scarcer in both the literature focused on global capitalism and on that focused on sport mega events. Future research, thus, can perform more specific analyses based on the results I have presented or in comparison to them, and they may use tools I have employed.

The next part of the thesis is part I. It encompasses the literature review. As explained above, part I consists of three chapters: 2. Global capitalism and the uneven and combined development of sport mega events; 3. Sport mega events; and 4. Opposition to sport mega events: Global and local dissenting voices.

Part I

Part I of the thesis engages with the first two research questions: 1. what are the links between global capitalism and sport mega events?, and 2. in what ways can the knowledge produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup?. Thus, the first part of the thesis deals with issues related to global capitalism and the theme of sport mega events.

Chapter 2 presents the most comprehensive discussions in terms of the location of the thesis in the theoretical context. The chapter is titled 'the uneven and combined development of sport mega events'. However, such a definition is built throughout the chapter, with the help of several sections. Such sub-chapters contribute to the understanding of the social phenomenon of sport mega events in the context of global capitalism.

Then, in chapter 3, I provide a discussion on what constitutes a sport mega event, how sport mega events are studied and what makes them so attractive to so many different social actors. Chapter 4 addresses specific issues related to opposition to sport mega events. The purpose of this part of the thesis is to establish a more specific connection between the macro aspects and the specific aspects related to sport mega events in the context of the academic discussions that are dedicated to them.

Thus, this is also the justification for the choice of references used throughout the literature review. I chose to work with texts from different perspectives in the context of sport mega events, so that it was possible to identify the contradictions within the field of studies. In relation to the texts used for the construction of chapter 2, the uneven and combined development of sport mega events, I have chosen to work with publications that offer a vision of the broader processes in the context of global capitalism. Thus, sport mega events could be understood in their relationships to the general context and not only in their specificities. In chapter 5, 'Research methodology and methods', there is a section dedicated specifically to explain the techniques applied in the literature review.

2. Global capitalism and sport mega events

This chapter predominantly engages the first research question: what are the links between global capitalism and sport mega events?. To address this question, I examine the more general tendencies of global capitalism, the dynamics of unequal and combined development that characterise that sphere, and how these movements affect the sport mega events universe.

Countries, cities and institutions (including businesses) located in the Global North and in the Global South present different stages of development. When they interact by means of a mega event, the results for each of the parts involved vary (see table 1). The international sphere, in turn, has been in the focus of many academic debates, often secondarily, even when its presence could be crucial for given fields, such as globalisation or international relations studies, for example. Despite that, it is an ‘untheorised’ category in many fields (Allinson & Anievas, 2009; Blackledge, 2006; Callinicos & Rosenberg, 2008). Yet the aim of this chapter is to discuss this international sphere as the background for the development of the political economy of sport mega events.

Thus, I have organised the chapter in sub-chapters that focus on specific but interrelated issues. The first sub-chapter (2.1) approaches the global capitalist system and identifies its dominant trends, pointing out links to sport mega events. Sub-chapter 2.2 focuses on the urbanist approach and its relationship with sport mega events, and section 2.2.1 emphasises how changes from managerialism to entrepreneurialism in the administrative sphere of cities impacted on the sport mega events universe.

Finally, I approach the growing focus on the Global South as host to sport mega events. Sub-chapter 2.3 argues that there is a renewed policy of sport mega events allocation in course. Sub-chapter 2.3.1 approaches such a movement and section 2.3.2 explores this tendency. Section 2.3.3 ‘when things go South’, analyses the consequences of such a policy, examining changes in sport mega events costs, the share of governments in the financing of sport mega events, the income of the sport mega events franchise owners, and the expenditure related to construction and security.

2.1 The global capitalist system

Interesting for the development of this thesis is a striking feature of the current stage of global capitalism that occurred in the economic field: the rise of transnational capital. By transnational capital I mean the set of resources used by investors and speculators of different nationalities to develop economic activities in different countries (Robinson, 2012). However, several authors also use the term when referring to the transnational capitalist class (Sklair, 2002b; Struna, 2013). For Sklair, ‘if the capitalist system is the dominant global system, then the TCC [transnational capitalist class] is the global ruling class’ (1997, p. 520, emphasis added).

The rise of transnational capital, against other forms of capital, enabled the formation of an international and then transnational economy that became global. Such a global economy qualitatively and quantitatively altered the flow of production and distribution of goods and services, the structure and the movement of capital, and the circuits of capital accumulation (Meszaros, 1995; Robinson, 2004; Sklair, 2001, 2002a; 2002b).

Sport, as a social domain, in turn, was both impacted by and a promoter of such changes. On the one hand, sports industries have been keen to move parts of the production sector to less stable economies, taking advantage of the wave of disruption to the legal/taxation system and the cheapening of the workforce (Nauright & Pope, 2016). On the other hand, sport mega events, for example, could make use of the newly born financial-technological structure to direct resources from tickets and image rights selling directly to the vaults of international sports organisations, such as FIFA and the IOC, for example, avoiding taxation (Eick, 2010; Nauright, 2004; Trubina, 2014).

The flow of production and distribution of goods and services, even after the ascension of transnational capital, followed the trend of expansion, fractioning and outsourcing, but now under the auspices of the advancement of neoliberal policies and the strengthening of transnational capital (Maher, 2016; Meszaros, 1995). More specifically, the flow of production and distribution of goods and services operated territorial expansion, fractionation of the productive process and outsourcing of productive stages to places where cheap labour can be used. Sport mega events, considered as an economic activity, have developed a strong tendency towards such territorial expansion. World Cups and Summer Olympics will have been held in places such as Athens (Greece), Beijing (China), South Africa, Brazil, Russia and Qatar from 2004 to 2022 (Curi, Knijnik & Mascarenhas, 2011; Horne, 2015a), for example.

Thus, the international trade and financial flow expanded territorially and became a global economy, but with specific characteristics (Robinson, 2004; 2005). In addition to trends of expansion, fractioning and outsourcing, discussed earlier, these include the radicalisation of aspects of the production process, keeping properties of the international division of labour, in uneven and combined terms, and the deepening of already unequal relationships of interdependence and domination between national and international elites, countries and regions (Robinson & Harris, 2004).

Manual labour and other forms of work that require less qualified human formation were intensively transposed to regions outside the Global North where labour laws are less rigid and where, very importantly, the cost of labour allows increased profit margins. This process has been referred to as offshoring in the literature and can be considered another aspect of the radicalisation of the production process (Coe & Hess, 2013; Mahrer, 2016). For the study of sport mega events, 'offshoring' can be seen as an important feature. Awarding sport mega events to countries outside of the Global North may have been a form of 'offshoring' such events.

The movement of capital has then become 'globalised'. Transnational capital developed towards a functional integration (Lowy, 2010) of legal, commercial, financial and logistics aspects of the

production and distribution spheres, allowing a level of complementarity and simultaneity that enables 'real organic integration' (Robinson, 2004, p. 14), thus creating transnational contexture. Not least, capital also became dominated by elites less concerned with national interests, but with the profitability of investments, whether they are geographically located in national or international territories (Struna, 2013). Important economic issues such as employment and national development, as well as national industry policy, lost their political significance to more attractive initiatives from the transnational capital point of view. Financial investment became the main reference-point for the elites who run transnational capital, operating at national and transnational levels (Sklair, 1997, 2002b).

Robinson and others have approached this emergent elite as the transnational capitalist class (2012, p. 351). It is possible that this transnational capitalist class has had a prominent role in the development of the sport mega events allocation policy contemporarily. Most of the governing and decision-making bodies of international sports organisations are formed and commanded by people from the Global North. However, it can be assumed that many of these people also have ties to the bourgeoisie, or are part of it. With the dissemination of transnational finance capitalist ideals, these people may have also altered their way of seeing sport mega events. In this case, sport mega events would have been changed from a national developmental policy to a financial policy, regardless of the discourse accompanying such events.

One of the main features of transnational finance capital, then, is its volatility. This volatility has contributed significantly to the deepening of the diametrical opposition between the production and distribution of goods in the global panorama (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2016; Meszaros, 1995). If on the one hand the globalisation of the economy allowed the assemblage of multi-spatial production networks, on the other the conception of such enterprises changed from an orientation more concerned with the production to a perspective grounded in the logic of the investment. Thereby, as agile as it is to organise such assemblages, financial capital is also able to leave an industrial plant or even a country at the drop of a hat (Harvey, 2010b).

However, what is important for the discussion of sport mega events in this case is that such events seem to have borrowed this neoliberal feature. As a matter of fact, sport mega events have always been relatively agile in entering and leaving a country. But with the help of the technology and new capital structures, sport mega events seem to have benefited even further from the volatility of capital. The most apparent form of this process appears to be the transfer of economic resources directly to the coffers of franchise owners (FIFA and IOC). These resources, stemming from the sale of image and ticket rights, sponsorship and merchandising contracts, 'disappear' from any part of the world and 'reappear' in the coffers of franchise owners.

The change from a national-based economy to a global-based economy led consequently and no less importantly to a transnational capital-based circuit of accumulation (Meszaros, 1995). This circuit is mainly characterised by the structure and movement of financial capital. To better grasp the new circuits

of capital accumulation it is important to understand that the structure of the capital suffered internal changes. It became dominated by the transnational and finance capital. So, capital then became more mobile and more agile. That may have contributed to the territorial expansion of sport mega events since it became easier to move resources between different places. Consequently, it has also become less risky. Therefore, the mobility of capital allowed by the creation of new legal structures as well as the moulding of old legislations created a flexible flow of capitals (Bartley, 2007; Harvey, 1989; Meszaros, 1995, pp. 227-232; Robinson, 2004). Rather than being standardised, fixed and centralised, the ongoing flexible flow of capitals relies on outsourcing and sub-contracting - in other words, fragmentation of the production process - converted into global chains (Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1994; McMichael, Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1995), which are characterised by being mobile, expansive and having their control and profitability highly concentrated (Gereffi, Humphrey & Sturgeon, 2005; Meszaros, 1995).

This passage of the thesis served to discuss influences that the global capitalist system exerts on the dynamics of sport mega events. Thus, first, it was important to emphasize the role that the rise of transnational capital had in shaping the development of the global capitalist system (Sklair, 2002a, Struna, 2013).

Second, it was also important to understand that with the rise of transnational and financial capital there was also the ascent of a fraction of the bourgeoisie: the transnational capital class (Robinson, 2012; Sklair, 1997). This class may have influenced the current policy of allocation of sport mega events, according to their financial inclination, to the detriment of the developmental perspective lent to sport mega events in the past.

Third, consequently, it was relevant to stress that such changes have qualitatively and quantitatively altered the flow and the distribution of goods, services and capitals. The most interesting characteristics of these productive processes in the context of global capitalism for this thesis are territorial expansion, fractionation of the productive process, and outsourcing and offshoring of productive stages (Meszaros, 1995, Robinson, 2004, Sklair, 2001, 2002a, 2002b). Sport mega events adapted to these trends, extending their territorial base, externalising (offshoring) phases of the production process, but maintaining the centrality of control and profitability of operations (Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1994; Gereffi, Humphrey & Sturgeon, 2005; McMichael, Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1995; Meszaros, 1995).

Fourth, another pertinent note is that capital became very agile and volatile during the reign of global capitalism (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2016; Harvey, 2007; 2010b; Meszaros, 1995). Thus, economic and financial operations became less dangerous for investors, such as the sport mega events franchise owners, because resources could be directed straight to their vaults without delay. This new world order reissued forms of international relationship, now guided by the transnational paradigm. And while it is possible to observe the implications of such international relations for sport mega events, it seems relevant to

deepen the understanding about uneven and combined development so that the relationships established between different actors within sport mega events can be discussed later.

2.2 The urbanist approach

The relationship between sport mega events and the urban has become increasingly evident, at least from Barcelona 1992 Olympics. Hence, aspects of the urban have been increasingly important in the context of sport mega events (Hammersc, 2012a; de La Barre, 2014; Müller & Gaffney, 2018; Newman, P., 2007). Thus, the point of view of the urbanist approach can teach several important lessons on sport mega events that would not be perceived from a narrower perspective. Examining the relationship of sport mega events and cities for instance, Roche (1994) noticed that the production of a mega-event would happen many times within the context of the Planning Approach. Such an approach is a tool of urban planning and has its focus on the ‘decision-making process’ (p. 3).

Additionally, ‘planning may be conceived of as a mainly democratic decision-making process, requiring consultation with the community in order to optimize its input of information, views, resource, and legitimacy’ (Arnstein 1969 cited in Roche, 1994, p. 3). But even while saying that ‘planning may be conceived to be a mixed process requiring both technical rationality and democracy’ (Roche, 1994, p. 3), the author reminds us that this type of ‘planning may be addressed from a critical perspective. Neo-Marxism, for instance, conceives of urban planning as an essentially ideological activity’. In this view, ‘planning serves the interests of local capital and dominant class fractions by promoting myths of local governmental rationality and civic harmony to disguise and legitimate the deeply irrational and socially divisive character of the capitalist system’ (Roche, 1994, p. 3).

It is also relevant to notice that this type of managerialism suffered sensitive changes (from managerialism to entrepreneurialism) that started in the late years of the past century and that became dominant among ‘global cities’ (Sassen, 1991). The concept of ‘world-city’ or ‘global cities’ (Friedmann, 1986; Sassen, 1991; 2006) ‘involves megalopolises competing against each other on a global scale to attract investment from multinational corporations, public agencies, the media, sport and leisure corporations, and tourists’ (Harvey, 1989 cited in Eisenhauer, Adair & Taylor, 2014, p. 379). This new Planning Approach seems to combine well with the way contemporary sport mega events are organised. Harvey (1989) called this approach entrepreneurialism.

2.2.1 From managerialism to entrepreneurialism

According to Harvey (1989), the change in the urban managerial aspects in general from the context of ‘managerialism’ to what is called ‘entrepreneurialism’ happened initially in the 1970s. ‘Deindustrialisation’, widespread and structural ‘unemployment, fiscal austerity at both the national and local levels’, rising ‘neoconservatism’ and ‘appeal to market rationality and privatisation’ (p. 5) are some of the general features of this new form of urban governance. For Hiller, one of the main features of the

Global North cities in the contemporaneity is that they made ‘the shift to a post-Fordist economy’, which involves ‘the process of deindustrialisation where factory-type jobs and a manufacturing producer economy have been replaced by information technologies and a service economy’ (2006, p. 320). Thus, an economy of ‘services, finance, and leisure industries take on a much more prominent role’ as well as ‘heavy industry disappears to developing countries where labour is less costly’ (2006, p. 320). Such transformations have enabled the development of a special feature of this governing mode, according to Harvey (1989), the entry of cities in a kind of interurban competition that can be harmful to local economies and the planet as a whole. This feature is of paramount importance for sport mega events studies, because 1. interurban competition to become a ‘global city’ picked up new momentum with the advent of entrepreneurialism; 2. the search for external funding to undertake, for example, the redevelopment of deprived areas, has gained impetus with the emergence of entrepreneurialism; 3. urban elites were able to rearticulate in the context of entrepreneurialism; and 4. the combination of these three ‘new’ elements helped to lead cities to compete with great fervour for sport mega events, in such a manner that:

Sports mega events have therefore become integral to the entrepreneurial strategies of cities seeking to gain competitive advantage in the global economy. They provide an excellent example of the way the production of state and urban public policy has become less concerned with the evaluation of public policies within their own terms of reference than with the macro-policy context and the neoliberal policy problems of competitiveness (Hall, 2006, p. 67).

Thus, sport mega events emerged as ‘central elements in place competition in at least three ways’. Firstly, because investment can be sought in order to produce ‘the infrastructure required for such events’, which is ‘usually regarded as integral to further economic development whether as an amenity resource or as infrastructure’. Secondly, hosting sport mega events ‘is seen as a contribution to business vitality and economic development’. And thirdly, because ‘the ability to attract events is often regarded as a performance indicator in its own right of the capacity of a city or region to compete’ (Hall, 2006, p. 64). Perhaps for the same reasons they have become so attractive to cities that cannot be considered ‘global cities’ or ‘world cities’ but are competing to be considered as such. If it is considered that cities of countries that are among those who want to be part of international networks, such as the Global North, also want to become ‘World Cities’, then such theorising can also be considered in relation to the postulant cities in countries such as Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, for example.

Such phenomena also could bring to the same sphere of exercise of power an elite that is composed by ‘politicians, planners, real estate developers and business leaders’ that in order to produce ‘cities more competitive’ try to attract ‘new sources of funding and direct investment to support various forms of business development and employment creation, as well as to improve the built environment either for its own sake or to change the image of a city’ (Hiller, 2006, p. 7).

On the other hand, due to the approach of such members of the elite and the formation of a new sphere of exercise of power, it is often also configured as ‘an essentially “autocratic” pattern of decision making on major urban events and projects’, where ‘decisions are largely determined by the will and power of urban political leaderships and/or other relevant and powerful urban elite groups (such as business and cultural elites)’ (Roche, 1994, p. 6, no emphasis added). This central leadership-driven ‘autocratic’ pattern, that commonly has links with civic ‘boosterism’, ‘has been identified in other studies of prestige projects and mega events’ (Roche, 1994, p.7). The typical event production process is ‘manipulative or minimally participatory’ (Roche, 1994, pp. 6-7). This can happen because a relative consensus is developed in key moments for the purposes of urban elites, such as the times when ‘the city’ bids for the SME. This process can be explained by the proposition of Molotch synthesised by Hiller:

The creation of coalitions between economic interests in the bidding and hosting of mega events is reflective of Molotch’s (1976) theorization of the city as a growth machine in which ‘the desire for growth provides the key operative motivation toward consensus for members of politically mobilized local elites, however split they might be on other issues (1976, p 310)’ (cited in Hall, 2006, p. 63).

Lastly, it is important to acknowledge that ‘despite the rhetoric, however, of the value of sport mega events for economic competitiveness and development, little research can be found on the ‘actual regenerative potential of investment in sport, or the long-term benefits to local communities of sports events-led investment strategies (Coalter, Allison & Taylor, 2000; Gratton, 1999; Hall, 2004)’ (cited in Hall, 2006, p. 62).

2.3 The renewed policy of sport mega events allocation (RPSMEA): a first contribution from a wider look

This sub-chapter discusses the relationship between the Global North and the Global South, through the geolocation of sport mega events, an issue considered pressing and challenging for the field of studies (Horne, 2015a). The discussion will be mediated with the use of the concepts of Global North and Global South in order to better understand the socio-economic aspects of sport mega events. It will also examine the socio-economic consequences of what I recognise as a renewed policy of sport mega events allocation (RPSMEA), the tour of sport mega events outside the Global North. Although the relationship between the Global North and the Global South through international sports has been the object of academic analysis before⁴, the area is still lacking more theoretical debates and a framework oriented towards sport mega events.

The reflection exercised here considers the discussions made earlier which have placed global capitalism as the background for the uneven and combined development of sport mega events policies.

⁴ MacIntosh, Cantelon & Mcdermott, 1993; Falcous & Silk, 2006; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007; Campbell, 2010; Reiche, 2016.

The reflection arises in the context of the thesis as a more grounded synthesis of the arguments made earlier, and also as a relatively independent study.

2.3.1 Sport mega events go worldwide

The recent opening of sport mega events to parts of the world where they were not a common occurrence could draw the attention of any person interested in sports, international politics or economics, amongst other different disciplines. World Cups and Summer Olympics will have been held in places such as Athens (Greece), Beijing (China), South Africa, Brazil, Russia and Qatar from 2004 to 2022 (Curi, Knijnik & Mascarenhas, 2011; Horne, 2015b).

However, hosting sport mega events in developing countries has happened before in different contexts when sport mega events were neither so economically attractive or lucrative and when options were more restricted (the 1950 World Cup in South America-Brazil after the Second World War, for example). Subsequently, different rationales can be used in order to explain why a certain city or country would want to host a World Cup or Olympic Games, such as international success of football squads and national teams in the case of the World Cup or international relationships in the case of the Olympics.

It has also been argued that FIFA has designated host countries outside Europe and Latin America ‘...to promote the sport and to capitalise on surging soccer popularity elsewhere in the world’ (Baade & Matheson, 2001, p. 344). Nonetheless, it also seems reasonable to suggest that wider, ‘non-sporting’ elements could have played a role in sport mega events allocation policy renovation, which includes Olympic Games as well. This reflection led to the formulation that sport mega events may be being carried on out of the Global North, in developing countries or in the Global South (Cornelissen, 2004, 2010, 2011a, 2011b; Steinbrink, Haferburg & Ley, 2011) via what can be called a renewed policy of major sport institutions, not as isolated facts considered case by case. World sports governing bodies have more recently chosen to carry out their World level competitions in countries out of the Global North and where the necessary infrastructure is absent, in contrast with their traditional policy, which can be understood as the opening of a new phase in the area.

This RPSMEA enables the mobilisation of significant resources in the execution of works and other preparative logistical actions, potentially increasing the general budget of sport mega events. The issue of infrastructure, then, can be a differential in the bidding processes within such policy, even in the context of developed countries. Surprisingly and paradoxically, within this new policy, the increment in infrastructure is often required for the materialisation of sport mega events, wherefore the lack of infrastructure can be key to a victorious bid.

The best example of recent years is the award of the 2012 Summer Olympic Games to London in 2005, in face of strong competition from Paris. Paris had already run two unsuccessful bids before 2012, and was the clear favourite. One of the key elements of the city’s pitch was that the infrastructure was largely in place already as a consequence of

commitments entered into for the previous two bids. London, by contrast, proposed a plan that required the complete transformation of the proposed Olympic site where minimal expenditure had already been made. Yet it was precisely this promise of transformation, which could be almost entirely attributed to the patronage of the IOC, which made the London bid so attractive to the electorate (Szymanski, 2011, p. 89).

At the same time, sports organisations can externalise the growing costs of conducting the events to host governments (Barney, 2009; Fussey & Clavell, 2011; Matheson & Baade, 2004; Silvestre, 2009).

Thus, the initial analysis suggests that the RPSMEA may have provoked the increased costs of sport mega events materialisation - and perhaps have been developed in order to so; facilitated the externalisation of such games funding; enlarged the revenue of sport mega events franchise owners and benefit partners of specific areas, above all construction and security. The concreteness of these developments will be discussed in the following sections.

2.3.2 The geopolitical allocation of sport mega events

The Olympics and the Football World Cup have always had a close relation with economics and geopolitics. They are not, and never were, cheap events and their destinations have never been accidentally determined. In the same way, the set of events analysed in this section was not chosen by fortune. Below is a discussion of the geopolitical allocation of sport mega events that forwards the contours of the cases considered within this article. Basically, two factors were observed: geographical location and economic development.

The Football World Cup started with and held for some time a policy that would guarantee the most important continents in its broader context to alternate its implementation. This way, the Global South could see through South America (Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Brazil) the accomplishment of hosting World Cups even when the Global North tended to be awarded most of the sport mega events. But it is necessary to point out that for 32 years, since Argentina 1978, the World Cup was not hosted in the geographical Global South until the World Cup in South Africa 2010. The Olympics, in turn, were restricted to the Global North and the North of Europe for longer (two exceptions: Mexico City 68 and Moscow 80), 'later including Korea, Japan and Australia' but nonetheless 'have rotated between Europe, North America and these additional three countries' (Hiller, 2000, p. 441; Dowse & Fletcher, 2017).

Superficially, it seems to be easy to observe that something different has been going on with the allocation of sport mega events. However, a deeper examination of their geographical destinations does not reveal any simple explanations. For example, changes in the international economic dynamics and alterations in the economic strata of regional and/or transnational blocks may require a historicised analysis. For instance, take the case of the Olympic Games of Japan 1964. Japan was awarded the Games only 19 years after the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It was recovering from the Second World War and the Games could be seen to represent a reconciliation with the West (Roche, 2008). It was also the case of Italy (Rome 1960) and Germany (Munich 1972) (Shoval, 2002). These Games seem

to have served a political role. Mexico, however, has never been a strong global economy. Having held the Olympics in 1968 and the Football World Cup in 1970 and 1986, Mexico is an exception (Sant, Carey & Mason, 2013). Many may argue that this is partially due to the fact that the United States of America could not host more sport mega events than it had already done in that period, with Mexico being the best second option in order to take advantage of the rapid economic development of the contiguous country. However, while Mexico is still a developing country, it is not located in the Global South.

For the purposes of our analysis the case of the FIFA World Cup Korea/Japan 2002 must also be excluded. These are not developing countries, nor are they located in the Global South. Although they are not historically and traditionally related to the Global North, Japan's miraculous economic recovery in the post-war period and the rise of the Asian Tiger⁵ economies between 1960 and 1990 means both countries have arguably built solid relations with the Northern axis.

The 2000 Sydney Olympics is an intricate case as Australia is located in the Global South and with a stable economy, so it cannot be considered a developing country. France is a member of the Eurozone and one of the strongest economies in the world, besides it is located in the Global North, as one of its hearts (see figure 1). For this reason, the 1998 World Cup will also be left out of this section. Spain, in turn, is also part of the Eurozone. However, it is not located in Northern Europe. Although the European continent seems to reproduce inter-regionally global inequalities (countries of southern Europe are those that today face the greatest economic challenges), Spain cannot be considered a developing country. In addition, Barcelona 1992's achievement is attributable to *sui generis* factors (Botella, 1995; Brunet, 1995, 2002; Calavita & Ferrer, 2000; Capel, 2007), and is therefore excluded from the research focus.

Thus, excluding the other obvious editions (performed by cities and countries solidly constituted within the Global North), I have decided to use the following Games for the purposes of this study: Seoul Olympics 1988, Athens Olympics 2004, Germany World Cup 2006, Beijing Olympics 2008, South Africa World Cup 2010, London Olympics 2012, Brazil World Cup 2014, Rio Olympics 2016, Russia World Cup 2018, Qatar World Cup 2022.

The 1988 Seoul Olympics can be a moot case, but either as a new member of the Global North or as a developing country it serves for comparative purposes. Athens 2004 is another difficult case. Although a European country, Greece has faced repeated economic difficulties throughout history and noticeably in the current period. In the part related to the distribution of wealth on the map (Figure 1) presented below, Greece figures as part of the Global North (Credit Suisse Research Institute, 2014). However, it is now publicly known that several issues can be related to the figures presented by Greek authorities throughout the period that involved the Games (Wroughton, Schneider & Kyriakidou, 2015)

⁵ From the 1980s, some Asian territories began to show high rates of economic growth and influence in the world market. They have used bold strategies to attract foreign capital - backed by cheap, disciplined labor, tax exemptions, and low start-up costs. Because of this aggressiveness, they were called Asian Tigers. Four countries are referred to as Asian Tigers: Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea.

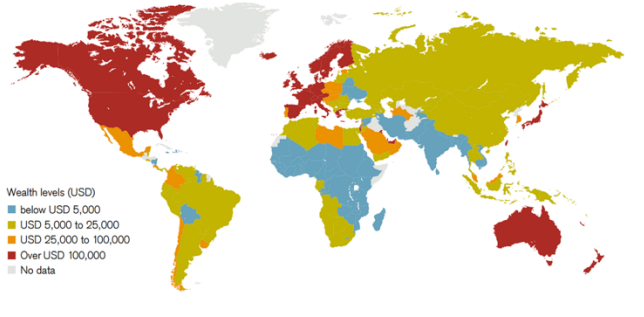
and the production of the material used to produce the report (Credit Suisse Research Institute, 2014), and that the Olympic Games Greece held in 2004 are partially to blame for the problems the country has been facing lately. In addition to this, Greece as well cannot be considered an economically highly-developed nation because of its role and place within the international division of labour, though there is no space to discuss it minutely in this article. Thus, Athens 2004 is figuring in this study as an edition of the Games held out of the Global North. Germany 2006 and London 2012 figure in the list for comparative reasons. Beijing 2008, South Africa 2010, Brazil 2014, Rio 2016, Russia 2018 as well as Qatar 2022 are the main part of the object studied here, given that all of them, to different extents, are not part of the Global North.

2.3.3 When things go South

A visual representation of what I have been calling the Global North and the Global South and the geopolitical distribution of sport mega events can be found below (figure 1). It draws upon the Credit Suisse Research Institute Global Wealth Report 2014 to identify the Global North, which can be synthesised as the regions comprised within 'North America, Western Europe and among the rich Asia-Pacific and Middle Eastern countries' (Credit Suisse Research Institute, 2014, p. 10). It also shows the list of all Football World Cups and Olympic Games performed or yet to be organised and their localisation in the Globe with special attention given to their position in relation to the Global North.

World wealth levels 2014

Source: James Davies, Rodrigo Lluberas and Anthony Shorrocks, Credit Suisse Global Wealth Databook 2014



GEOPOLITICAL DISTRIBUTION OF SPORTS MEGA EVENTS 1896 - 2022

WORLD CUPS		OLYMPIC SUMMER GAMES	
Up to 2004	After 2004	Up to 2004	After 2004
Japan & South Korea 2002	2022 Qatar	Sydney 2000	Tokyo 2020
France 1998	2018 Russia	Atlanta 1996	2016 Rio de Janeiro
US 1994	2014 Brazil	Barcelona 1992	London 2012
Italy 1990	2010 South Africa	Seoul 1988	2008 Beijing
1986 Mexico	Germany 2006	Los Angeles 1984	2004 Athens
Spain 1982		1980 Moscow	
1978 Argentina		Montreal 1976	
Germany 1974		Munich 1972	
1970 Mexico		1968 Mexico City	
England 1966		Tokyo 1964	
1962 Chile		Rome 1960	
Sweden 1958		Melbourne 1956	
Switzerland 1954		Helsinki 1952	
1950 Brazil		London 1948	
France 1938		Berlin 1936	
Italy 1934		Los Angeles 1932	
1930 Uruguay		Amsterdam 1928	
		Paris 1924	
		Stockholm 1912	
		London 1908	
		St Louis 1904	
		Paris 1900	
		Athens 1896	

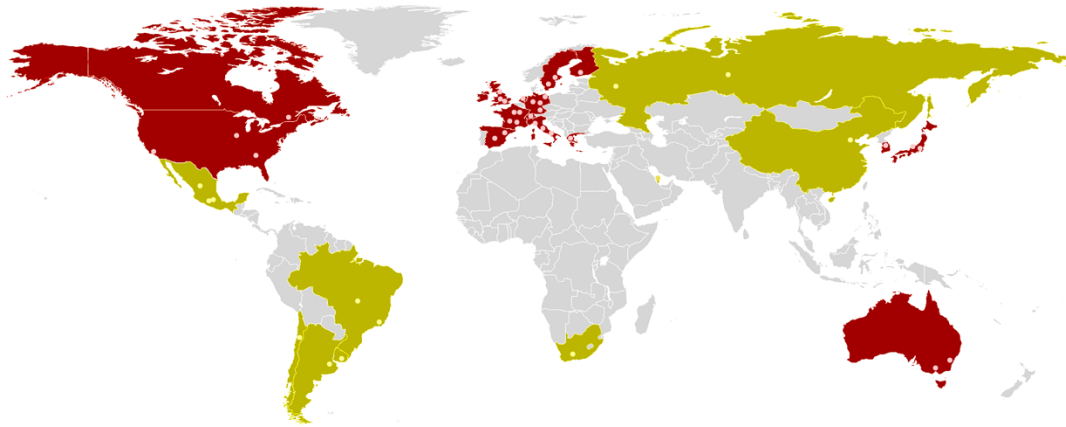


Figure 1 – Sport mega events allocation versus global wealth

adapted from Credit Suisse Research Institute Global Wealth Report 2014

After clarifying what is considered the RPSMEA and its geo-political and economic nuances, it is possible to analyse the socio-economic consequences related to the occurrence of such a phenomenon. A table (1) is presented below with relevant information on the cases selected according to the discussion presented earlier. It targets games' total cost, the share of the governments involved, the income the franchise owner produced from the edition of the games, amounts spent in construction, and also security. For readability and to facilitate reflection columns were inserted with percentages related to total games cost.

Table 1 - Sport mega events costs, share of governments, income of franchise owners, construction and security costs

Edition	games cost (£)*	share of government	%	income of the franchise owner (£)*	%	Construction (£)*	%	Security (£)*	%
Seoul Olympics 1988 ¹	1.38 bi	0.75 bi	54	?	?	0.39 bi	28	0.02 bi	14
Athens Olympics 2004 ²	8.95 bi	7.2 bi	80	1.752 bi	19.57	5 bi	55.86	1.22 bi	13.63
Germany World Cup 2006** ³	2.84 bi	2.84 bi	100	2.027 bi	71	1.09 bi	38	5 mil	1.76
Beijing Olympics 2008 ⁴	27.51 bi	26.31 bi	95.6	9.2 bi	33	1122 bi	79	14,4 bi	15
South Africa World Cup 2010 ⁵	3.05 bi	2.16 bi	70	1.38 bi	45	2.16 bi	70	0.12bi	3.9
London Olympics 2012 ⁶	9.29bi	7.12 bi	76	2.41bi	25	6. 67bi	71	0.55 bi	5.9
Brazil World Cup 2014 ⁷	6,55 bi	5,8 bi	88	3,09 bi	47	5,97	91	0,43 bi	6.5
Rio Olympics 2016 ⁸	9,43	7,67	81,33	1,10	11,66	x	x	x	x
Russia World Cup 2018 ⁹	15,10	10,11	67	x	x	11,62	77	0,75	5
Qatar world Cup 2022 ¹⁰	128,46	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

* <http://finance.yahoo.com/currency-converter> - Reference date for all conversions: 31 December 2014. ** Numbers regarding the 2006 edition of the World Cup in Germany only account to federal spending. According to Maennig & du Pleases (2007), more than 60% of the cost of the world stadia were assumed by clubs and other private actors.

1 Kim (1989); KSPO (2016). 2 To Vima (2004); Eleftherotypia (2010); Kathimerini (2015). 3 FIFA (2007); Deutsche Welle (2016); Maennig & du Plessis (2007); German Government (2006); Giulianotti & Klauser (2010); Ahlert (2006; 2007). 4 Martin (2008); Giulianotti & Klauser (2010); BBC Sport (2005). 5. Cottle (2010; 2011); Martins (2016). 6 IOC (2012a); Chan (2016); DCMS (2012). 7 Brasil, Balanço final (2014a); FIFA, Financial Report 2014 (2015b). 8 OGI Rio 2016 (2014); Brasil. APO (2015); Brasil. TCU (2014b); Jogos Limpos (n/d). 9 Muller (2015a). 10 Booth (2016). 11 Government expenditure in stadia only.

Games cost

Firstly, what catches the eye is the difference between some of the figures presented. For example, From Seoul 1988 to Athens 2004, the amount of total expenditure multiplied by more than six times. The Germany World Cup 2006, even being a single sport event (let us not forget that in spite of the fact that the event takes place in several different cities), cost almost ten times less than the Beijing Olympics 2008, which took place only two years later. Beijing 2008 cost three times both the past and the next editions of Olympic Games, Athens 2004 and London 2012.

After Beijing 2008, almost ten years will have passed until an edition of sport mega events again exceeds the mark of £10 billion. And it will be another major player within the field that is going to perform this extravagance, Russia in its Football World Cup of 2018. Again, outside of the Global North. Just as Beijing 2008 was somewhat a 'point outside the curve', Qatar will have spent more than £128.46bn in its World Cup. This is 50% more than all the editions cited in the table above combined. The analysis of these data confirms the first hypothesis presented: that RPSMEA have indeed increased the costs of sport mega events materialisation. Apparently, the trend found may give rise to interesting discussions emerging from this analysis. Initially, if the discussions made in the previous section and also the framework in construction here are considered, the debates regarding soft power and mega events (for example, Grix & Lee, 2013; Tan & Houlihan, 2012; Schausteck de Almeida et. al., 2015; Brannagan & Rookwood, 2016; Grix & Brannagan, 2016) can be reinforced, as important social actors seem to be pushing their way in the social space of sport mega events. But they can also lose strength, or at least pose challenges for the theories being discussed, once there is a tendency that is clearly presented in counterpoint to one of the pillars of the theory that underlies the discussions about soft power (Nye, 2004; 2008): such actors spend huge amounts of money on such events.

If only World Cup editions are compared, a solid trait is found: costs have been increasing constantly and exponentially. From Germany 2006 to South Africa 2010, the costs increasing were perceptible. But from South Africa 2010 to Brazil 2014, they doubled. From then to Russia 2018, they have already tripled. They way to Qatar 2022 may present an increase of ten times the values practiced in Russia in 2018. The Olympics seem to be more balanced, with Beijing 2008 being the exception, costing three times the amount spent in other editions of the period studied.

Share of governments

In terms of spending by governments, the tendency found points to higher participation in countries outside the Global North, which confirms the hypothesis that the RPSMEA facilitates the externalisation of such games funding. The analysis also shows that the amounts spent are increasing both in real figures as well as in percentage terms. Seoul 1988 and Germany 2006 must be excluded from the analysis, once the former case was object of an unusual arrangement and only figures related to the government spending could be found in the latter case. Russia 2018 and Qatar 2022 are also excluded because these editions have not yet materialised and in the case of this marker, the data produced may be misleading. It must be noted that the access to data relating to spending by governments involved in sport mega events and, above all, of its partners in the private sector, is indeed hampered by disorganisation in the disclosure by the social actors involved.

Nevertheless, the analysis shows that apart from South Africa 2010, London 2012 was the edition with the smallest state participation in the funding of the Games (76%). In terms of the Olympics, an increase of 15.6 % can be observed from Athens 2004 to Beijing 2008, referring to a real increase of

almost £20bn. The development from Beijing 2008 to London 2012 represents a decrease of almost 20% and in real figures of almost £20bn, responding positively to the hypothesis that governments outside the Global North do have to spend more to organise sport mega events. From London 2012 to Rio 2016, the trend of more significant participations performed by countries outside the Global North presents itself again, at the ratio of 5%. In the case of World Cups, for the editions analysed, South Africa 2010 and Brazil 2014, present an increase of 18% and more than £3bn in real terms.

Income of the franchise owners

Referring to the profit made by the franchise owners, the analysis excludes Seoul 1988 by the absence of data, Rio 2016 for being very recent and not presenting valid data at the present moment and Russia 2018 and Qatar 2022 for being editions yet to come, and not presenting data. The three editions of the World Cup analysed, Germany 2006, South Africa 2010 and Brazil 2014, do present a significant trend. From Germany to South Africa, for example, there was a decrease of £0.9bn or 24% in values relative to the general cost of the Games.

But from South Africa 2010 to Brazil 2014, there was an increase of £1.3bn. However, an interesting relationship can be found here, as the increase in franchise owners' income related to the Games is directly related to the increase in total costs of the Games. When costs more than doubled, profits more than doubled. The Olympics also present the tendency that confirms the hypothesis related to this section of the study. From Athens 2004 to Beijing 2008, there was an increase of £7bn in the profit made by the franchise owner. The value decreased almost the same: £7bn from Beijing 2008 to London 2012. However, even if such significant numbers as those produced by the Chinese edition cannot be expected for Rio 2016, it seems plausible to suggest that they at least will surpass London 2012, since even two years before the event this path had already been partially covered according to the table (1) shown.

Construction spending

Issues relating to the construction of stadia and other equipment in the context of sport mega events is a long-known problem (Alegi, 2008; Bond & Cottle, 2011; Cottle, 2011; Cottle, Capela & Meirinho, 2013; Schierup, 2016). Nonetheless, this study evidences a growing tendency in terms of expenditure in construction related to editions of sport mega events, above all, in real figures, which responds positively to the hypothesis raised. In the case of the Olympics, from Seoul 1988 to Athens 2004, the increase was flagrant, of more than twelve times. Sixteen years had passed and it must be considered that after 'the Barcelona model' took place, several changes in the conception of sport mega events affected this specific area.

From Athens 2004 to Beijing 2008 again a strong boost of more than 300% could be seen. The following Games, which were also the next Games to happen within the Global North, London 2012,

reduced the expenditure in construction drastically if compared to Beijing 2008 by around three times. Rio 2016 figures are yet to be known, but if they present the same trends as the World Cup performed in the same country in 2014 (97,5% of the expenditure related to construction and security, see table 1), it will surpass London 2012. Germany 2006 had to be excluded as a case for the analysis of this variable because only data regarding the stadia construction could be found. Thus, concerning World Cups, the expenditure with construction more than doubled from South Africa 2010 to Brazil 2014. Tendency that follows the trend found for the total costs of the events. This trend solidifies from Brazil to Russia 2018, while it can only be expected that it will rise significantly from Russia 2018 to Qatar 2022. And it is important to notice that all these editions are from outside the Global North.

Security spending

Security and sport mega events have generated polemics and relatively voluminous discussion throughout the years (Giulianotti & Klauser, 2010; Hammerse, 2012b; Klauser, 2007; Müller, 2015b; Shoal, 2002). In the case of the current discussion, the data presented in table 1 indicates that the hypothesis can be considered to have manifested positively. The security for Seoul 1988 costed almost the same percentage of the Games budget as Athens 2004. £1.2bn separates the editions due to the mounting increase in total costs of the Games. The figures quadrupled from Athens to Beijing 2008, increasing also in percentage. London 2012 represents a fall of more than 800% in real figures and almost 10% in relation to the area sharing of the total cost of the Games. With the exclusion of Germany in 2006 because of incomplete data, the study suggests that the three cases presented reveal growth trend with the expenses related to security. From South Africa 2010 to Brazil 2014, spending on security almost quadrupled. Even two years before its realisation, Russia 2018 already shows significant increase in spending on security in relation to Brazil in 2014. If only the editions already executed are considered, the data also suggests a constant increase of security expenditures within the Games budget.

Reflections

The analysis presented in this study pointed out the conformation of several trends combined in a policy, the RPSMEA, which results in a) an increase in costs of sport mega events materialisation; b) the externalisation of the Games costs to host governments; c) an increase in the revenue of sport mega events franchise owners; and d) benefit for sport mega events partners of specific areas, chiefly construction and security. The analysis also suggests that the RPSMEA allowed the entry of new actors into the field and new sources of funding in increasing volumes. It also altered the relationship between the Global North and Global South, regarding sport mega events, keeping traces of socio-economic relations found in wider spheres of the social context. The development of the research will consider these tendencies for the following problematisations.

3. Sport mega events

This chapter of the thesis provides more specific discussions based on the literature that deals directly with sport mega events. Thus, this chapter engages specifically with the second research question: in what ways can the knowledge produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup? However, beyond seeking a definition of what sport mega events are, it is my intention to discuss what they have been, how they have been constructed, who takes part in their development, how they are perceived and what are the main features of their composition.

Therefore, this chapter initially addresses and discusses the most commonly accepted definitions of the concept of sport mega events and its characteristics (3.1). Following this discussion, I present a reflection on the role of companies, the elites and the sports bourgeoisie in the context of sport mega events (3.2). In sub-chapter 3.3, the construction sector is presented as the main corporate beneficiary of sports mega events allocation. Subsequently, I discuss how are sport mega events studied (3.4). In 3.4.4, I approach the issue of host perceptions of sport mega events in relation to such events, which have relevance regarding the methodologies chosen to develop the research performed in the context of this thesis. Lastly, I present a synthesis of the chapter (3.5).

3.1 Sport mega events and its general features

Based on sport mega events studies literature, it could be said that mega events are best understood as ‘large-scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance’ (Roche, 2000, p.1, no emphasis added). Also, as stated by Kenneth Roberts (2004, p. 108), what defines certain sports events as mega ‘is that they are “discontinuous”, out of the ordinary, international and simply big in composition’ (cited in Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006, p. 2, no emphasis added). Moreover, it can also be said that the study of mega events started to be more systematic towards the end of the 20th century (Roche, 1994).

One feature that can be recognised in sport mega events studies is that it is well accepted that the FIFA male World Cup finals and the Summer Olympic Games are, par excellence, sport mega events (Baade, 2009; Barclay, 2009; Horne, 2015a). Müller (2015a) proposes a new approach in which even a new order of events is considered - giga events, but this is still an early discussion. Additionally, sport mega events are governed by companies that are often referred to as ‘International Sports Organisations’ (ISOs) and that operate, in the case of sport mega events, as franchise owners to such events. Their existence has been marked by problems, as charges of corruption (Simson & Jennings, 1992; Jennings, 1996; 2006) and lack of democracy (Silvestre, 2009). This chapter, in turn, presents a series of issues related to sport mega events. It both presents knowledge produced in the academic field and organises this knowledge according to the thesis’ interest.

Image projection, economic outcomes and legacies are the generally assumed positive impacts of sport mega event. However, little evidence corroborates with such rationale (Schimelpfenig, 2018). Nonetheless, ‘the most compelling’ reason that a city or a country can have to wish to host a sport mega event however is ‘the promise of vast economic windfall’ (Barclay, 2009, p. 62; Baade & Matheson, 2001). This is especially significant for developing countries, and can probably be seen as the reason for the ‘increasing number of developing economies’ that ‘have joined the bidding frenzy’ (Barclay, 2009, p. 62). However, few data have been produced on developments in this field when details become the focus of discussion. The following excerpt can give us an idea of this phenomenon:

Hosting a large international sporting event promises not only the excitement of the event and media exposure for the host nation, but usually also a positive return on the considerable investment associated with hosting this type of event. This certainly holds true for one of the largest of these events, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup (Allmers & Maennig, 2009, p. 500).

The basis for this statement is a prediction made by South African consultancy Grant Thornton for the 2010 World Cup, meaning that it is a prediction made over another prediction. Assumptions and predictions can be used by third parties and this can create a circle of boosterism based on nothing more than expectations. A puzzling condition of that circle of boosterism is that there is a lack of academic research dedicated to assessing the realisation of these expectations. In turn, Eddie Cottle (2011), South African syndicalist and researcher, published in 2010 a book called ‘South Africa’s World Cup: A Legacy for Whom?’ Along with Patrick Bond, he wrote a chapter in which they analyse the numbers of that edition of the World Cup, including subsequent reports of the South African consultancy Grant Thornton and other sources. The authors argue that although the ‘promised’ returns for the 2010 World Cup have remained the same, and that these same may be questioned, its costs have increased considerably and might undermine the initial assertion which is referred to above. Initial estimates from 2003 predicted spending of the order of R⁶ 2.3 billion. In 2010, the same ‘Grant Thornton’ predicted R 30 billions of spending and the South African government R 39 billion.

‘Image leveraging’ (Black, 2007, p. 264; Hall, 2006, p. 59; Szymanski, 2011, p. 89) is another name given to ‘global exposition’ or image projection as referred to in this thesis. It is widely accepted that sport mega events attract ‘considerable media coverage’, which can lead to the understanding that ‘an unmediated mega-event would be a contradiction in terms’ (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006, p.2). But it should be noticed that the role of the media is not just to transmit the games, the media also have major interests at stake. It is also admitted that ‘local mass media’s economic interest in sport mega events turns journalists from reporters into impresarios, from potential whistle blowers into cheerleaders’ (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006, p.8). This ‘probable’ outcome relies on the argument that as a sport mega event host, the city or country will come to be ‘in the news’ all over the world and that this can be an advantage.

⁶ The Rand (sign: R; code: ZAR) is the currency of South Africa.

Recent developments involving mega events hosts, such as the appearance of international denunciations, can challenge this understanding. Qatar⁷ (2022 World Cup host) has been associated with slave labour conditions and bribery in the international news, while Brazil⁸ (2014 World Cup host) has been exposed due to issues of corruption and massive public protests.

Nevertheless, the legacies are a way that the material and immaterial outcomes of sport mega events are referred to in academic studies as well as in World Cup and Olympic discourses. Most of them are explicitly linked to urban development such as new or renewed sport facilities, road works, hotels and ‘iconic architecture’ (Allmers & Maennig, 2009, p. 510) - big projects. ‘They create the “allure of global games” – perhaps especially for developing economies’ (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). But not much has been researched or asked about whether these legacies are lasting or, as important, if it is fair to incorporate them as a ‘legacy’, once they are indeed a cost that potential hosts are keen to assume in order to actually become hosts. The term ‘legacies’ can then cause confusion between costs and investments once these are commonly related to all types of outcomes that can be related to a sport mega event project.

Therefore, we may differentiate between the following:

- A. White elephants - Facilities and processes that can bring great costs for hosts, even bigger than other actions could cost in order to achieve the same objectives (projects with hurried execution, for example) and that are also often underutilised after Games;
- B. Equipment and processes that are ‘undesirable desirables’, that represent things that hosts do not want but do have to want in order to win the bidding process;
- C. ‘Trojan horses’ - equipment that bring hidden costs and that should be also part of what is called ‘legacies’ of sport mega events.

With this approach, it is possible to comprehend that ‘although many understand the term “legacy” as having only positive connotations, the term can also have negative connotations’ (Cornelissen, Bob & Swart, 2011a, p. 308, no emphasis added).

Finally, sport mega events has the characteristic of being in constant growth (Giulianotti, 2011). This growth can be partially attributed to ‘new developments in the technologies of mass communication’

⁷ <http://www.ibtimes.com/fifa-bribery-scandal-qatar-2022-issues-casting-shadow-over-brazil-2014-1596296>
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/14/qatar-reform-labour-laws-outcry-world-cup-slaves>

⁸ <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/insidestory/2014/06/world-cup-brazil-fifa-scandals-2014613161233999857.html>
<http://www.motherjones.com/media/2014/06/fifa-world-cup-scandals-brazil-qatar>

<http://mic.com/articles/90833/will-protests-and-scandals-ruin-public-attitudes-toward-hosting-the-world-cup>

http://www.transparency.org/news/feature/brazils_world_cup_corruption_challenge

<http://www.cbsnews.com/news/world-cup-2014-construction-in-brazil-marred-by-corruption-waste/>

(Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; p. 3) which facilitated the exponential growth of virtual attendance. From Sydney 2000 to Greece 2004 an increase of 27% in TV attendance was observed, with an increase of 3.7 % in global viewers hours (1 Billion more than Sydney) and 49% increase in dedicated coverage (44.000 hours against 29.600 hours in Sydney 2000) (IOC, 2004). However, that growth was accompanied by an exponential increase in relation to commercial amounts. In terms of broadcasting revenue, Roche (2000) observed that there was a sensible multiplication of about 400% between Los Angeles 1984 and Sydney 2000 - from US\$ 240 million to US\$ 1 billion. In the 2002 World Cup, 'FIFA granted the worldwide broadcasting rights to a private sport-marketing group for a guaranteed minimum of US\$ 800 million', approaching a tenfold augmentation on what 'the international consortium of public service broadcasters had paid for the previous tournament'.

This sub-chapter served to make us better acquainted with the sport mega events and their more general characteristics. Next, we will discuss the role of sport bourgeoisie in the context of sport mega events.

3.2 Sport mega events, companies, elites and the sport bourgeoisie

For this research a specific tri-partite arrangement is of severe importance. It is the specific and contemporaneous alliance made with focus on sport mega events between sports institutions, large national and transnational companies and media conglomerates. This alliance is possible due to the monopoly of FIFA and the IOC that can be episodically shared by the elites in the context of sport and sport mega events. It can be episodically shared because it depends on a more permanent group of actors and on temporary partners that have only interests in one or some editions of sport mega events. For example, FIFA and the IOC are part of that permanent group. However, a company that has all its operations linked to a specific country can be an episodic partner, whilst its owner's/owners' condition in relation to class organisation remains the same as he or she had been before the event and will remain after the event as the owner of such a company, of that means of production (Marx et. al., 1990).

Thereby, it can be said that in a global context the actors listed in sports-economic operations related to elite sport and sport mega events are those holding the material, legal and symbolic structures needed for the production (and the reproduction) of these sports and events. Such structures are related to:

- . Property of means of material production necessary for sport mega events, such as stadia, roads, airports, hotels, as well as for any other need related to a sport mega event production (clothes, balls and drinks, for example);
- . The legal right to decide where a sport mega event would take place and who would promote it, as well as the legal right to establish legal partners; those who would officially have their brands linked to a SME. On the other hand, it is important to underline the role of governments, especially the executive and the legislative, which will also use their legal powers to legitimate candidatures, for

example, and to mould existing legislation; and

The legitimate right to make a distinct form of sport symbolically represented (Bourdieu, 1990b; 2004; 2012), that which is recognised as the official, the socially or universally accepted. Such symbolic representation depends on a symbolic structure, on the collective acceptance of legitimacy through the ‘complicity’ of the parties involved (Bourdieu, 1990b; 2004; 2012). In the context of such a symbolic structure, symbolically legitimate actors, such as FIFA for the social universe of football, become known and recognised, so they can exert symbolic power, the power that is symbolically efficient. That is, no one has ‘elected’ FIFA the representative of the world of football or the institution responsible for the organisation of football international competitions. FIFA was built in such a way that other players, governments, companies and people interested in football in general were convinced of FIFA’s authority and became symbolic accomplices.

The group that holds the material, legal and symbolic structure needed for the production (and the reproduction) of elite sports and sport mega events corresponds to the elite, the sport bourgeoisie. The decision to name this group ‘sport bourgeoisie’ is related to the fact that the nature of the relationships established between these parts in order to achieve their collective aim (produce and reproduce elite sports and events) is strictly correlated with their role in relation to the means of production (Marx et al., 1990). Because they possess means of production, they can be associated towards their collective aim. But because they possess means of production the way how they do it preserves their class relations. It is an inter-class association, a bourgeois association. However, it is also relevant to emphasise that in order to achieve their collective aim, actors coming from these three different spheres have to work together. None of them can produce a sport mega event alone. Notwithstanding, materially, a set of companies would be able to produce the required structure for a World Cup but, for example, without FIFA’s engagement it would probably fail as a ‘sport’ mega-event. Although FIFA could decide to have a World Cup in any country in the world, it would not happen without the required legal and material basis. Also, the transmission of a sport mega event by the media is essential to its appeal - in that if a sport mega event is not mediated, much of the attraction in its realisation would have been lost.

3.3 The construction sector as the main corporate beneficiary of sports mega events allocation

Although FIFA and the IOC have the contours of supranational institutions, they are companies. However, it must be appreciated that they act, above all FIFA, as ‘transnational corporations...’ as well as ‘civil society not-for-profit non-governmental organisations’ (Meier & García, 2015). And although the history of the world games that they promote may be related to amateurism and improvisation, its contemporaneity is extremely professional and corporate (Eick, 2011a). The focus of this passage is the strengthening of a specific type of company in the context of sport mega events, the construction company.

One significant change that has taken place recently was the gradual increase in the participation

of construction companies in the group of business partners of sport mega events. In South Africa 2010 and Brazil 2014, these companies played a special role. Although their participation in the Games budget was already gigantic, delays and ‘non-predicted’ costs increased construction expenses by between 300% and 1000% (Cottle, 2010; 2011; Cottle, Capela & Meirinho, 2013). In Brazil, the costs of stadia construction and reforming were estimated at R\$ 3,7 billion (£ 900 million) in 2009 progressing to R\$ 7,98 billion (£ 2 billion) in 2013 (Salgado, 2013). In September 2013, the Federal Government launched an account where it was claimed that the total investment in the 2014WC would be around £ 6 billion, of which £ 2 billion would be dedicated to stadia, the same amount would be invested in urban mobility and £ 1.5 billion in airports (Brasil, Ministério do Esporte, 2013a). This meant that around 90% of the 2014WC costs were related to construction and only 10% were related to other operational costs.

The final costs of construction reached 91% of the budget (table 1). Additionally, in the last Brazilian presidential election (October 2014), three companies were responsible for 65% of campaign funding. One of them was OAS, a construction company involved with a large number of works related to the 2014WC and to the 2016 Olympics (Veronezi, 2014). More complex relations have recently begun to unfold even leading to the arrest of presidents of major Brazilian construction companies, all of them heavily involved in the works of the 2014WC and the 2016 Olympic Games (Folha de São Paulo, 2014), which may indicate the relevance of considering the construction sector with special attention.

3.4 How are sport mega events studied?

How that economic activity is distributed – before, during and after the event – and who actually benefits, remain key questions posed by those skeptical of economic impact studies. Social redistribution versus growth machine arguments about sports mega events such as the Olympic Games revolve around the spinoffs and ‘legacies’ (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006, pp.10-11, no emphasis added).

Several studies on sport mega events have highlighted the wider point that there are major ‘difficulties in evaluating the economic impact of a SME’ (Szymanski, 2002, p. 173). More generally, it can be said that ‘mega-event’ or ‘hallmark’ event ‘research has tended to focus on effects, particularly economic effects, rather than causes’ (Roche, 1994, p. 2). It seems that, at least partially, Roche is still reasonable when stating that ‘contemporary mega-event research has developed an elaborate understanding of events as causal factors explaining their effects’ (1994, p.2), but nevertheless it can be said that such elaborated understanding has mostly been innocuous in its aims (predicting those effects). The aim of this chapter is, in turn, to address how sport mega events have been studied as well as the fundamental criticisms of such studies in order to establish a basis for this research.

3.4.1 Discursive resource and *ex-ante* studies

One problem frequently identified with economic impact studies is that they tend to be upwardly biased since, in general, the studies are commissioned before the event by

promoters anxious that investments - usually from the public purse - have been well spent (Szymanski, 2002, p. 175, no emphasis added).

Madden observed at the beginning of the century that 'it is now commonplace for Olympic Games bids to be backed up by an economic impact study' (2002, p.7). However, some features of these studies need to be considered. The imbrication between 'mega events discourse' and sport mega event impact studies can be considered an issue for the research field. Beyond dominating the production and reproduction of sport mega events, the sport bourgeoisie also commands 'a collective disavowal of commercial interests and profits' (Bourdieu & Nice, 1980), which episodically embraces governments and companies, as stated before, while it can also involve other actors.

Many institutions, researchers and publishers have bonds with promoters of Games⁹ and research funders are also many times connected to promoters¹⁰ (De Nooij & van den Berg, 2013). This situation 'developed a small industry devoted to the proposition that major sporting events create significant economic benefits for the host country' (Szymanski, 2011, p. 91). 'Those that challenge this, or write about it critically, may become persona non-grata to the mega-event organizers' (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006, p. 12-13).

Furthermore 'It should be noticed that... "impact" studies (which provide the rationale for funding) are themselves' mostly 'predictive or *ex-ante*' (Barclay, 2009, p. 63, no emphasis added), meaning that they are studies of possible impacts. It is yet more problematic when many of these studies use predictions of impact on other editions of sport mega events in order to construct their background. So, it is important to bear in mind that one feature of this field of studies is the influence of stakeholders, who tend to exaggerate their results (Andreff, 2012; Kasimati, 2003) and that an important part of its production is based on predictions and *ex-ante* studies (Matheson, 2006; Teigland, 1999). This type of study is typically based on a model of direct/indirect investment, input/output revenue or computable general equilibrium (CGE¹¹) in order to produce probable scenarios. This leads to broader approaches using cost-benefit analyses (Sterken, 2007; Szymanski, 2011, p. 92; 2002). These analyses/predictions can lead to favourable postures towards sport mega events.

Thus, it can be said that *ex-ante* studies have been an important technical tool, or a discursive resource, of stakeholders in order to create a positive environment for bids, or boosterism, through their use by 'elite coalitions' (Hiller, 2000) or 'booster coalitions' (Black, 2007; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006),

⁹ Examples of this imbrication are the International Centre for Sports Studies (CIES) and the Olympic Studies Centre. The former claims to be 'an independent study center located in Neuchâtel, Switzerland' but at the same time announces that 'was created in 1995 as a joint venture between the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), the University of Neuchatel, the City and State of Neuchatel' - <http://www.cies.ch/cies/about-cies/>. The latter, in its website lists publications involving several universities and researchers in most of the world, besides having local centres of studies in numerous universities on all continents - <http://www.olympic.org/olympic-studies-centre>.

¹⁰ In every edition of a sports mega-event, several studies with different approaches are made. In Brazil, either by the government initiative or at the initiative of economic risk evaluation companies (whose clients are mostly companies and people related to the group previously called sport bourgeoisie), almost all of them involved different actors (from universities, governments and companies), relied on public funding and were relatively optimistic, see for example: <http://www.grant-thornton.co.uk/en/Thinking/World-Cup-2014-Brazilian-businesses-sceptical-of-impact-infographic/>; [http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/Brasil_Sustentavel_-_Copa_do_Mundo/\\$FILE/PDF_copa.do.mundo_port.2011.pdf](http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/Brasil_Sustentavel_-_Copa_do_Mundo/$FILE/PDF_copa.do.mundo_port.2011.pdf); <http://www.esporte.gov.br/arquivos/assessoriaEspecialFutebol/copa2014/estudoSobreImpactosEconomicosCopaMundo2014.pdf>.

¹¹ A CGE model is composed of equations that describe model variables and a database compatible with the model equations. The CGE model has been considered contemporaneously more complete and adjusted to carry out impact studies on Sport mega events (Madden, 2002).

the sport bourgeoisie. And although systematic studies on the political use of *ex-ante* impact studies have not yet been performed, studies that directly or indirectly evaluate the differences between the results of *ex-ante* and *ex-post* studies on the same mega event editions indicate that the relations established between promoters of events, governments, entrepreneurs and sport people (sport bourgeoisie) may be related to the fact that *ex-ante* studies are so optimistic (Allmers & Maennig, 2009; Baade & Matheson, 2001; Mehrotra, 2011; Szymanski, 2002; 2011). To only asking ‘why there are so many *ex-ante* studies?’ (Baade & Matheson, 2001, p. 346-347; Szymanski, 2002, p. 175) would already be challenging. For now, problematisations are going to be made on the frequent models and constituents of *ex-ante* studies. But it is important to bear in mind that *ex-ante* studies have more recently been systematically challenged within academia and that they have strong links to sport mega events promoters and are largely used as a discursive resource by sport mega events promoters and organisers.

3.4.2 Models and limits of *ex-ante* studies

Ex-ante studies have been used in the field of sport mega events studies as an important tool to produce knowledge. However, they can also produce misguided results. *Ex-ante* analysis can cause misperception due to ‘model uncertainty’ (Sterken, 2007, p. 65). For example, if the model (either an input-output model or a CGE model) does not predict the impact of large shocks, as sport mega events may produce, the model can lead to incorrect conclusions. In other words, many models used in studies of sport mega events ignore the unique condition of sport mega events when they are considered within cities, regions or countries.

For example, many of these formulas work with a certain value attributable to expenditures allegedly performed or to be performed by tourists in trips. Some of these formulas ignore that perhaps this particular type of tourist (those that travel for sport mega events) may have different behaviours from those that were the basis for the construction of such research instruments. Even the different circumstances that sport mega events feature, e.g. differentiated costs, often may not be taken into account.

Another common finding in sport mega events studies is exaggeration (Andreff, 2012; Baade & Matheson, 2001; Kasimati, 2003; Matheson, 2006; Pillay & Bass, 2008). Although exaggerations can be related to interests that are often not linked to economic models, in their methodological form they can be associated with a gross as opposed to a net measure. Once only ‘subsidy advocates estimate direct spending by simply summing all receipts associated with the event’ (Baade & Matheson, 2001, p. 345), it can be said that most sport mega events impact investigations based on *ex-ante* models fail to explain how gross revenue of a sport mega events can be translated into economic growth.

3.4.3 Ex-post studies

Ex-post studies or *ex-post facto* studies are types of studies that addresses an elapsed event. Different from *ex-ante* studies, they tend to deal with processes that are already complete or at an advanced stage of development. Also in opposition to *ex-ante* studies, ‘an increasing number of public authorities are asking for *ex-post* evaluations of economic impact’. Thus, ‘large *ex-ante* forecasts are likely to be increasingly discredited’ (Szymanski, 2002, p. 177). More than a disinterested analysis, this work chose to be located in the context of *ex-post facto* studies in order to cope with data impregnated of consequence and significance related to the occurrence of the 2014 World Cup instead of dealing only with potential outcomes studies and forecasts.

It is pertinent to mention that *ex-post* studies, above all on sport mega events impact in general and on World Cups ‘are less optimistic’ than *ex-ante* studies (Allmers & Maennig, 2009, p.500). This is perhaps because they cope with more real data instead of potential numbers. But it is also relevant to register that several *ex-post* studies found no positive economic effects in various editions of World Cups (Baade & Matheson, 2001; Hagn & Maennig, 2008; Mehrotra, 2011). Szymanski (2002) analysed 20 of the largest economies of the world over 30 years and concluded that the growth of these countries was significantly lower in World Cup years (Allmers & Maennig, 2009).

This tendency can be observed in relation to all major sport mega events (Maennig & Du Plessis, 2007) as well. Due to that, it can be considered that *ex-post* studies can be more accurate, because they deal with phenomena that have already happened (so they do not have to make predictions that can or cannot become true afterwards). On the other hand, *ex-post* analyses are not perfect. They are also dependent on ‘conditioning models’ (Sterken, 2007, p. 65). And because they tend to take into account normal functioning of economic growth, they can be influenced by its endogeneity. They can also be influenced by ‘omitted variable’ problems, as they may work with raw numbers (as discussed in relation to *ex-ante* studies). This modest approach to this perspective can instruct this work to: 1. look at 2014WC ‘promises’ with suspicion, once they can be part of the discursive resource of the 2014WC but also because they were made in an *ex-ante* atmosphere; and 2. expect humble numbers related to positive outcomes, even if amounts of expenditures and investments were significant.

3.4.4 The residents/locals

Taking into account the previous discussions, it seems appropriate to insert a more human factor into the debate, ‘the resident/local’. Even because at some point this research will turn to residents of Porto Alegre. In turn, Oslo, Stockholm, Lviv, Krakow, Munich, Boston, Hamburg and Budapest are just some of the cities that have recently given up on opportunities to participate in bidding processes to host sport mega events. It is partially due to polls/referendums that have considered the opinion of regular people/taxpayers, e.g. ‘residents/locals’, that such decisions have been taken (Scheu & Preuss, 2018). On the other hand, although ‘a lack of research aimed at adequately capturing residents’ perceived benefits and costs of hosting large-scale sport tourism events’ (Kim et al., 2015, p.22) can be identified within the

field of studies, academic research has also increased interest in this specific population. Let us initially consider theoretical elements and implications on the matter.

Drawing on the work of Teye, Sonmenz, and Sirakaya (2002), several works¹² criticised the issue of scale in studies involving residents/locals as well as the absence of validated tools to assess the social impact of sport mega events. Using Social Exchange Theory (SET) framework, they developed a Scale of Perceived Social Impacts (SPSI), which was validated through a focus group and a panel of experts and consisted in two sections: perceptions of positive and negative social impacts, and socio-demographic characteristics. They analysed six different areas: economic benefits, community pride, community development, economic costs, traffic problems, and security risks in the context of the Korean Formula 1 Grand Prix. The results they found were predominantly negative and their reflection points out the need for more research with multidimensional approach in order to calibrate the scale needed to produce consequent works.

From this short discussion it is possible to understand that the field of studies of sport mega events apparently lacks a validated instrument to assess the perceptions residents/locals have regarding sport mega events taking place in their home cities/countries. Themes to be examined are also under debate, although some can be agreed upon according to the literature. Aspects such as scales, populations, samples, and so on and so forth, are greatly confusing and/or apparently not covered properly by the existing literature. Also, the field of studies tends to consider majorities in absolute terms, losing complexity in the narrative constructions, thus increasing the difficulty of comparing different studies. However, it is possible to find a body of discussion related to mega events in general, and more specifically to sport mega events, in which the resident/local can be identified and their opinion heard.

The literature often refers only to the FIFA World Cup and the Olympics as sport mega events. However, definitions on size and nomenclatures are still under discussion (Müller, 2015a). One event that clearly defies most schemes related to events' size classification is the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games (Müller, 2015c). It was probably the most expensive Games in history so far. It was also one of the most controversial. Vetitnev and Bobina (2015) performed an *ex-ante* study to explore Sochi residents' perception on the event. They found predominantly negative results. Inconveniences caused by major construction problems and other issues were considered the main causes for the results. The lack of communication between community and promoters was also taken into consideration as a source of dissatisfaction.

In terms of Summer Olympics, Beijing 2008 and London 2012 are fairly different cases and they can offer relevant insights within the theme of residents' perceptions. Zhou and Ap (2008) utilised a scale of social-psychological impacts, urban development impacts, economic development impacts, and social life impacts in order to assess Beijing residents' perception of the 2008 Games. They detected an overall

¹² Kim & Petrick, 2005; Kim et. al, 2015; Prayag et al., 2012

positive approach towards the event (96%) and classified the individuals in their sample as embracers and tolerators. According to the authors ‘the “embracers-tolerators” classification of residents’ perceptions towards the impacts, rather than the more common typology of “lover-tolerators-hater,” is reasonable in a Chinese societal context’ (p. 11, no emphasis added). They interviewed 1165 people by telephone during 2006. Gursoy et. al. (2011), in turn, investigated the temporal effects on local residents’ impact perceptions of hosting the 2008 Olympic Games, collecting data in the first week of the games and after the games. They interviewed 319 people. Their research observed that mainly “during the games” benefit perceptions had significantly higher mean values than “after the games” benefit perceptions’ (p. 309, no emphasis added).

London 2012 was strongly marked by at least two specific features, its intentional characteristic as an urban regeneration promoter (Coaffee, 2011; Davies, 2012) and its public health and physical activity targets (DCMS, 2008; Graeff, Bretherton & Piggin, 2016; Mahtani et. al., 2013; Weed et. al., 2012; Wellings et. al., 2011). Focusing on testing ‘a model of residents’ support for the 2012 Olympic Games’, Prayag et. al. (2012, p. 629) discussed how overall attitude towards the Games mediate the relationship between perceived socio-cultural, economic, and environmental impacts, and residents’ support for the Games. They collected 212 questionnaires in several different regions of London, prior to the Games. They did find correlation between the overall attitude towards the Games and the support for the Games as well as a prevalent support for the Games. Ritchie, Shipway and Monica Chien (2010) also devoted their attention to a mediating effect, the role of the media in influencing residents’ support for the 2012 Olympic Games. Utilising a drop and collect technique, they recovered 404 surveys. They also found positive attitudes towards the Games and identified influence exerted by the media. Thompson et. al. (2015) executed a qualitative study exploring how hosting ‘the London 2012 Games impacted upon the way East London residents perceived and experienced the social determinants of health in their local neighbourhood’ (p. 19). However more modest and specific than the sport mega events rhetoric suggests, the 66 participants considered the Games a positive event for their community in terms of health and wellbeing. Relevant to this research, the participants were from an area impacted by works related to London 2012. Konstantaki and Wickens (2010) carried out research on the 2012 London Olympics residents’ perceptions of environmental and security issues prior to the Games. They worked with 100 questionnaires that identified overwhelming support for the Games and correlation between this result and a sense of national pride and excitement. Pollution, traffic congestion, environmental and security issues were part of the concerns regarding the less positive approach those residents had. Mackintosh, Darko and May-Wilkins (2015) registered voices of resistance to London 2012. They dealt with video diaries and group interviews with members from five families from England’s East Midlands. Although the reactions to the messages sent by the Games were diverse, participants indicated ‘a strong sense of regional and financial exclusion from the event’ (p. 454).

The FIFA 2002 World Cup was the first to be held in two different countries: Japan and South Korea. Kim and Petrick (2005) studied residents' perceptions towards the event in the context of Seoul. They applied a pool with themes encompassing 'economic, social/cultural, urban and tourism infrastructure development, and environmental impacts' (p. 29). They worked with a sample of 739 people. 22 of their items had positive results and nine negative. The main positive responses were related to tourism resources development and urban revitalisation; image enhancement and consolidation; economic benefits; interest in foreign countries or their cultures; and tourism infrastructure development. The negative take on the matter considered a mainly negative economic perspective; disorder and conflicts; and traffic problems and congestion. Kim, Gursoy and Lee (2006) made comparisons regarding the same event, before and after the Games. They worked with seven different dimensions: benefits of cultural exchange, social problems, economic benefits, natural resources and cultural development, traffic congestions and pollution, price increase, and construction costs. They interviewed 371 people before the Games and 448 after (811 in total). The research suggests that the perception of Korean residents drastically changed after the World Cup. The change was principally related to the fact that the residents, after the Games, 'realized that the benefits generated by the games were lower than they expected; in particular, the economic benefits were rather a big disappointment for local residents' (p. 93).

In 2006 the World Cup returned to its more traditional geographical axis, and was staged in Germany. Ohmann, Jones and Wilkes (2006), explored the Munich residents' perceived impact of the edition. They interviewed 132 people and the results were primarily positive, above all in terms of urban regeneration, increased sense of security, positive fan behaviour and the general atmosphere surrounding the event. Negative factors were increased crime, prostitution, and displacement of local residents.

In 2010, the FIFA World Cup went to the African continent for the first time. Bob and Swart (2009) investigated residents' perception of the 2010 World Cup in Cape Town regarding stadia development. Using case study methodology, they worked with a population of 63,473 (stadia area) people and a sample of 200 households. The instrument used was face-to-face interviews. The majority of the interviews showed a positive perception of the event. Although concerns regarding disruptions have been registered, increased cost of living and economic benefits being unequally distributed (p. 58) were the main negative points found by the research.

Qatar appeared in the global sporting and sporting events landscape in a sudden way. The country will have hosted several international competitions, such as Handball and Athletics World Cups by the year 2022. In 2022 it will host one of the main sport mega events in history. A number of diverse controversies have been raised since Qatar emerged as a sport power, and their right to host the FIFA World Cup was eventually challenged. Despite this, it seems that they have secured the materialisation of the event with plan that includes the construction/refurbishment of at least eight stadia. Al-Emadi et al. (2016) evaluated the perception of the impacts of the event among Qatar's residents. Their sample was constituted of 2,163 people, 1058 Qatari nationals and 1,105 'white-collar expatriates' (p.1). They may

have eliminated an important part of the population: e.g. workers that are building the stadia, once ‘the target population excluded those who lived in institutions such as labour camps, army barracks, hospitals, dormitories, or prisons’ (p.5). They worked with independent variables: sociocultural, economic, knowledge development, and environmental impacts; and dependent variables: personal quality of life, community quality of life, attitudes toward event hosting, excitement, and event support. Both groups presented a positive attitude towards the Games. Their conclusions suggest the importance of longitudinal research in order to foster the knowledge about sport mega events hosts residents’ perceptions and the need to consider contexts, citing the example of global changes in the leadership of FIFA due to corruption allegations as a possible changer in the trends found.

In sum, many of the aspects presented in this passage can be useful for this research. Because of this, they were considered when the design of the research was developed. Thus first, the role played by residents of potential mega event host populations becomes increasingly important within society, even determinant in some cases. Although insufficient research has been performed to adequately capture their perception regarding different spheres affected by such events, from such body of knowledge, it is apparent from the existing evidence that there is no validated methodological tool in the academic environment. Researchers have adapted models (SET, for example) from other fields and used different formats of surveys and diverse strategies of distribution, consultation and collection of such surveys to advance the knowledge of the area. Additionally, the issue of scale has often been described as problematic. There is no indication of valid scales in the consulted bibliography. The research visited deals with populations of regions, countries and cities with little importance given to the representation of the samples produced. Many of the cases studied had the sample randomly chosen, and some of them even ignored links to the places, which could be produced by simply asking respondents to state their addresses or neighbourhoods. Several of the studies took place before and/or during the events. On the other hand, many of them pointed out the lack of *ex-post facto* studies. Gursoy et. al. (2011) and Kim, Gursoy and Lee (2006), for example, pointed out that benefit perceptions can reach higher values before and during the Games.

In terms of the content of the residents’ responses, many themes could be listed as important. Economy (benefits and costs) is one of the main subjects for such respondents, either in research where this was an issue of direct questions, or when it appeared spontaneously. Increased cost of living and economic benefits being unequally distributed have been some of the main worries. The dynamics of community aspects (material and immaterial) and urban impacts (transport, new roads), as well as long-term versus short term consequences (disruption versus urban reforms, for example) appeared also as a main concern of residents.

Social aspects, such as educational/cultural issues, and quality of life/wellbeing have also been a constant concern of residents. Residents seem to follow stakeholders in considering the possibility of place image change/enhancement as a relevant facet of mega events. Financial exclusion and

displacement of people were the most cited and constant negative issues present in the body of literature consulted. Also, it is curious that human rights issues were not present in such literature. I will address human rights issues together with the issue of criticism on sport mega events in chapter 4. The next sub-chapter deals specifically with issues related to this attraction sport mega events exert.

3.5 Synthesis of the chapter

This chapter of the thesis dealt with the knowledge produced on sport mega events in the field of academic production specifically dedicated to such events. The research question that structured this review of the literature observed the relationship between such study and the objective of the thesis, which is to ‘develop a political economy of sport mega events that includes the impact that such events have in the everyday life of people directly affected by development projects linked to these events’. Such a research question is ‘in what ways can the knowledge produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup?’.

According to such an objective and research question, these are the key elements of the literature review on sport mega events with respect to the construction of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup.

Initially, key features of sport mega events such as their constant growth, particularly regarding their budget and profit, were approached. In sequence, I presented a debate on the role of companies, the elites and the sports bourgeoisie in the context of sport mega events. Sub-chapter 3.4.4 approached the matter of the perceptions of sport mega events hosts’ inhabitants in relation to such events, which had important consequences to the methodological decisions taken within this thesis (see chapter 5). Sub-chapter 3.5 focused on the attraction sports mega events exert over different social actors.

Additionally, the chapter presented issues related to the dominance of *ex-ante* studies in the area, and their relationship with promoters of sport mega events, being used as a discursive resource. *Ex-post* studies were then identified throughout the discussion as presenting more realistic and accurate results. The most important aspects to be borne from this chapter for the development of the overall research are: A) the indication that *ex-post* studies tend to be more realistic and produce more accurate results; B) the fact that the issue of scale can be a problem in studies that aim to capture the perception of residents of areas involved in sport mega events; and C) that there is a marked absence of studies that deal with populations directly affected by works related to sport mega events. These issues will serve as a basis for the construction of the research questions (chapter 5) and for the methodological decisions that will be presented in chapter 5. The literature review performed here has also shown that sport mega events remain relatively attractive to both developed cities and countries as well as to developing cities and countries.

Now that we have studied more closely the concept of the sport mega event, the ways in which the knowledge specifically related to such events is produced and the main attractions such events present to those who want to compete to host them, we will also study the opposition to such events. The next chapter (4) deals specifically with opposition to sport mega events. Initially, more general issues are discussed, and then the form such opposition took in Brazil (2013/2014) will be addressed.

4. Opposition to sport mega events: Global and local dissenting voices

Chapter 4 continues the effort of this thesis to engage with the second research question: ‘in what ways can the knowledge produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup?’. Therefore, this chapter focuses specifically on literature, not only academic, dedicated to questioning sport mega events. Initially, the chapter deals with general issues in relation to criticism built against sport mega events. Later, elements specific to the Brazilian case (2014 World Cup) are covered.

Thus, after a brief introduction, the thesis follows with the sub-chapter 4.1, which locates the research in relation to the year 2013, the June Journeys and the opposition to the 2014 Brazil FIFA World Cup. Then, the text focuses specifically in the year 2013 and the June Journeys (4.2). Sub-chapter 4.3 deals with the appearance of sports/sport mega events-related themes in the context of the protests of June 2013, from the slogan ‘we want FIFA standard schools and hospitals’. This sub-chapter discusses how the 2014 FIFA World Cup becomes a theme in the June Journeys. Finally, sub-chapter 4.4 approaches the Confederations Cup 2013 and how the period of the event displayed field battles against FIFA and the World Cup.

This chapter presents a list of the most common criticisms highlighted in the relatively few attempts at academic recordings and discussions of criticisms of sport mega events in general. Part of the criticism of the 2014 World Cup will also be brought to the discussion. It also seemed that this thesis would benefit from the inclusion of references from beyond the academic world, as part of the most important records on criticism to 2014WC were made by non-academic institutions, e.g. social movements, thus many pieces of information presented come from reports and not from papers or books.

Due to the limitations of time and format, I preferred to make a list of the most common types of criticism present in the literature on sport mega events. This is primarily because I preferred to invest more heavily in the discussion of the case of the Brazil 2014 FIFA World Cup. The case of the Brazil 2014 FIFA World Cup involved an explosion of demonstrations that took on gigantic proportions. It would be difficult to address aspects of such developments appropriately in this thesis if I had also decided to deepen the topic of criticism about sport mega events. Thus, some of the key issues of criticism on the hosting of sport mega events are as follows:

- A. Lack of benefits towards the poor and the disadvantaged;
- B. The fact that hosting sport mega events constitutes a misdirection of resources needed to meet a wide range of pressing social needs;
- C. The increasing budget of sport mega events;
- D. Problems related to urban transport;
- E. Problems caused to the informal economy;

- F. Problems related to working conditions;
- G. Disrespect for ethnic minorities, indigenous and traditional peoples;
- H. Threats to free speech and freedom of assembly;
- I. Lack of transparency and public participation;
- J. Problems related to housing and evictions;
- L. Problems related to violence against poor people;
- M. Problems related to human rights;
- N. Problems related to violence against opponents of sport mega events;
- O. Problems related to inconvenience and disruption brought by sport mega events to cities and countries;
- P. The elitist, privatised and exclusionary character of sport mega events;
- Q. Gentrification and elitism of renewed areas;
- R. 'False promises' made by sport mega events - do not deliver or develop projects advertised during the bidding process or the initial process of planning;

Most of the elements present in this list were manifested in the Brazilian conjuncture between 2013 and 2014. However, the way this happened was indeed singular. Perhaps this was the first time in history that a sport mega event has been associated with such frequent and massive protests. In the following sub-chapters, I develop a narrative highlighting what I think are the most relevant aspects of the public opposition to the 2014 Brazil World Cup.

4.1 2013, the June Journeys and the opposition to the Brazil FIFA 2014 World Cup

It is crucial to acknowledge the importance of the year 2013 in order to understand the development of the opposition to the 2014WC. 2013 witnessed the 'June Journeys', the inclusion of the theme of the World Cup as one of the main focuses of such events and the staging of the Confederations Cup in six Brazilian cities. The opposition to mega events in Brazil, especially the opposition to the World Cup, which appeared on the horizon for communities of host cities more clearly in early 2010, has a relatively complex structure.

2014WC initiatives were met with various forms of resistance which to some extent led to the organisation of the Popular Committees of the World Cup, and in the case of Rio de Janeiro, the Popular Committee of the World Cup and the Olympics. It is relevant to report that between 2009, when the host cities of the 2014WC were chosen and the year of 2013, which will be explored next, local resistance organisations to 2014WC had been developed and the National Articulation of Popular Committees of the World Cup and the Olympics (ANCOP) had already been created and was an important actor (ANCOP, 2014; COMITEPOPULARRIO, 2011).

4.2 2013 and the June Journeys

Several studies have been conducted in order to try to understand the explosion of criticism and public demonstrations that have become commonplace in Brazil from the so-called 'June Journeys', which, among other things, brought millions of people to the streets of Brazil, questioned the political agenda of the country and highlighted issues hitherto distant from most of the population¹³. The June Journeys were public demonstrations that took place in Brazil between June and July 2013. They started in large cities such as Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte and Salvador, among others, with demonstrations that drew thousands of people. Later, the June Journeys spread to the streets of medium- and smaller-sized cities and also precipitated daily marches that came after gatherings of hundreds of thousands of people in big cities and millions simultaneously in the country. According to several analyses, 'there is no economic crisis or conjunctural problems that could serve as an explanation for the ... demonstrations' (Visentini, 2013), which excludes traditional explanations. However, it seems to be clear that the protests that have taken place on the streets of several cities around the world since the 2007-2008 economic crisis, in the context of what Harvey (2012) called rebel cities, may have roots in globalised policies of neoliberalism in terms of attacking social rights.

The June Journeys were rather diffuse and decentralised public actions (Holston, 2014). For that reason, although having started with a clear basis in relation to increases in public transport fares, the June Journeys later turned into demonstrations and other public activities with high anti-partisan content and contradictory and multi-thematic demands. During this period, could be seen from posters calling for the return of the military to power and also known anarchist sayings in the same manifestations¹⁴ (Gutterres, 2014; Schwartz, Da Costa & Fleck, 2014). Such an astonishing and milestone moment in Brazilian history also brought the 2014WC into the arena of public debate. Posters displayed, songs sung and slogans repeated made it clear that the 2014WC was a primary target of the June Journeys¹⁵ (Singer, A., 2013).

4.3 'We want FIFA standard schools and hospitals': The 2014 FIFA World Cup becomes a theme in the June Journeys

As soon as the amounts that were to be spent by the Brazilian government in the 2014WC started to become publicly known, a contradictory feeling began to be part of discussions on the 2014WC all over the country. From 2009 to 2011, specific forms of resistance to the event such as public and academic debates began to take place (ANCOP, 2014) and it can be said that by the year 2012, the theme of the 2014WC was already greeted without much sympathy in Brazil by the general public. However,

¹³ Antunes, 2013; Antunes & Braga, 2014; Barbosa & Brandão, 2014; Barreira, 2014; Braga, 2013; Domingues, 2013; Giani, 2014; Gutterres, 2014; Harvey, Vainer, Zizek, et. al., 2013; Parra, 2013; Ruediger et al., 2014; Saad-Filho, 2013; Saad-Filho & Morais, 2014; Severo, 2014; Singer, A., 2013; Zibechi, 2013.

¹⁴ <http://zh.clicrbs.com.br/rs/noticias/eleicoes-2014/noticia/2014/10/o-que-sobrou-dos-protestos-de-junho-de-2013-4613638.html>

<http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/politica/noticia/2014-07/manifestacoes-nao-devem-influenciar-no-resultado-das-eleicoes-avaliam>

<http://www.workers.org/articles/2014/12/06/reunion-brasil/>

<http://www.ebc.com.br/cidadania/2013/06/manifestacoes-confira-galeria-de-fotos-dos-protestos-pelo-brasil>

¹⁵ <http://www.pstu.org.br/node/20751>

<http://congressoemfoco.uol.com.br/noticias/quem-grita-nao-vai-ter-copa/>

2013 saw an explosion of criticism to the 2014WC. As stated earlier, the explanations about the June Journeys are still being developed and are part of the disputes relating to the story that will be told. But it was in the context of such Journeys that 1. the 2014WC became a relevant theme in the main public discussions of the country; 2. direct opposition to the hosting of the event took shape; 3. expenditure on the event began to be questioned in the face of the social problems affecting Brazil 4. FIFA became a target of criticism. Such characteristics can be, even if superficially, recognised in the images in the context of Journeys¹⁶. Slogans such as ‘we want FIFA standard schools and hospitals’ and ‘FIFA out’ became routine in the protests, as well as ‘Fuck the World Cup’, ‘I give up the World Cup, I want my money to go into health and education’, ‘Fuck FIFA’ and ‘FIFA go home’ (Horne & Silvestre, 2016). The message from the streets was ‘there will be no World Cup’¹⁷. I selected some pictures that perhaps can help the reader to imagine the scenario that accompanied the Confederations Cup and to some extent, the 2014 World Cup.

¹⁶ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/21/brazil-protests-football-world-cup>
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/picturegalleries/worldnews/10133833/Brazil-World-Cup-protests-teenager-dies-as-a-million-people-take-to-the-streets.html>
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2345600/Brazil-riots-One-million-protest-government-spending-18billion-World-Cup.html>
<http://world.time.com/2013/06/21/brazils-world-cup-protests-intensify-as-countrys-politicians-and-fifa-squirm/>
<http://www.citylab.com/politics/2013/06/we-dont-need-world-cup-stark-photos-brazils-enormous-protests/5942/>
<http://acertodecontas.blog.br/atualidades/queremos-escolas-e-hospitais-padrao-fifa-nao-se-trata-de-r-010/>
<https://witness.theguardian.com/assignment/51c01d53e4b068d4a4b92cf0/373552>

¹⁷ <https://en-gb.facebook.com/worldcupbrazilofficial>



DEAR **NON-BRAZILIAN** FRIEND,

Please take it seriously:

DON'T COME TO BRAZIL WORLD CUP 2014.

Our governments have wasted billions building stadiums that should cost half and won't bring any improvement for the life quality of the population. Meanwhile, people are dying in the hospital lines due to lack of infrastructure. Violence against regular civilians is out of control, specially in touristic cities like Rio and São Paulo. Airports, public transportation, hosteling and other services can't handle our own intern needs, so go figure what is gonna happen in the world cup when thousands of tourists come.

BRAZILIANS ARE SICK OF IT. THIS WORLD CUP IS GONNA BE MESSY, TOURIST-DECEIVING AND DANGEROUS, NOT MENTIONING DISRESPECTFUL TO OUR PEOPLE, CONSIDERING ALL OF OUR CURRENT GIANT PROBLEMS.

If you still have doubts, take a quick look on any digital brazilian newspaper right now.

IF YOU HAVE A FRIEND PLANNING TO COME TO BRAZIL, PLEASE ASK HIM TO TAKE A QUICK READ ON THIS.

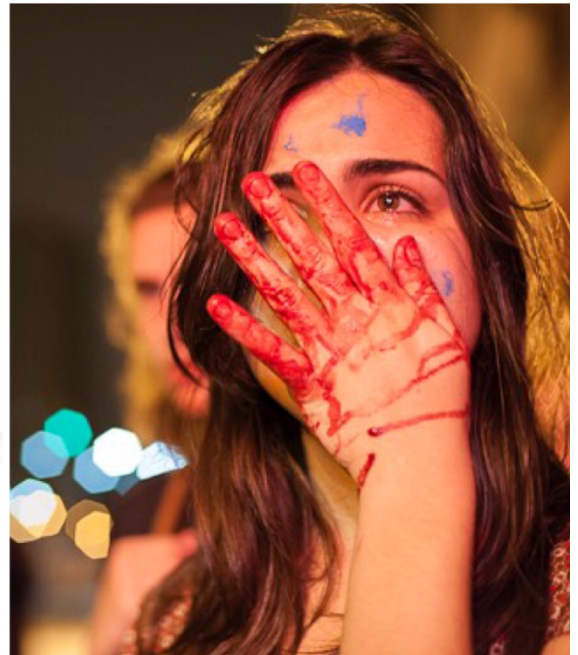


Figure 2 – Images of protests and violence associated to the 2014 Brazil World Cup

4.4 Confederations Cup 2013: field battles against FIFA and the World Cup

Once the Confederations Cup became something palpable on the horizon, the focus of the June Journeys became the six cities where the competition would take place - Brasília, Fortaleza, Salvador, Recife, Belo Horizonte and Rio de Janeiro. In particular, the cities of Brasília, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte and Fortaleza saw days of 'field battles' against the Confederations Cup, FIFA and the expenses related to 2014WC. According to the Extraordinary Secretary of Big Events (SESGE) of the Federal Government, 864.000 people were directly involved and present in the manifestations in at least four cities during the 15 days of the event (June 15th to 30th)¹⁸.

During the 35 days of my first fieldwork¹⁹, I met with the group of the Popular Committee of the Cup in Porto Alegre several times and they reported that those activities in the Confederations Cup were articulated by the ANCOP as a way to test the FIFA zones of exclusion and foresee the possibilities of protests against the 2014WC²⁰. Porto Alegre lived days of intense manifestations and violence as well. The activities organised by the protesters were considered very successful by the Popular Committee of the Cup in Porto Alegre and the number of news items related to those events can be seen as evidence that corroborates with them. Some scenes can be found on YouTube and can be recommended as a way of learning about how the protests took place during that period²¹.

For the purposes of this thesis, it is important to note that 1. protests during the Confederations Cup took place on a massive scale, perhaps a scale never seen before in the context of sport mega events; 2. they threatened the realisation of matches in different cities and in different opportunities; and 3. they were marked by intense violence from the police against demonstrators. Residents of the region affected by the 2014WC development projects in Porto Alegre were probably aware of the protests, either because they participated in some of them or because they had seen them in the news. This fact should be considered when we visit the perceptions of such residents in chapter 6.

¹⁸<http://copadomundo.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2013/07/02/protestos-na-copa-das-confederacoes-reuniram-864-mil-manifestantes.htm>

¹⁹ details of this first fieldwork are given in the methodology section.

²⁰ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-23121532>

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/football/article-2350595/Confederations-Cup-2013-Brazil-protests-continue-FIFA-announce-Taittinger-champagne-partner.html>

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/confederations-cup-final-marred-by-violent-clashes-between-protesters-and-riot-police-after-brazil-beat-spain-30-in-rio-8680899.html>

²¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yhKkpCAiY5w>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0-9h-F9MWpU>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yi61_7DdAQY

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ZklrIGODDM>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3RekjiX-bBA>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ApY-GasWJb8>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lZtHzYSNCLA>

Part II

This part of the thesis outlines the ontological and epistemological basis of the research and presents the discussions about methodology and method made in the context of this thesis. Additionally, this part also presents the advances made thus far regarding the research objective and the research questions. Thus, part II initially addresses the ontological and epistemological aspects of the thesis. The ontological categories with which I work in the thesis are totality, historicity and contradiction. I also explain how the work was guided by the epistemological, diagnostic, judicative and teleological dimensions. Next, Part II displays the developments made thus far in relation to the first two research questions and then presents discussions regarding the methodological aspects of the thesis. The research techniques I applied throughout the thesis research period are literature review, document analysis, interviews and survey.

5. Research methodology and methods

This chapter focuses on the theoretical issues linked to the ontological, epistemological and methodological aspects of the thesis. Thus, this chapter initially addresses the ontological and epistemological aspects of the thesis (5.1). The ontological categories with which I work in the thesis are totality, historicity and contradiction. The epistemological categories with which I work in the thesis are the diagnostic, the judicative and the teleological.

Following this discussion, I present the methodological aspects of the thesis (5.2; Research methodology and methods). Sub-chapter 5.2.1 focuses on the fundamental pieces of knowledge from the literature review to clarify the path explored so far to make a connection between the thesis' research questions and the fieldwork's research questions.

Sub-chapter 5.3 presents the techniques applied in the literature review. Sub-chapter 5.4 explains the use of document analysis within the thesis. Sub-chapter 5.5 details the fieldwork research that involved the survey that was performed within this thesis. Sub-chapter 5.6 addresses the methodological discussions about the interviews that were conducted in the context of this research.

Sub-chapter 5.7, 'Notes from the fieldworks' focuses on providing insights into the fieldwork periods, pursuing to explore dimensions of the research that were not explored in previous passages of this chapter. Sub-chapter 5.8 presents the chapter conclusions.

5.1 Ontological and epistemological premises of the thesis

...in the body of society all relations coexist simultaneously
(Marx in *Misery of Philosophy*)

The purpose of this sub-chapter is to establish the theoretical basis of this thesis. The theoretical approach outlined in this chapter, namely historical and dialectical materialism, has several interpretations and multiple readings. Thus, it should first be stated that I understand that ontology refers to the study of the human being and the phenomena related to them. Additionally, I also consider that the human being is a social being and that the phenomena they are part of can only be grasped if the social sphere is considered (Lowy, 1998; Marx, 1982a; Marx & Engels, 1976). In this context, I understand the social sphere to refer to every dimension of human interrelations.

The approach selected to produce this thesis, historical and dialectical materialism, is in line with this ontological basis. The reading of historical and dialectical materialism in this thesis is based on studies of historical and dialectical materialism field, as well as other critical fields of the academic and scientific universe (Andery et. al., 1996; Cheptulin, 1982; Harvey, 2010a; 2010b; Lowy, 1998; Marx, 1963; 1973 [1859]; 1973; 1978; 1982a; 1982b; 1983; Marx et. al, 1990; Meszaros, 1995). Although many other authors could have served the purpose of this chapter the authors that I have selected to serve as a basis for the development of the theoretical aspects of the thesis are those that I have identified as classics or as

specific contributors to topics of my interest in the thesis. In this case, the classics are Marx (1973 [1859], 1963; 1978; 1982a; 1982b; 1983), Marx et al. (1990), and Cheptulin (1985). These authors are the founders of the school of thought, in the case of Marx and Engels, of historical and dialectical materialism, and have allegedly never lost their contemporaneity (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2017).

Cheptulin is also a key author on the theoretical and methodological debates from the point of view of the development of historical and dialectical materialism. Harvey (2010a; 2010b; 2014), Lowy (1998) and Meszaros (1995) were selected because they offer updated perspectives on aspects also covered by the classics. In turn, Andery et al. (1996) are authors who deal specifically with the ontological categories chosen for the development of the work: totality, historicity and contradiction.

I selected historical and dialectical materialism mainly because it offered the possibility of understanding sport mega events in a broader context. The relationship between sport mega events and the broader socio-economic context seems to represent a gap in the literature on sport mega events and understanding it also appears to be a necessity for the development of the same field. But as well as a need of the field of studies, I understand that it is a necessity of the area understood more comprehensively. It is also an imperative placed to those who, like me, think it is possible to overcome the present state of commodification and elitisation of sport in general and sport mega events in particular.

As stated by Bairner (2007), I agree that ‘...the time has surely come for fewer apologies and for a more robust defense of the subtleties of historical materialism as properly understood’ (p. 33). In addition, historical and dialectical materialism also provided a suitable framework for understanding the phenomena that at the time I started my doctoral studies, I was to devote myself to. The ontological categories I have, thus, selected to work with, based on my understanding of ontology and historical and dialectical materialism are totality, historicity and contradiction.

The ‘methodological category of totality’ instructs and supports ‘... the perception of social reality as an organic whole, structured, in which an element cannot be understood, an aspect, a dimension, if it loses its link with the whole’ (Lowy, 1998, p.16). What this statement means is that to understand a certain social phenomenon, it is necessary to grasp it in the context of its insertion in society, understood as an organic whole. In this way, a given social phenomenon can only be understood if its links to other social phenomena are studied and known. There is a recurrent criticism of this principle of historical and dialectical materialism. Such criticism supposes determinism, especially of economic factors on other aspects of social life (Bairner, 2007). My understanding goes in the direction of conditionings and not determinations. Thus, I understand that certain spheres of social life can influence, conditioning, other spheres of social life. Just as there may be mutual conditioning, co-conditioning, multiple spheres may also be influenced and influence each other, in this case, multi-conditioning. Or as Marx stated: ‘in the body of society all relations coexist simultaneously’ (1982a, p. 111). Marx has explained this approach to the complex reality:

When considering a given country from the standpoint of political economy, we begin with its population, the division of the population into classes, town and country, sea, the different branches of production, export and import, annual production and consumption, commodity prices, etc. It would seem right to start with the real and concrete, with the actual presupposition, e.g. in political economy to start with the population, which forms the basis and the subject of the whole social act of production. Closer consideration shows, however, that this is wrong. Population is an abstraction if, for instance, one disregards the classes of which it is composed. These classes in turn remain an empty phrase if one does not know the elements on which they are based, e.g. wage labour, capital, etc. These presuppose exchange, division of labour, prices, etc. For example, capital is nothing without wage labour, without value, money, price, etc. If one were to start with population, it would be a chaotic conception of the whole, and through closer definition one would arrive analytically at increasingly simple concepts; from the imagined concrete, one would move to more and more tenuous abstractions until one arrived at the simplest determinations. From there it would be necessary to make a return journey until one finally arrived once more at population, which this time would be not a chaotic conception of a whole, but a rich totality of many determinations and relations (Marx, 1973, p. 41).

Thus, the chosen approach guides the research from initial abstractions to even the simplest relations in the topics covered. The ‘way back’ then should be the synthesis, as seen in the excerpt above, in a rich totality. However, such a totality is not always homogeneous and peaceful. As stated by Marx (1963) in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*: ‘men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances already existing, given and transmitted from the past’ (p.15). This is the concept of historicity that is adopted in this thesis, reality is historical heritage of the processes that built it.

The category of ‘contradiction’, from the historical and dialectical materialist reference, points to the fact that reality is composed of opposing elements, coexisting (expressed in its unity) and in permanent opposition (or struggle). Thus, the contradiction is expressed in the constant struggle between opposites, the dynamics of which allow the production of new syntheses (Cheptulin, 1985). This latter theoretical tool informs us that the elements that are apprehended from the reality should contribute to the construction of an elaborate explanation of given phenomena under analysis. More than a result of the addition and the subtraction of the conditionings of given phenomena, the intended analysis here must then identify the contradictions and interrelationships concerning the field studied and build an explanation in which such a field is the synthetic result of such oppositions. As shown earlier (chapter 2), with the support of historical and dialectical materialist framework, I identify elements of the global capitalist system as the background for the development of sport mega events (Robinson, 2004; 2012; 2015; Sklair, 1997; 2001; Struna, 2013). Thus, the global capitalist system is the totality in which sport mega events are encompassed, for the purposes of this thesis.

The same theoretical approach also helps to explain the position Brazil assumes in the global capitalist system as a semi-peripheral country (Fitzsimons & Starosta, 2018; Hudson, 2016; Wallerstein, 1974). Through the development of the text, the most important actors in the development of the 2014 World Cup are identified. The main and most recurrent actors are the international sport organisations

(FIFA), the Brazilian Federal Government and the Porto Alegre City Hall. But as it was seen (chapters 2 and 3), less apparent actors, such as fractions of international and local elites, as well as corporate actors and especially the security and construction industries, also play a crucial role in the development of sport mega events. And, of course, those impacted by sport mega events are also considered important actors in this context. In describing how such actors engage and are involved in the processes relating to sport mega events, I have built a historicity for the thesis, as well as this process made apparent contradictions within the field.

Contradiction, as a category of thought, then, played a prominent role in the progress of the thesis. For example, the category guided the progress of specific analyses, contributing to the identification of problems and organisation of chapters. In chapters 3 and 4, for example, from this tool of thought, it was possible to identify that if on the one hand the cyphers involving sport mega events have grown, on the other hand governments have spent public resources in large volumes on such events and that franchise owners (FIFA and the IOC) have been profiting more and more from mega events. The very logic of the thesis was also profoundly affected by the use of the category contradiction. The more general organisation of the thesis points towards a contradiction as well. On the one hand, I present this immense structure of governments, international sports organisations and sport mega events in close relation to the global capitalist system. I also discuss how sport mega events take up a rhetoric, presented in the thesis as a discursive resource (see chapter 3).

Thus, if such a discourse, associated with the power of governments and, in this specific case, FIFA and its associates (especially corporate), can be verified in practice, then those impacted by a World Cup must have the same impressions of sport mega events' beneficial aspects as those disseminated by such discursive resource. This is the internal logic of the thesis and the main contradiction observed.

But if the human being is a social being, then also 'knowledge is irreducibly social' (Ruben, 1979, p. 109). So, I consider that epistemology is the study of how human beings organise the production of knowledge (Wallerstein, 1984; 2004). Therefore, within the tradition of historical and dialectic materialism, I additionally consider that reality can be approached from three epistemological dimensions: diagnostic, judicative, and teleological (Berker, 2013; Castree, 1995; Coletivo de Autores, 1992; Souza, 1987; Thomas, 2006). All of the mentioned dimensions are implied within and implicated in the issues of methods and methodology of this thesis.

The diagnostic perspective, which is related to data collection procedures, has contributed with the comprehensive perspective I assumed in the search for information ranging from the broader spheres implied in and by sport mega events, as well as the more specific questions related to such events. The judicative dimension sustained choices concerning theoretical analyses. For example, when I analysed global capitalism and its relations to sport mega events (chapter 2), the judicative dimension worked through my subsequent choices. Therefore, I advanced to the analysis of the uneven and combined

development of sport mega events, adjudicating that that was an important contribution to the development of a political economy of the 2014 World Cup grounded in political-academic principles.

The judicative dimension had implications for my fieldwork decisions. I could have studied how to promote greater profits for the companies involved in sport mega events. However, as discussed earlier, class contours are a decisive factor in the judicative dimension of research. Thus, I decided to research the impact of the 2014 World Cup on communities affected by works related to the event. In choosing the side of the 'impacted', I also chose the direction to which my recommendations would point, the teleological dimension of this research. They will aim to support the reduction of the negative impacts of sport mega events on communities. The sub-chapter centred on recommendations (7.5) will make such reflections clear.

The consequence of the application of the ontological and epistemological categories in this research is that the recommendations point to a teleology of the sport mega events that imagines them as events that do not penalise the less favoured populations of the countries.

By way of definition, the diagnostic perspective concerns the collection and systematisation of data from reality. The diagnostic perspective is linked to data collection techniques and it is understood that it should produce a body of information capable of allowing the consideration of the various possibilities available to the understanding of a given phenomenon. The definition of the judicative dimension concerns the ways that the researcher will organise the research and the direction taken once data to be analysed has been collected. It is important to mention that according to the authors of the approach considered in this thesis, class issues will have a conditioning role regarding this dimension (Coletivo de Autores, 1992; Souza, 1987). The teleological dimension seeks to organise the search for what can be valid in relation to the transformation of the phenomenon studied. It concerns what the research and the researcher may propose to the field that is being studied (Coletivo de Autores, 1992; Souza, 1987).

During the development of this thesis, these three dimensions were present. In the first place, the diagnostic perspective inspired the studies of the literature referring to the problems considered relevant: basically, sport mega events and how they relate to the broader sphere, to global capitalism, and with specific actors, for example, hosts of events such as the Olympics and the World Cup. In the second place, the judicative dimension led me to ask questions like 'considering all these elements and those involved, are people who are directly affected by the marvels of sport mega events very satisfied?'. From there, I went back to the diagnostic perspective and organised a survey, interviews, and analysed documents. Third, and finally, the teleological dimension was then manifested, for example, in the fact that I present at the end of the thesis a sub-chapter (7.5.5) with proposals in order to promote dialogue with actors involved in the field. Such proposals have no other purpose but to establish a constructive criticism with the aim of overcoming some of the problems addressed throughout the thesis.

This sub-chapter has sought to outline and justify the theoretical framework of this thesis in terms of the theory of historical and dialectical materialism, and the specific form in which it is employed here. More than a study of the theory, I intended, with this chapter, to demonstrate how the categories of thought borrowed from this theory were employed in different phases of the research. Hence, I conclude this chapter by reminding the reader that the three ontological categories and the three epistemological categories borrowed from historical and dialectical materialism are present throughout the thesis and not only in this chapter.

For example, the first part of the thesis examines what a sport mega event is, how they are studied, why are they so attractive and what dissensions (contradictions) are present within the phenomenon. It is a diagnosis prepared to back up the development of the thesis. The second part of the thesis, in turn, explores judicative elements, sets up the objective and the research questions of the thesis, and discusses its methodology and methods. The third and fourth parts of the thesis, although also invested by the judicative dimension, especially in the discussions of the results of the research and in the conclusions of the thesis, are directed towards a teleological meaning. Both the discussions and conclusions, as well as the recommendations present in that part, are inspired by questions aimed at transforming the social problems encountered in the development of the research.

5.2 Research methodology and methods

The objective of this thesis is to develop a political economy of sport mega events that includes the impact that such events have in the everyday life of people directly affected by development projects linked to these events. This chapter describes the steps taken to operationalise the research carried out in this thesis, in accordance with this objective and the discussions present in the previous chapters. This introduction focuses on introducing the general elements of the research. The purpose of this chapter is, then, to discuss the methods selected in the preparation of this research. For this, I present the methodological decisions, discuss them critically and describe the steps used in the development of the techniques associated with such methodologies.

As importantly, this chapter explains how I engaged with each of the research questions of the thesis. Thus, research question 1 is ‘what are the links between global capitalism and sport mega events?’, and research question 2 is ‘in what ways can the knowledge produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup?’. Both are integrated here since I clarify throughout the chapter the research techniques used in the literature review and the document analysis, which was the main approach I took towards the first two research questions. The third research question, ‘how do people who are directly affected by sport mega events development projects perceive such events?’, was addressed mainly through a survey and interviews.

A qualitative approach was chosen on the grounds that it could best meet the objective of this research. However, 'qualitative research is difficult to describe, because it means different things to different researchers' (Smith & Caddick, 2012, p. 60; Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). Notwithstanding, it is known that a qualitative approach is 'used as an umbrella term to refer to several research strategies that share certain characteristics' (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p. 2). Thus, the methodological position taken in this work considers that the approximation to reality developed within this thesis considers the elements listed in the previous section on ontology and epistemology (sub-chapter 5.1). Thereafter, it is important to note that although this thesis does draw upon numerical data, the phenomena studied are not reduced solely to numbers. And although part of the task for this work is to compare the 'promises' of the 2014 World Cup with the event's results, another important perspective of the research will focus on the viewpoints of the participants (Sparkes & Smith, 2014).

As 'the researcher is a central figure who influences the collection, selection, and interpretation of data' (Finlay, 2002, p. 531), it is important to note that at each step, the beliefs and decisions of the author accompanied the 'doing' of the research. For example, this characteristic of the centrality of the researcher was manifested when in this research, the decision was taken to assume the area of impact of the construction work of Tronco Avenue suggested by the Porto Alegre City Hall as the universe of research. Moreover, the definition of the fieldwork theme, the impact of sport mega events in communities affected by these events, also shows such centrality. As will be discussed below, I could have chosen other approaches and could have had other concerns.

It is expected that the production of the data through the methods selected will facilitate the dialogue with colleagues in the area and with stakeholders in general, offer different understandings of the same subjects, and shed light on different aspects of the same phenomena. To achieve such expectations, the technique of triangulation was used. Triangulation 'is a term used in the qualitative approaches to indicate the concurrent use of various approaches and techniques of various types of analysis, several informants and views ...' (Minayo, 1996, p.102). Because of this, although I present the different research techniques used in the development of the thesis separately in this chapter, the data produced from such techniques will be presented conjointly. Thus, in the results and in their discussion, the reader will be able to find triangulations that will present, for example, data produced from the analysis of documents, which will be collated or combined by the results of the survey and illustrated with excerpts from interviews. My intention here is to explore the relationship between the macro and micro dimensions of the research and of sport mega events' political economy. Hence, the use of triangulation favours, on the one hand, the perspective adopted in the thesis, which favours an integrated narrative (Rossman & Wilson, 1985). On the other hand, triangulation also favors the use of data from the different collection methods, which enriches the analysis.

It seems important to bear in mind that chapter 3 of the thesis, from the exploration of the second research question, has provided some relevant evidence related to the studies in the area of sport mega

events and this thesis. The first indication left by chapter 3 is that (a) *ex-post* studies tend to be more realistic and to produce more accurate results; the second indication points to (b) the fact that the issues related to universe and scale can be problematic in studies that aim to capture the perception of residents of areas involved in sport mega events; and the third indication points out (c) that there is a marked absence of studies dealing with populations directly affected by works related to sport mega events. The methods used in this research attempts to engage with these three gaps in the literature.

Thus, the literature review showed that *ex-ante* studies tend to present biased (too positive) results (Szymanski, 2002), which I wanted to avoid. Studies carried out with *ex-ante* methodologies tend to exaggerate the potential of sport mega events when they consider the impacts of such events in areas such as economy, tourism, hosts' image improvement and legacies, for example. Thus, in accordance with such an assessment, I decided that the main fieldwork research of the thesis would be conducted after the event had taken place.

I also decided to develop some form of direct contact with the people involved in my research. I even considered developing an ethnography in the communities that I had identified as the research focus, the communities affected by the construction of the Tronco Avenue. The construction of the Tronco Avenue was the most ambitious project related to the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre. The initiative consisted of a series of alterations, most of them related to the enlargement of streets to be transformed in parts of the Tronco Avenue. Such processes involved several consequent actions performed mainly by the Porto Alegre Municipality. The most frequent actions were related to compulsory purchase of houses to liberate areas for road construction.

However, two factors have weighed against performing an ethnography. First, ethnographies often contribute to the apprehension of meanings attributed by individuals or communities to the phenomena in which they engage. However, instead I aspired to gather multiple types of data to improve the quality and the accuracy of the research findings. I wanted to work with and to compare different points of view. Thus, performing a survey, interviews and document analysis seemed more appropriate. Secondly, although ethnographies in the context of sport mega events can be important and a relevant absence in the literature, the literature review showed that surveys are the most used instrument when it comes to research on residents/locals of sport mega events hosts. In a way, it was a challenge, but I decided to perform a survey.

Besides being a technique I had rarely worked with before, it was also a 'language change'. I had to appropriate a range of methodological terms and practices that were new to me. I also had to learn to master techniques that were not usual in my academic practice. For example, terms like 'the direction of the walk' appeared to me as if they came from a strange language. Perhaps the reader will feel this way, but this and other terms will be explained next. Until then, I had worked with the written or spoken text. My research was based on literature reviews, interviews, and document analyses. During the development of this thesis, I had to learn how to work with numbers that I produced and that I needed to interpret.

To do so, I needed to learn a different way of thinking and a software system. I had to get used to spending days typing numbers into tables, then turn those numbers into something intelligible, and then deal with these data in a way that they would make sense when integrated into the narrative I used in the thesis. Finally, I had to learn to present such data in conjunction with the data produced from the other techniques I utilised in the research. I had help, as I will explain throughout chapter 5. And, as I explain in the next paragraph, in the end, I managed to develop an appropriate research tool and to perform the survey.

It is important to keep in mind that this research intends to produce knowledge about sport mega events, and specifically the 2014 FIFA World Cup, contemplating people who are impacted by such events, exploring gaps within the existing literature. Thus, I had noted in chapter 3 that there is a lack of post-event assessment in the current research on sport mega events, and thus I decided to perform the survey after the 2014 World Cup had taken place. I also noted that there is a dominance of legacy narratives within the more recently published works on sport mega events, thus I decided to assess how such legacies were perceived by populations affected by the event.

However, disruptions are often reported in research in the area but rarely detailed, just as the people most affected by these upheavals end up being diluted in larger populations, thus ignoring the direct effects on these sub-populations. Thus, as I shall explain below, it was decided to focus on the population affected by the main work related to 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre, centred on Avenida Tronco (Tronco Avenue). Combining elements of the literature review with discussions with experts in various areas, as described below, I decided to focus on seven different topics: Housing, Education, Security, Health, Public sphere performance, Employment/economy, and the FIFA World Cup.

This concludes the introduction to this sub-chapter. Thus, subsequently, I first present a discussion on the advances made through the literature review in terms of informing the methodology of the research (5.2.1). Then, I explain the research techniques applied to the literature review (5.3). Next, the use of the document analysis technique is addressed (5.4) and then display clarifications on the survey technique utilised in the development of the thesis (5.5). In sequence, I display considerations and practical information related to the interviews performed (5.6). Sub-chapter 5.7 presents information related to the three fieldwork periods that this research encompasses. Sub-chapter 5.8 presents the chapter conclusions.

In the next section, methodological decisions will be presented. Section 5.2.1 recovers important points from the development of the first two research questions and the literature review and prepares the reader for the other sub-chapters, which engage with the third research question. The third research question was the one that motivated and guided the fieldwork and the one that inspired the use of the survey research technique.

5.2.1 Methodological decisions

...one significant research gap centres on the lack of a comprehensive case study of the full range of critical public responses to the hosting of a heavily commodified sport mega-event such as the Olympic Games or football's World Cup finals (Giulianotti et. al., 2015, p. 3).

The objective of this thesis is: to develop a political economy of sport mega events that includes the impact that such events have in the everyday lives of people directly affected by development projects linked to these events. Accordingly, the research questions that organise this research are: 1. What are the links between global capitalism and sport mega events?; 2. In what ways can the knowledge produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup?; and 3. How do people who are directly affected by sport mega event development projects perceive such events?

This section of the thesis (5.2.1), in turn, focuses on recuperating fundamental pieces of knowledge from the literature review to make a connection between the thesis' research questions and the fieldwork's research questions. This may not be a common section in chapters on methodologies and methods. However, as I decided to invest in a large literature review, I believe that this passage contributes to the reading of the thesis.

Thus, considering the accumulations made through the thesis' literature review, the fieldwork research began to be drawn and the methods to be chosen began to be designed. Chapter 2 reported the research on broader aspects and on interrelations between different spheres, which ended up informing the research on the academic-political aspects.

Thus, for example, the fieldwork research turned to the population affected by the 2014 World Cup and the analysis of the results did not neglect broader aspects that are related to the advance of development projects linked to sport mega events. Chapters 3 and 4 contributed to the selection of topics to be studied and to the discussion of methodological aspects, which informed the decisions taken. Such decisions can be recapitulated as follows: a) that the research would focus on populations affected by the 2014 World Cup; b) that such a population would be defined from the choice of a territorial limit, a universe; and c) that the people heard within the context of such a universe and research would be randomly chosen through a process developed to do so.

Thus, I would like to discuss components selected from the literature review to inform the decisions made in relation to the fieldwork performed and the methods utilised during the development of this thesis. Firstly, there is the question of *when*. Considering the debates made in the literature review, it was decided that the fieldwork of this research would be undertaken after the 2014 Brazil World Cup had taken place. I did so because, first, there were indications raised from the literature review that *ex-post facto* research has produced superior results in relation to *ex-ante* research in the field of sport mega events studies. Second, to try and avoid a common movement in the field of sport mega events, I called it 'the carnival effect'. The carnival effect is the process of turning the focus from one edition of sport

mega events to the next one. According to that formulation, several actors in the field of sport mega events, among them, politicians, officials, the media and researchers, tend to rapidly adjust their interest focus to the next edition of the Games, which, if avoided at least by researchers, would perhaps increase the complexity and the consequence of sport mega events studies.

Secondly, there is the question of *what*. I acknowledged through the literature review that although tendencies from global capitalism could be identified in the field of sport mega events, several themes presented tensions and contradictions when developments related to sport mega events were discussed within literature more specifically focused on such events. In a certain way, if two dimensions are considered here, global capitalism-sport mega events and local populations, global capitalism (and its relationship with sport mega events) is the one that can be more clearly perceived, according to the literature review. Sport mega events studies are a field of many disputes, as seen above, and local populations have only recently started to be considered more frequently as the object of academic studies. Even so, such a body of research is still lacking strategies that could contemplate multidimensional approaches, according to the literature review. Additionally, again, a noticeable lack of studies aiming to know more about populations directly affected by development works linked to sport mega events was also acknowledged through the literature review. Therefore, considering that the global sphere is more visibly identified within the thesis and that the development of sport mega events and their consequences are in constant dispute within the field of studies, focusing on populations directly affected by sport mega events seems to be a relevant and appropriate contribution to the field of studies. Once it is known that sport mega events borrow traits from global capitalism and that such features are linked mainly to corporate aims and profit oriented, and it is unknown whether sport mega events indeed produce positive results for hosts or not, giving centrality to local populations and, especially, to people affected by such events seems to be a valid strategy to assess the outcomes of sport mega events. After all, local populations pay for most of the costs of sport mega events and people affected by such events have a unique view point, the one of those people who are most acutely impacted. Thus, in consequence of such an assessment, I decided to perform the fieldwork of the research concerning this thesis with populations directly affected by development works related to the 2014 Brazil World Cup, contemplating a multidimensional approach.

Thirdly, there is the question of *who*. As exposed above, studies aimed to capture the perceptions of residents of sport mega events' hosts have worked with populations of countries, regions and cities, giving little attention to the scales of universes and samples utilised. Therefore, in order to provide this research with more precisely defined limits of universe, it was decided that the main fieldwork taken for the realisation of this thesis would consider as the universe of the research the area pointed out as the 'impact area' of the major development project linked to the 2014 Brazil World Cup in Porto Alegre by the Porto Alegre City Hall, the construction of the Tronco Avenue. An estimation process was used later and is explained in a section that appears next in this chapter, taking the estimate that the universe of this

research is composed of 3465 houses. It was a decision inclined to the politics and policy aspects of the matter, but defining a universe for the kind of research that would be carried out by this thesis would be problematic nonetheless. This aspect will be revisited and developed below when the definition of the universe is specifically discussed. Thus, the first decision made was to consider a specific universe. Then, an area of impact related to a development project linked to the event was to be found to represent such a universe. And finally, with the acknowledgment of the definition made by the Porto Alegre City Hall, which will be explained later, the opportunity seemed to be very appropriate to make such an area the universe of the research. It will be detailed later that the first approach to the area identified 3465 residences in the region appointed as the impact area. It was clear that it would be very difficult to survey or interview people from 3465 residences. Thus, through a process that will be described below and that involved an event that gathered scholars from several different fields, it was decided to use a formula to randomly select a certain number and the location of the residences to be visited. In the end, the sample of the universe that encompassed the survey realised for this thesis was constituted of 134 residences. Additional fieldwork was performed with 7 respondents to the survey and other actors to help to elucidate and illustrate elements built through the survey. The technique used in that case was the semi-structured interview.

Fourthly, there is the question of *where*. The city of Porto Alegre was chosen as the locus of the fieldwork due to being one example of a significant state capital that has managed to become a 2014 FIFA World Cup host city. It was also important in this decision process the consideration that much has been said and written about Rio de Janeiro, which was host for the Pan American Games in 2007, the FIFA 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics. But Porto Alegre is also an interesting case because of its protagonism in the production and the advance of participatory policies, especially with the creation and development of the Participatory Budget. Furthermore, Porto Alegre and the state of Rio Grande do Sul have in the recent past pursued leadership in international and regional processes through promoting, for example, the World Social Forum and various initiatives related to the Mercosul/r and the Cone-sul (Southern Cone). Porto Alegre was also a host city of the 1950 World Cup. Curiously, the same club that held the matches of the 1950 World Cup in Porto Alegre also offered its stadium for the 2014 World Cup, Sport Club Internacional. Thus, the decision of studying the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre may in the future provide the field with relevant and less well-known references for comparison. Additionally, in terms of assessing the 2014 World Cup, and since Rio de Janeiro has hosted in the past decade one Pan-American Games (2007), one Military World Games (2011), one World Youth Day (2013), one Football Confederations Cup (2013), one Football World Cup (2014), and one Olympics (2016), and due to that numerous studies were developed on these events (Curi, Knijnik & Mascarenhas, 2011; de La Barre, 2013; 2014; de Oliveira, 2011; Donaghy, 2015; Gaffney, 2010; Gutterres, 2014; Livingstone, 2014; Penglase, 2016; Sánchez & Broudehoux, 2013; Schausteck de Almeida & Graeff, 2016; Silvestre & Oliveira, 2012), studying the event and its developments in the city of Porto Alegre may add

important knowledge on the realisation of the 2014 World Cup as a whole to the field of studies. Porto Alegre was also the 2014 Brazil World Cup city host with which I felt more confident to perform research in the context of the event, as I have lived there for many years, therefore constructing bonds and links that could help me in the fieldwork.

Finally, there is the question of *how*. The first decision taken in relation to the way I would construct my research and fieldwork methodology is related to two aspects: first I wanted to have direct contact with people directly affected by the event, as explained above, and second I recognised through the literature review that most of the research on residents of host cities and countries' perceptions was done through surveys. Although I have pointed out that points of comparison within the existing research on mega event hosts residents' perceptions are difficult to perform mainly because universes and scales are not well defined within the field of studies, utilising the most commonly used methodological tool would at least allow some kind of comparison in the future. Hence, the survey was selected as the methodological tool through which I would be developing my fieldwork research. The way the themes of the survey were selected and the research instrument was built will be detailed later. To produce a more illustrative set of data, after the survey, I decided to also perform interviews with a selection of people from the survey's respondents. The interviews were developed from the themes present in the survey and focused on more particular experiences that the interviewees had during the period of the Tronco Avenue construction.

Now that the operationalisation of the advances made through the literature review to the methodology were described, the text will address the methods and methodological issues related to the production of the data of this research. However, in contemplation of the categories of totality and contradiction discussed earlier in the thesis, I would like to, before moving to that, point out that it is important to keep in mind that the text of this thesis promotes approximations and distancings with the themes addressed. Thus, the way some of the themes were engaged may have presented contradictions, but that is because, as discussed in sub-chapter 5.1, elements from reality frequently present themselves through unities that are composed of opposing elements that are in permanent struggle. It was my intention, nevertheless, throughout this sub-chapter, to cover the relevant themes addressed in the thesis so far, considering the existing contradictions in their specific contexts, looking to localise them within the thesis and in observation of the category of totality. Thus, although approximations and distancings can be observed in passages of the text, the development of the thesis aims to contemplate the rich diversity found within the themes engaged and to localise them within the totality of the thesis' scope.

The following sub-chapters reveal the phases of the research and details regarding the steps I took in the development of the research. For example, sub-chapter 5.3 exposes how I developed the literature review of the thesis. 5.4 focuses on document analysis. 5.5 presents the discussions related to the survey executed in the context of this thesis. This sub-chapter has sub-divisions. 5.5.1 focuses on the methodology of the survey data collection and sample size definition. 5.5.2 uncovers the practical steps

taken in the application of the methodology. 5.5.3 deals with the issue of the universe of the research. 5.5.4 explains how the subjects of the research were chosen. 5.5.5 approaches elements linked to the most practical aspects of the development of the field work, I called the passage 'going to the field'. In sequence, I present sub-chapter 5.6, which concentrates in the interviews. 5.7 is titled 'notes from the fieldworks' and aims at allowing me to expose experiences I lived throughout the fieldworks periods that did not fit specifically in any other of the precedent passages. Finally, I present the final reflections on the chapter (5.8).

5.3 Techniques applied in the literature review

The literature review can be considered a foundational procedure for academic research (Boote & Beile, 2005; Hart, 1998; Ridley, 2012). The literature review 'closes areas where a plethora of research exists, and uncovers areas where research is needed' (Webster & Watson, 2002, p. 13), thus informing the author of the work about where they should invest their academic energy and the reader about why the work being read and mentioned is important.

Evidence-based practice in research, which started to gain more prominence during the 1990s, can be considered one of the main reasons why literature reviews became a compulsory element of academic works (Grant & Booth, 2009; Ridley, 2012). There are several different techniques for the literature review production and also many forms through which authors have classified them (Jesson, Matheson & Lacey, 2011). I consider that presenting several different approaches to the different types of literature review which different authors propose would not be productive in the context of this thesis. Additionally, it is always important to remember that a literature review is 'both a process ... and a product' (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). The product of my review of literature was presented in chapters 2, 3 and 4. Here, I will focus on how it was produced. I then consider that this thesis' literature review can be considered a narrative review with traces of a critical review (Boote & Beile, 2005; Hart, 1998).

For Rhoades and Plantation (2011), a narrative review centres on a commitment to 'critically appraise and summarize the literature relevant to an identified topic'. Also, according to these authors, a narrative review involves the selection of the texts to be reviewed, according to the the 'reviewer's reflective and personal expertise, reasonable judgments are then made' (Rhoades & Plantation, 2011, p. 63). Throughout chapters 2, 3 and 4, I sought to follow these principles. I searched bibliographic resources related to the themes of the literature review, global capitalism and sport mega events, trying to cover as many texts as possible to understand the issues addressed. However, the orientation of the ontological and epistemological foundations of this thesis always motivated me to seek the contradictions, to identify the tendencies. Thus, with the revision of the literature, I sought to make sense of the text (Onwuegbuzie, Leec & Collins, 2012, p.12) by integrating the literature review with the search for answers to the research questions. In this way, I integrated the literature review with the thesis narrative.

However, the literature review in this thesis is also characterised as critical. For Grant and Booth, 'a critical review aims to demonstrate that the writer has extensively researched the literature and critically evaluated its quality. It goes beyond mere description of identified articles and includes a degree of analysis and conceptual innovation' (2009, p. 93). In addition, the authors explain that a critical review 'can cover wide range of subjects at various levels of completeness and comprehensiveness' and 'may include research findings' (Grant & Booth, 2009, p.94). As can be seen throughout chapters 2, 3 and 4, I have spared no effort in comprehensively addressing the subjects studied in those sections. Aside from these aspects, some of my conclusions following the literature review can be understood as propositions for a 'new phase of conceptual development and subsequent "testing"' (Grant & Booth, 2009, p. 93, no emphasis added), which is a feature of critical reviews. One aspect that corroborates this perspective is my insistence on making clear that there are several sub-areas of the field of studies that present evidence that do not fit with arguments made by authors in those same sub-areas. Thus, this thesis' literature review proposes that future studies tackle this question, searching for more acute forms of research that may contribute to the resolution of problems and uncertainties that accompany the development of the area. That is, this thesis' literature review is 'not an endpoint in itself' (Grant & Booth, 2009, p. 97).

Summarising, I consider this thesis' literature review to be a narrative review because I have engaged with the literature and I have integrated it to my overall arguments. And I recognise this thesis' literature review to be critical because it involves 'a degree of analysis and conceptual innovation' (Grant & Booth, 2009, p. 93). The innovation issue is that I have studied topics in the literature review that are not commonly interconnected in works of this thesis' area, and that I have pointed out contradictions within the area of studies that typify this thesis' literature review as 'not an endpoint in itself' (Grant & Booth, 2009, p. 97).

Thus, it seems to me that the reader would benefit from the description of the steps I took to start gathering literature for the literature review, the mechanisms I put in place to make sure I would get most of the works being published during the period in which I was particularly in need of them, and how I later developed subtopics (which subsequently became sub-chapters of the literature review).

I began gathering works for the literature review years before I started my doctoral studies. Part of the challenge of going abroad to perform my doctorate was being able to pass the highly competitive process of selection promoted by the Brazilian research funding agencies. Thus, in order to do that, I would have to present a 30-pages project with a strong literature review. As I had decided to apply to a British university, I thought it would be positive to include texts in English. The theme I had chosen also had very few texts published in Portuguese at the time. I also included a few texts in Spanish, the ones I could find at the time. But they were mostly related to the 'Barcelona case' and to the Olympics in general.

Thus, having just finished an English Language course, I decided to use Google Scholar and other search engines to pan articles and books that could help me in my journey towards developing a political economy of the 2014 World Cup. My first search used the terms 'sport mega events', 'Olympics', and

'Football World Cup'. I was surprised by the number of works the search engines displayed. The second step was then to exclude the literature that was not interesting for my work. At the end of this first step, I ended up with a small collection of references that could potentially initiate me into the field of studies of sport mega events. It was the year 2011. Brazil was starting to feel the real consequences of being the host of the two-major sport mega events.

I decided to start reading the oldest texts I could find. The production of Roche (1992; 1994; 1998) impressed me because it was in a way seminal, but also because it offered the reader a path beyond the clear definitions it presented. Many other authors captivated me as well, but I am not going to start a list at this point because I consider that that would be counter-productive.

I then performed a process of snowballing in two directions: first trying to localise works cited by Roche and then looking for works that had cited Roche. Snowballing has recently grown as a method of recruiting participants for research in various scenarios (Beauchemin & González-Ferrer, 2011; Christopoulos, 2009; Gardner, 2009; Sparkes & Smith, 2014; Wolcott, 2005) but is still an under-studied method of literature gathering. On the other hand, according to informal conversations I had throughout my PhD, and also formal training during the same period, as mentioned above, it is a highly-recommended technique for young researchers who are deciding on a body of knowledge to interact during the process of production of their studies. The snowballing process consisted, in my case, on looking for books and articles that could be important for my research on the reference lists of the papers I had already identified as relevant.

It would be impossible for me to redo this process of snowballing every two or three months. So, I realised that I needed to create a scheme to keep my research up to date. I then made use of pre-existing devices in search engines on the internet, for example Google Scholar alerts. I also inserted my email address in the contact lists of the scientific journals that most articles published with the topics that interested me in the period. The journals in which I included my email in the email lists were the *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, *Soccer & Society*, *Sport in Society*, *Leisure studies*, *Sociology of Sport Journal*, and *European Journal for Sport and Society*. Thus, every day I would get a couple of emails from the journals with half a dozen articles I would or would not download and read. Every week, sometimes more than once a week, I would get a series of emails with the academic works published according to the alerts I had set on Google Scholar. The words I used to set the alerts were: sport mega events, International Olympic Committee, Porto Alegre, FIFA, Football World Cup, and Olympics. Although I still receive such emails, during the period of the field research I decided to only include new references to the review literature if the work would bring an innovation or something different in relation to the works already mentioned.

From the themes of the articles, I started to create folders to file the texts that I had downloaded. These folders took the title of the themes that aggregated the articles. Finally, a very enriching stage of the production of literature review was the dialogue with the supervision of the thesis. As soon as the

literature review was relatively finished in relation to sport mega events, I identified some gaps that I would like to explore.

With the literature review ready, albeit always provisionally, came the time to think about how to operationalise the field research techniques to produce the knowledge necessary for the research questions to be addressed.

5.4 Document analysis

Document analysis has long been considered an important technique for the social sciences. One benefit of this approach is that it allows us to study events and processes in which we are not directly involved. Consequently, issues that could be overlooked in the heat of the moment in an on-site observation, can be analysed calmly if these are recorded in documents.

It is also important to emphasise that institutions such as governments, corporations, social movements and non-governmental organisations tend to make information available through documents. Therefore, analysing such documents is essential if it is important to consider whatever these institutions make public.

Also, through the study of documents that are produced by specific actors, in specific contexts, the researcher may be able to reveal different perspectives. Thus, when studying documents produced by different social actors, the researcher can highlight points of view and interests that could be ignored if only other research techniques were used (Bowen, 2009; Junker, Hoch & Dengel, 1999; Smith & Caddick, 2012; Sparkes & Smith, 2014).

The use of this method in this research was mainly due to two issues. First, access to the data type that interested the development of research steps could only be accessed via documents. Examples of this are data on the cost of events, on government spending on sport mega events, and on the distribution of resources from sport mega events among the actors involved.

Second, certain subjects and approaches may be only interesting for certain social actors. If in this case the academic interest in such subjects or approaches does not exist or is negligible, then such subjects and approaches tend not to appear in the academic literature or to appear timidly. However, such subjects and approaches may be of interest to non-academic social actors. Therefore, its existence, presence and development may be happening outside academia and outside of academic literature. In the case of this research, for example, issues such as human rights and perspectives that consider the point of view of those opposed to or affected by sport mega events are developed due to the analysis of documents (see chapter 4).

Additionally, document analysis can be an important element in the construction of an analysis that uses triangulation, as in the case of this research. As mentioned previously (see 5.2), triangulation may give rise to contradictions that may contribute to a sophisticated analysis of a given phenomenon

(Minayo, 1996). In the specific case of this thesis, in addition, triangulation also played an important role in the construction of the integrated narrative that characterised the study of the macro and micro spheres.

Furthermore, document analysis allows researchers to access relevant information without having to gain access to people who can be difficult and sometimes even impossible to contact. In the social sciences, 'not only living people are data sources. Many important data in social research come from "paper" sources: historical archives, statistical records, diaries, biographies, newspapers, magazines, etc.' (Gil, 1999, p.160, no emphasis added). But not only 'paper' sources can be considered 'documents'. With increasing importance, virtual sources become part of the official and informative universes of individuals, groups, and institutions. Therefore, the term 'documents' as used here refers henceforth to any form of record that represents relevant information about the studied subject. Thus ... 'document analysis' was selected as a research tool because it 'can build a valuable technique of qualitative data approach, complement the information obtained by other techniques, [and] reveal new aspects of a topic or problem' (Lüdke & André, 1986, p.38, emphasis added).

Hence, this research had special interest in documents for two main reasons. First, they can provide accurate information from institutions (official data). Second, many collective actors, such as governments, social movements, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), consultancies and media companies, have many of their records in the form of documents or reports, whether printed or in virtual format. Many documents analysed contributed significantly to the construction of passages of this thesis, especially in the literature review. Appendix 1 sets out the list of documents and reports consulted during the research.

The way the list in appendix 1 was organised stems from the way I organized the reading of the reports. After identifying the first source, I sought 'to snowball' the references that this contained. So, to organise the reading of these documents, I archived them into a folder on my computer, and created an organizational table. This table is effectively appendix 1, which presents all the documents analysed during the period of production of the thesis.

Some issues emanated from the analysis of documents and I believe it is important to report them here. The analysis of documents revealed themes, approaches and results different from the academic texts accessed during the same period.

When looking for initial information about the sport mega events, as reported in the previous sub-chapter, I came across some references to reports. In seeking such reports, I ended up finding others and still others ahead, from reading other academic texts. Thus, I could use several of these reports throughout the literature review and also in the results of the thesis. However, as I was writing the passages of the thesis, I noticed that in some points the reports increased their appearances and in others I did not quote them. It turns out that most of the topics that are interesting to the institutions that promote the studies that compose the reports may not be the topics that interest academics. Above all,

this is the case of the academics most closely linked to the entities promoting sport mega events, mainly FIFA and the IOC.

For example, the UN report on adequate housing (Rolnik, 2009) focuses on aspects that expose a facet of sport mega events that is not as glitzy as others that are part of the discursive resource used by FIFA and the IOC. This and other reports used in the thesis could only be considered because I used the analysis of documents as a research tool.

Approaches also differ greatly if we compare documents produced by institutions that do not deal directly with research as their main interest and academic articles. For example, several of the documents I have analysed have formats and sizes that would not be accepted in academia. For example, the text *Mega-Events and Human Rights Violations in Brazil*, produced by the National Coalition of Local Committees for People's World Cup and Olympics (NCLCPWCO, 2012), uses a form of organisation different from what is usual in academia. The productions of the National Coalition of Local Committees for the People's World Cup and Olympics, on the other hand, are perhaps the most voluminous and detailed ones so far on specific subjects, for example in the case of human rights.

In relation to the results produced by the documents that I analysed during the thesis production process, these are commonly different and their presentation more direct than those obtainable in academic articles. The reports produced by the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE, 2007, 2008) can be good examples. A significant portion of the published articles on China and the 2008 Olympic Games appears to be careful to avoid certain issues. I consider that this may be a consequence of the delicate situation that China's integration in the present world causes. It may also be a consequence of the difficulties encountered by local and international researchers, especially in terms of academic freedom. However, the COHRE (2007, 2008) presented reports that show aspects of the Games that are very important and have been rarely touched by most of the scientific papers that studied the 2008 Olympics, as is the case of housing rights and violations of human rights.

Finally, the analysis of documents allowed me to deal with data that are not so influenced by the discourses that circulate in the area of the study. At least this was the case of this research in relation to the analysis of the official documents. For example, the tone of the official approach to the impact of the 2014 World Cup was given by entities such as the Department of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies (DIEESE) and the National Confederation of Transportation (see appendix 1). This tone is strongly marked by the use of terms such as 'potential' and 'probable'. However, when analysing official governmental documents, for example, they had numbers, values, and specific actions described. So much of the discourse I had seen on television and throughout the period of convincing the population in favour of the event began to become clearer to me. Although the discourse spoke, for example, of social justice and jobs creation, the documents did not show actions and resources for that to happen. It was in this period that I coined the term 'discursive resource' within the thesis.

My aim in this sub-chapter has been to evidence how documentary analysis was a very important step in the research. Together with the previous sub-chapter, these passages described the methodologies and techniques that were implemented more significantly during the first years of my doctorate. The next sub-chapter, in turn, engages with the fieldwork research. Such a fieldwork research dominated the final years of the doctorate and was also more practical. From the next sub-chapter on, I explain and discuss each of the steps that composed the fieldwork research.

5.5 Survey

The use of the survey technique was included in the set of research methods employed in this thesis to contribute to the development of the approach to the third research question: ‘how do people who are directly affected by sport mega events’ development projects perceive such events?’.

The literature on methodologies and methods indicates that surveys are cost-effective, practical, produce rapid results, can cover several topics, and can provide a voice to respondents. These qualities were decisive for the choice of this research technique in the context of this thesis. On the other hand, surveys may permit responses where there is dishonesty, lack of conscientious responses or reflexivity (as responses are usually given in a short period of time), and where meanings can be confused (Bennett et al., 2011; Draugalis, Coons & Plaza, 2008; Duffy, Smith, Terhanian & Bremer, 2005; Kelley, Clark, Brown & Sitzia, 2003).

In the case of this research, cost issues such as financial or time ones were important. The universe and the sample of the research are relatively large and although I had support, fieldwork was carried out in its entirety by me. Thus, conducting a survey would allow me to work with a universe of research that would comply with the indications made through the literature review in relation to this topic.

In addition, the practicality of the survey was also an attraction. As well as having to perform the fieldwork with some agility, I had to process the data without delay to keep to my doctoral schedule.

Also important was the fact that, according to the indications of the literature review, I decided to carry out research covering several topics. Therefore, the survey was chosen because it offered the possibility to capture the perspective of the respondents in relation to these different topics. This latter feature was one of the most important in terms of the decision to use the survey. The title of this thesis, as well as its objective, makes clear that one of the main dimensions of this research is the perception of the residents of Porto Alegre affected by the 2014 FIFA Men’s World Cup in relation to the event.

The issues that competed against the use of the survey were also evaluated when deciding to use this technique. Some of these issues cannot be totally avoided, even in relation to other research techniques. For example, when it comes to research with humans, dishonesty may be a factor. Perhaps for this very reason, when meeting respondents, I made sure to introduce myself, to show my

accreditation, and to explain the research in some detail. I believed that being as honest as possible would lead to receiving honest answers in return.

I also worried about answers that could be given without reflexivity or in a non-conscientious way. Thus, throughout the fieldwork research period, I planned the time spent each day considering that some respondents could take longer than others to respond to the survey.

Relatedly, I also consider it important that I have conducted the survey in direct contact with the participants and not indirectly, such as through the mail, the internet or telephone conversations. For example, the way I found to avoid confused meanings was having face-to-face conversations during fieldwork research. In relation to the meaning of terms and words contained in the survey, I performed a process of harmonising the questions. Therefore, some of the questions could be shortened in the presentation of the data (chapter 6). However, as can be seen in appendix 3, sometimes the questions are simplified or extended, this was so that meanings were not confused. But even during the production of the questions, they were altered to find more easily intelligible formats. Some of the questions came directly from annotations that I had made throughout the period of construction of the literature review, so they could carry the area's jargon. Many times, when I read the research form again, I changed the questions to make them less academic.

Additionally, many important aspects of the literature review had implications for how the different research techniques were used in the development of this research. Specifically, in relation to the use of the survey technique, the most important part of the literature review was the sub-chapter 3.4.4. Sub-chapter 3.4.4 addressed the problem of scale in studies involving residents/locals of cities or countries that were hosts of sport mega events. Such a problem is related to the lack of indication of appropriate universes and samples in the literature consulted, as well as the lack of valid tools to assess the social impact of sport mega events. Sub-chapter 3.4.4 suggested that a need for more research with a multidimensional approach could be identified and also that a need for research aimed to calibrate scales could be recognised if research was to produce more consequential and comparable works (Gursoy & Kendall, 2006; Kim & Petrick, 2005; Kim & Walker, 2012; Kim et. al, 2015; Li, Hsu & Lawton, 2014; Prayag et al., 2012; Teye, Sonmenz & Sirakaya, 2002).

This research attempted to explore, throughout the survey, gaps in the literature related to locals/residents of cities and countries that host sport mega events. Examples of these gaps are: (a) lack of indication of appropriate universes and samples, as well as (b) lack of valid tools to assess the social impact of sport mega events according to locals/residents' perceptions, and (c) lack of research with multidimensional approaches aimed at assessing the perceptions of locals/residents of sport mega events cities and countries.

Additionally, as specified in chapter 3, the lack of contact between organisers/promoters and the communities involved with sport mega events is an important point in the context of the area of studies. While official discourses on the events are often easily captured through media, a more direct form of

research can provide greater insight into the experiences and perspectives of communities. Thus, considering the discussions summarised in the paragraphs above and aiming at exploring the gaps in the literature review mentioned, the survey was selected as a research tool within this research because it is ‘one method of collecting and analysing data that usually involves large numbers of subjects’ and because of the understanding that the bigger the number of people involved with answering the question of how the 2014 World Cup was perceived by local people and how it affected communities, the better for this research. Many respondents mean a larger number of information with which to cope, hence the survey can also be helpful once it is ‘highly reliable in that the data collected can be easily coded and analysed’ (Newman, W., 2007, p. 125). On the other hand, it is necessary to say that surveys are also related to quantitative methods and complicated statistical models.

The view taken in this work understands that the survey allowed the research first to approach a large number of people in their natural environment, and second, to collect information about the perception of those specific people on the subjects present in the research tool. It does not imply that data from the survey can be generalised or that it can substitute the entire population of the city or the country (Jansen, 2010). Also, the research design is not intended to work with a ‘statistical emphasis’ which can, in some cases, produce ‘sterile and incomprehensible numbers’ (Newman, 2007, W., p. 125). That said, it is important to recognise that ‘the analysis of qualitative data is probably the most challenging aspect’ of qualitative research (Sofaer, 2002, p. 334). Thus, this study dealt with the data collected in a way that could permit the organisation of the results so that they could contribute to the analysis of the perception of the people of the affected communities, and to the enrichment of the analysis of phenomena possible from the other techniques employed. Furthermore, the survey organised within this work centred on themes that arose from the review of documents performed in the context of the document analysis, and from the literature review (which was explained in sub-chapter 5.3).

The final production of the data collection instrument (survey) included the contribution of expert researchers in various areas. The construction and organisation of the survey, as well as the collection itself and the organisation of the report, took place at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) in 2015 and had the participation of undergraduate and postgraduate students from different research groups. Contributors to the research included Prof. Carlos Alberto da Fonseca Pires²² (Post-graduation Program in Geography - Federal University of Santa Maria UFSM, expert in geo-statistics), Prof. Silvia Cristina Franco Amaral²³ (Post-graduation Program in Physical Education/Sport Universidade de Campinas UNICAMP, expert in sport mega events and urbanism - Universitat de Barcelona, UB, Espanha), Prof. Maria Conceição Barletta Scussel²⁴ (Post-graduation Program in Architecture and Urbanism UFRGS - expert in indicators of development), Prof. Jose Geraldo Soares

²²<http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?metodo=apresentar&id=K4785607T0>

²³<http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?metodo=apresentar&id=K4797714E6>

²⁴<http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?metodo=apresentar&id=K4708752U3>

Damico²⁵ (Post-graduation Program in collective health UFRGS, expert in public health), Prof. Elisandro Schultz Wittizorecki²⁶ (Post-graduation Program in Human Movement Sciences/sport UFRGS, specialist in education), Lecturer Msc. Manoel Luís Martins da Cruz²⁷ (Physical Education Federal University of Rio Grande FURG, specialist in community projects). In terms of supervision, I would also like to report the support my second supervisor demonstrated. He was very keen to learn about my data collection to understand my purposes and to help me to deal optimally with the data. It was him who suggested the use of the software SPSS and who recommended the technique that gave birth to the data that composed the sub-chapter 6.8.

5.5.1 Methodology of the survey data collection and sample size definition

The following sections discuss the methodology employed to collect and analyse the data on the perception of residents affected by the works in preparation for hosting the 2014 WC in Porto Alegre. The geographical area selected for the research is very large and highly populated. Thus, some type of sub-division was needed in order to provide a suitable sample for the research. Sampling techniques are typically used in the literature to plan data collections, to optimise the procedure and to maximise the precision of results. Such a methodology differs from a census, in which the aim is to acquire information from every individual in the population. A survey is developed in a specific universe²⁸ (N), but it collects data from a given sample of such universe. Such a sample can be chosen in a variety of ways, ranging from forms directed by the researcher to randomly selected research subjects (Cochran & Chambers, 1965; Cochran, 1977; 2007; Cruz, 1978).

The universe, in this case, was constituted of residential units affected by the works related to the 2014 World Cup, specifically the Tronco Avenue works. The limits of the geographic area surveyed were established from the observation of the Porto Alegre City Hall indication, as explained above and as it will be presented below. The sample size (number of people completing the survey) needed to be large enough to ensure enough statistical power and to provide a relevant representation of the total of the population, but also to avoid wasting resources (Miller & Salkind, 2002, p.52). Although a sample can never provide a true figure for the overall population, it suggests a likely range (confidence interval) within which the value is thought to be, with a certain degree of certainty, as long as the sample is randomly taken (Gratton & Jones, 2010, p.115). The accepted margin of error of this research, in accordance with the literature, is 5%, and the confidence level was set at 95%. This means that, according to previous research, in reapplying this sampling method, the results must be able to be replicated with a difference of a maximum of 5% in relation to the original research, if the same steps and conditions of production were observed.

²⁵<http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?metodo=apresentar&id=K4799106Z9>

²⁶<http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?metodo=apresentar&id=K4771385P6>

²⁷<http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?metodo=apresentar&id=K4248100Y4>

²⁸ sometimes the universe is referred to as 'population' in academic works

A proportion (p) of the population that is thought to have the attributes investigated was estimated at 0.9 (90%), which is the conservative assumption typically accepted when this variable is not known (Cochran, 1977, p. 72). In other words, it is assumed, according to previous research, that 90% of the population can be considered as typical for the purpose of producing responses. For the formula to work, the whole population needs to be represented. Thus, a complement to (p) is inserted, always referring to the value attributed to (p), so in this case (q) = 0.1. The value of the Z -test $^{\infty}/2$ is a tabulated value representing the normal and typical distribution of results of human populations, in this case, 1,96. The level of significance is also a tabulated value according to the decisions of the researcher. Its signal is ∞ and in the case of this research, it was set at 5% or 0.05, as stated earlier. (e) is a tabulated value that represents the sampling error. According to researches that have tested this method of sample selection, the researcher can establish a certain standard for their research. In the case of the research of this thesis, this pattern was established in 5%, that is, 0.05. (Cochran & Chambers, 1965; Cochran, 1977; 2007; Schouten, Cobben & Bethlehem, 2009). A visual representation of the formula explained here can be found below.

Thus, a more specific universe (N) was the only variable left to be determined, to calculate the sample size from. As explained above, the population of the Tronco Avenue construction area, considering the maps of the Porto Alegre City Hall and this research estimative, was composed of 3465 residences. Here it is important to note that the decision to consider houses as the units of the research's sample was intentional. During the planning phase, I did not know in advance on which schedules and days I would be able to conduct the fieldwork research. I did not know who would attend the door when I visited the region to conduct the research. So, in referring to the houses instead of individuals, I tried to avoid confusion with the data generated. Then, based on this decision, I also built the survey questions considering all residents of the surveyed residence. Consequently, the questions would always repeat 'you, someone in your family or a resident of your house?'. This resource was also intended to indirectly capture the experiences of other people who lived in the residence surveyed and not only the respondent. Thus, applying the formula described above and exposed below, with a population (N) of 3465, the result of 134 residences to be surveyed was generated.

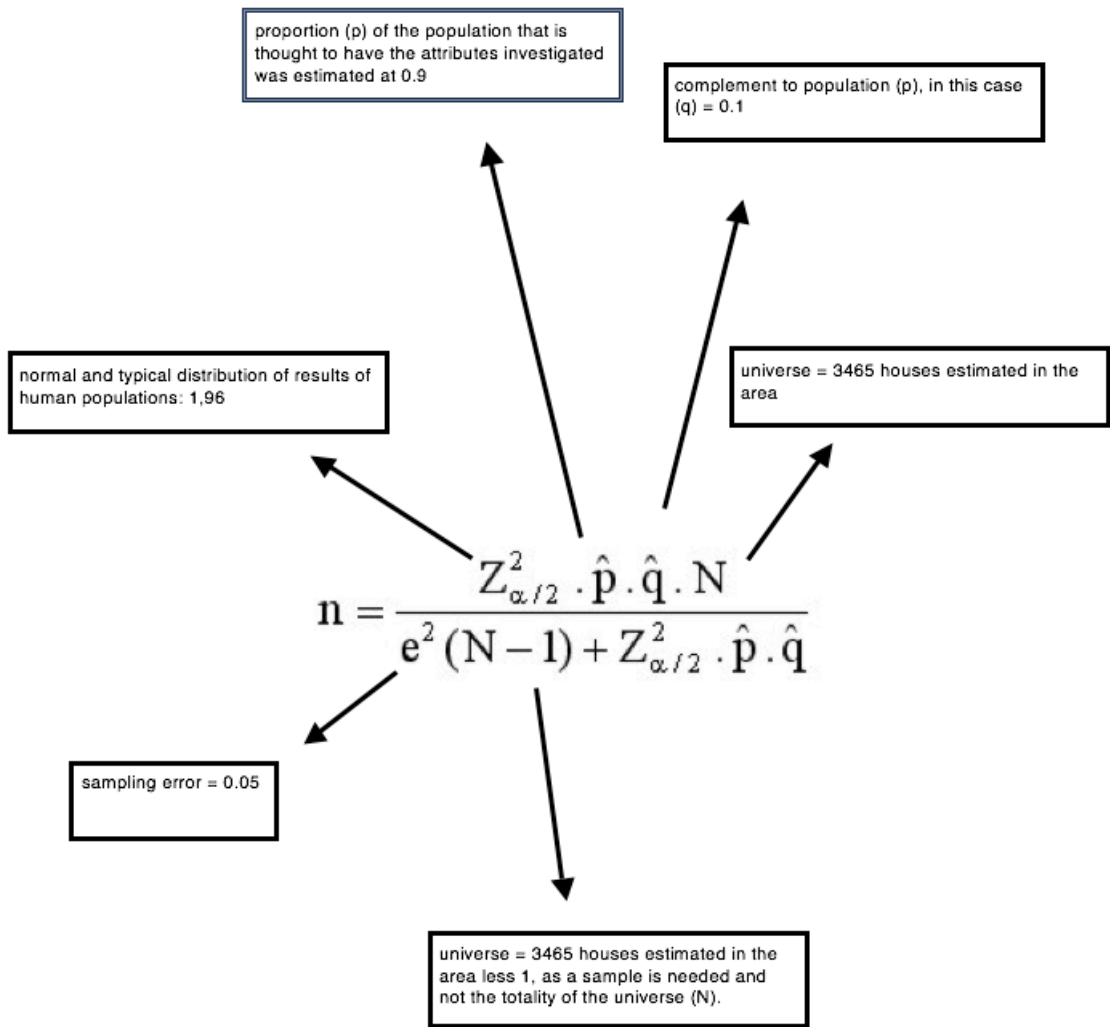


Figure 3 – Formula utilised to calculate the survey sample size

5.5.2 Applying the methodology

Once the process of deciding on the methodology was over and the general information needed was available (population and sample), the research development addressed the operationalisation of the methodology. It had already been decided that the focus of the data collection would be the region comprised by what the Porto Alegre City Hall had referred to as ‘areas of coverage’ of the works²⁹. Contact with the City Hall had proved difficult and it was unlikely the research would have access to more refined information. The most detailed information found was a Microsoft PowerPointTM presentation used by the City Hall in order to present the project to stakeholders³⁰. It contained several images, two of which were particularly clear in relation to what areas were considered as probably affected by the works and, in consequence, by the potential transformation brought through the avenue construction (figure 7). Although clear, the information needed to be transformed into more operational elements, which will be discussed in the next section.

²⁹ <http://w3.ufsm.br/nosescombrosdavid/>

³⁰ <https://www.dropbox.com/s/gtiixqny2g3ug7j/Planejamento%20de%20Gest%C3%A3o%20T%C3%A9cnica%20Avenida%20Tronco.pdf?dl=0>

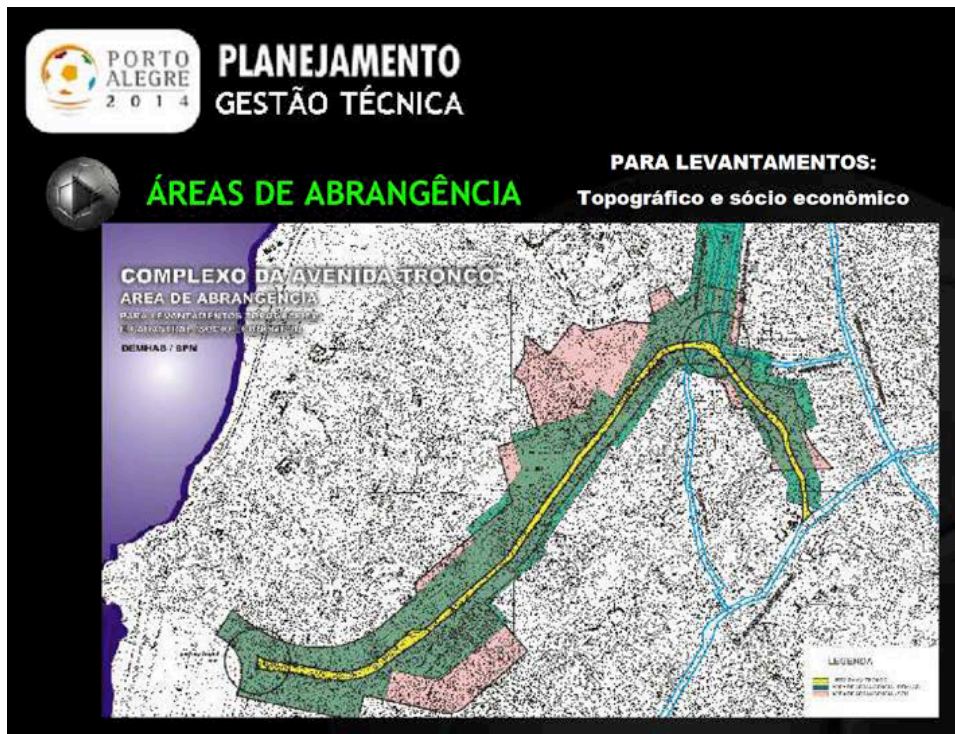


Figure 4 - Images presented by the Porto Alegre City Hall

5.5.3 Delineating the universe of the research

The images produced by the City Hall gave important indications of limits to be considered if dialogue was to be established in the future between the research or its results and the promoters of sport mega events and their discourses. From the images, it was possible to identify key roads, streets and avenues for the planned works. However, it was impossible to acquire additional and necessary data from such images. Then, with the help of Google Earth™, it was possible to print a map with an aerial image of the whole area (figure 7). From there, the delimitation of the dimension of the geographical universe of the research could be made precise. First, the limits of the area to be potentially impacted by the works were identified. Secondly, the number of the houses contained in the area became also visible. Using the approximation tool on Google Earth™ (Figure 8), a delicate process of house counting became possible. By the end of such process it was possible to estimate a total of 3465 houses in the area. Thus, the universe of the research was defined as being the area indicated by the Porto Alegre City Hall as the 'impact area' of the Tronco Avenue construction, which, according to the process described, was composed of 3465 houses. It was then possible to identify the sample for the research.



Figure 5 - Printed map of the area studied

5.5.4 Defining the subjects of the sample

In order to identify the sample of the research, a series of steps was taken, in accordance with the discussion presented in the earlier passages. According to the sub-chapters 5.5.1 (Methodology of the survey data collection) and 5.5.3 (Delineating the universe of the research), the universe of the research was defined as the area of impact of the Tronco Avenue construction as indicated by the Porto Alegre City Hall, which was composed by 3465 houses. The sample of the research would be constituted of 134 of such houses. This means that one in 27 houses should be surveyed if the research was to ensure coverage of the largest possible geographic area and the randomness of the sample. I then started a process of counting the roofs of the houses identified in the universe of the research (the Google Earth™ images) and identifying one in each 27 of them as targets to respond to the survey. Thus, it was first necessary to define the ‘direction of the walk’. It is a term widely used by census researchers. The direction of the walk orientates the direction that the researcher would take to go from one data collection point to another. This route must be followed in order to guarantee the randomness of the sample selection. Thus, the route was selected to be the counter clockwise way. Houses were counted from the beginning of the area demarcated. The sample size was also known, 134 houses should be visited, which left us with a number of 1 of each 27 houses to be visited. Accordingly, 1 of each 27 houses were marked on the Google Earth™ file, from the east limit of the map to the west limit of the map, simulating a counter clockwise walk. Every time the walk would stop at a dead end, it would begin again in the next block following the same direction. The blocks were differentiated by colour only for practical reasons, to help the counting of residences, and afterwards, to help identify daily tasks.



Figure 7 - Example of areas selected for daily research sessions



Figure 8 - Guidance for locating interview sites

5.5.5 Going to the field

The period that encompassed the survey preparation, execution and data tabulation took place between 04 May 2015 and 08 August 2015. During the period of just over one month in which the survey itself took place, almost every day, with at least one other researcher, I would go to the area carrying a badge (figure 10), a clipboard and several survey forms. I also carried with me the printed 'map' of the workload for that day (figure 9 - above). If it was not possible to apply the questionnaire in the residence defined by the methodology, the questionnaire was then applied in the following residence, according to the 'direction of the walk'. If it were not possible to apply the survey in such a house, I would look for the previous house. If there was no response there, then the second house ahead would be visited. Finally, if necessary, the second prior house was visited. Once it would not be possible to find respondents in any of these five houses, it would be necessary to come back another day. This was not necessary during any of the field trips.

During this period, I also had to deal with issues arising from having such a big group of researchers involved, from having to get to places that were not particularly safe and also from dealing with so many different people as respondents.

The group of people that I invited to participate in the fieldwork research was selected from my academic relationships in Brazil. However, two criteria were important in this process: the confidence I would need to have in those people and their engagement with the perspective underlying the work we would do. I would not have another chance to do a fieldwork of this magnitude during my doctorate, and the critical perspective was already in place before the fieldwork began. Thus, the people involved needed to have my confidence and be politically engaged with the issues we would study and research. Cahill (2004) referred to these dimensions as emotional motivation and the politicization of personal experience, when discussing collective research. What I mean is that these dimensions were important. The emotional motivation, the human issue, was present because we all had an interest in knowing more about the impact of the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre, just as we somehow already had established bonds. That is, if we were there it was because we had something in common. However, not everything we had were concerns in common. We also had disagreements. For example, some of the researchers involved in the research come from areas that deal mainly with quantitative data. This is the case of Carlos Pires, who deals specifically with georeferenced data. I had to convince him of a number of issues throughout the course of the fieldwork. Just as he also explained to me several details regarding the specific steps of the methodology that we used. And that was beneficial to the research. It has improved us as researchers, developed and politicised our personal experiences. And this is only one of the interactions that can be presumed from the development of the collective research process.

Another issue that was important during the fieldwork was the matter of work group autonomy and participation (Cohen & Bailey, 1997). My fieldwork research project had a relatively simple organisation: we would organise ourselves into an event to decide on some pending issues in relation to

the survey that would be held next. For example, the number of questions in each of the areas selected to compose the survey form, the research instrument. Then we would effectively do the survey, the fieldwork. At the same time, we would initiate the preliminary tabulation of the data. At the end of the data collection process, we would elaborate a fieldwork report, with the data tabulated in a rather 'crude' way³¹. For all this to happen, it would be necessary for the participants to act with a certain autonomy and that their participation would have to not be 'impeded' by other issues that may arise in people's lives. Especially in the case of their involvement in a research that would not bring any short-term returns to those involved. Most of the participants on the research team were either interested in gaining experience or expecting to get involved in subsequent article submissions.

The question of autonomy was not the most complicated. We divided the tasks that presented themselves to us during the development of the research so that more experienced researchers were in the same teams as the less experienced ones. We also evaluated the time arrangements of each of those involved. Thus, practically all phases of the research were executed within the period that we established. But in terms of participation, things were not so simple. Some of the participants had to leave the research while it developed. Some got jobs, others had family problems, others did not explain their reasons for leaving. It seems to me that the great advantage for the fieldwork research to be finished to the satisfaction was the fact that one of the researchers was carrying out the research with a scholarship and exclusive dedication.

An exceptional experience was walking through the neighbourhoods of the Tronco Avenue construction area. Of course, there were many cases that were extremely pleasant and curious. While two of us were doing interviews, one of the respondents met us at the door of her house and as the questions were asked and she realized that it would take a while to finish, she asked for a little moment before continuing. In a few minutes, she returned to the door with a tray with juice and sandwiches and offered us. We laughed a little and accepted. She commented on how cold it was but that the sun was shining high and she felt sorry for us.

However, in many cases, the situations have not been so friendly. In some of the houses we visited, the concern with the possibility of eviction was obvious. It would take some time for us to explain that we had no connection whatsoever to the 2014 World Cup or the City Hall. Nonetheless, even more challenging was walking in areas where the drug trafficking dominated. Even worse, we did not know what those areas were exactly. More than once we were interrupted by other people to explain why we were in a certain area. One of the respondents to the survey even asked if I did not have a way to identify myself. I showed the badge (below) and she said that I should always present the badge soon when I arrived in that region. That the traffickers could confuse me with someone from the police and that this

³¹ <http://www.ufrgs.br/ceo/arquivos/IMPACTO%20DA%20COPA%202014%20-%20Relatorio%20da%20Pesquisa%20Interinstitucional.pdf>

could be dangerous for me. Nevertheless, despite one or another adversity, nothing more significant happened to frighten me or any of the other researchers who accompanied me to the field.

Finally, it has become apparent that dealing with people is always challenging. For example, we were aware that there are different degrees of engagement by potential respondents or interviewees (Garbarski, Schaeffer & Dykema, 2016). We were prepared to look for alternatives when and if someone has ‘slammed the door in our face’. But when we knocked on someone’s door, it was always a mixture of hope and care. We hoped that the people responding would be willing to participate in the survey. That such a person could answer the questions of the different topics. That the person was sympathetic and that everything went well and that it did not delay. We were also aware that there are researchers who believe that a ‘neutral’ position in interviews is possible (Roulston, 2010). But for us every aspect that involved contact with the people affected by the Tronco Avenue construction mattered. So even the way we approached the houses we were going to visit was important. We got a few ‘no(s)’. Sometimes the person attending the door would turn into their house and shout ‘anyone want to answer a survey?’. Sometimes they just said ‘no’ and closed the door. But most of the time the answer was yes. Even if the answers were given without enthusiasm, the research could follow. We also needed to be careful to explain our role very well so that the responses were not influenced by what the respondent felt about something external to the event or the City Hall. We were interested in the impact on those communities specifically. I myself heard from a person who I approached to invite to participate in the research that I should look for someone who was willing to waste time. That same person, before answering and giving me this ‘advice’, asked if I would pay them to respond to the survey.

My evaluation of the process that involved the collection of data *in loco*, especially the survey and the interview, is positive. The survey produced relevant data and contributed to a grounded critique of the situation involving global capitalism, sport mega events and people affected by such events. The interviews brought examples and relevant information to the research. The data obtained from the interviews and the survey can be considered reliable as soon as they were experience-based, which also adds legitimacy to the processes of data collection performed within this research (Pulakos & Schmitt, 1995).

I hope these issues I reported here have helped the reader to ‘get a taste’ of what it was like walking the streets of the Tronco Avenue construction area during the research period. The next sub-chapter focuses on issues that I consider important to report regarding the survey carried out within this research.



Figure 9 - Badge used to identify the researchers

5.5.6 On the experience of conducting a survey

Initially, I would like to mention that in choosing to conduct a survey, as described earlier, I was somewhat concerned about the ‘impersonal’ characteristic that I believed such a tool to have. However, I learned that there was a more qualitative method of building a survey and analysing data generated from a survey (Jansen, 2010). Knowing that I could develop a methodology that would give me the possibility of comparing the data generated by my research with the data produced and presented in the field of studies of sport mega events without having to abandon the general lines that I was used to follow in terms of research, gave me the necessary serenity to make the necessary subsequent choices.

However, on the other hand, the development of the survey that was carried out in the context of this thesis was another issue. Especially during the research preparation period and the first days of data collection, I was relatively apprehensive because I did not know how to calculate, for example, if the number of residences visited daily was appropriate and would allow me to complete the research in the period I had planned for it.

As it can be evaluated when the reader reaches the results, in the end the survey produced relevant data and contributed to the achievement of the objective of the thesis. However, there is one subject that I would like to register here. According to Glasow (2005) and Loosveldt (2008), face-to-face surveys are indicated for cases where respondents may be unlikely to respond to written surveys. I believe that this was a fundamental factor for the success of the survey developed in this thesis. I raise a central hypothesis for this: the issue of the objective conditions of life in communities affected by sport mega events.

Future research that takes place in communities affected by sport mega events can consider my experience with the communities affected by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre. If so, I suggest that researchers should check the objective conditions of the people in such communities so that techniques such as questionnaires sent through the mail or electronic media can be used. In the case of this research, having used any form of contact other than direct contact would have been dangerous, in my evaluation. The return of forms’ rate would have been very low, considering the experiences that I lived in those communities.

Occasionally, the people answering the survey that compose this thesis did it during the accomplishment of diverse tasks, which involved, for example, to attend the children and to perform economic/professional or school tasks. In other cases, I ‘got’ the respondent hurrying out to run an errand or coming from the streets after doing something. But the important message here is that I have the impression that it would not be possible to conduct such a comprehensive survey in a community impacted by a sport mega event, from a distance.

As evidenced in Chapter 3, communities affected by sport mega events are, almost invariably, communities made up of people with financial and economic difficulties. People who usually depend on a collaboration network to effectively face the challenges of everyday life. With the arrival of a mega

event, this condition becomes even more defiant. Time becomes scarce. Also, specifically in subchapter 3.7.5, we learned that a significant part of the academic work that has been concerned with knowing more about the perceptions of residents of hosts of sport mega events did so using artifices such as the questionnaire sent by mail or the online consultation.

If, in the future, other researchers decide to focus on communities affected by sport mega events, it seems to me that the experience of this research would suggest that this was done directly, face-to-face. It seems to me that people impacted by sport mega events would hardly find time in their troubled and disrupted lives to fit a research that might be understood as outside their contexts and without any relation to their lives. Moreover, some of these communities may have only few homes with access to the internet, and perhaps too few computers as well.

In addition, in a more personal comment, I believe that the research and the researcher would also benefit from a 'shock' of reality, supposing that researchers in general do not live in the same conditions people from communities affected by sport mega events do. To smell the open sewers, to walk in semi-destroyed streets, to listen to the despair of people who can come to lose or have lost their homes, seems to me that it brings to the research a legitimating element and an experience different from that which make up both the universe of sport mega events and the academic world.

These two points that I raised throughout this passage seemed to me important to share. By exploring gaps in the literature, I could adapt elements of the field of study without having to forsake issues that were significant to me. And I think this is an important thing to share with colleagues in the area. As well as sharing my impressions on the best ways to approach communities affected by sport mega events seemed to me of interest of the field of research. The next sub-chapter focuses on the use of interviews in the context of this thesis.

5.6 Interviews

The third research question of this thesis is 'how do people who are directly affected by sport mega events development projects perceive such events?', as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. One of the techniques I used to produce a response to this question was the interview. Interviews are 'used to gather descriptive data in the subjects' own words so that 'the researcher can develop insights on how subjects interpret some piece of the world' (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p. 103). But 'qualitative interviews vary in the degree to which they are structured. Some interviews, although relatively open-ended, are focused around particular topics or may be guided by some general questions' (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p. 104). As this research has the intention of capturing information that extrapolates, for example, data that was collected from documents and themes that are already known, the semi-structured interview was selected as the most appropriate research technique. 'In semi-structured interviewing the researcher uses a pre-planned interview guide to direct the interaction, and relies predominantly on open-

ended questions' (Sparkes & Smith, 2014, p. 84). Apart from defining the research instrument, it was also important to identify the subjects, in this case, the interviewees.

In order to attempt to capture different points of view and to give voice to the most different groups, I constructed a list of possible interviewees. The list of possible interviews included different groups of people and institutions related to the 2014 World Cup and to the world of sport mega events in general. Not all people contacted were willing to collaborate or even respond to the contacts made. However, all the groups that were expected to be represented ended up being represented, with the exception of one: FIFA. Although the FIFA Secretary-General had agreed to give an interview at a meeting I had with him in Lausanne, Switzerland, he was removed from office during the research process due to scandals related to World Cup tickets and TV rights (Almasy, 2015, Radnedge, 2016). Soon afterwards, several of his colleagues were also removed and, finally, the President of FIFA was also removed. At that moment, there was no point in including in the list of interviewees someone who had not participated actively in the organisation of the World Cup in Brazil.

Excluding FIFA, among the groups that were to be represented in the interviews, there were the following:

- A) The Brazilian government;
- B) The Rio Grande do Sul State sphere;
- C) The city of Porto Alegre;
- D) The Popular Committee of the World Cup in Porto Alegre;
- E) 'The People of the Club', movement that includes members of Sport Club Internacional as well as supporters who are not affiliated. This group has been a critical voice on the gentrification of the club after the redevelopment of the Beira Rio Stadium in preparation for the 2014 World Cup;
- F) Volunteers at the 2014 World Cup;
- G) Journalists;
- H) Residents of the research universe that were respondents to the survey.

The People of the Club (17/07/2015), the Popular Committee of the World Cup in Porto Alegre (06/08/2015), and the volunteers (24/07/2015) were interviewed in groups, decision that will be explored later. The people of the Club were represented by two members of their leadership, one of them a young lawyer specialised in sports and the other one a student of social services. The Popular Committee of the World Cup in Porto Alegre was represented by two members of the movement, one of them an architect specialised in social movements and the other one a resident of the Tronco Avenue construction area. The volunteers were represented by two people that took part in the 2014 World Cup as volunteers. One of them was involved with the marketing area during the event and is a business person, the other one was involved with reception to attendants to the matches' affairs and is a lecturer of business at a university in Rio Grande do Sul state. Luis Fernandes (from the Brazilian federal

government) was interviewed in his office in Brasilia (28/07/2015). The journalist Andrew Jennings was interviewed in England (21/04/2015). The others were interviewed in Porto Alegre. Carlos Latuff, a cartoonist who works for a newspaper in Porto Alegre, was interviewed through Skype (16/07/2015). Fernanda Melchiona, Porto Alegre Councilwoman conducted her interview in her office (17/07/2015). Valdeci Oliveira conducted his interview in his office in the Rio Grande do Sul State Legislative (14/07/2014).

Table 2 - Interviews information

Interviewee	Date	Duration
Andrew Jennings	21/04/2015	1:19:59
Luis Fernandes	28/07/2015	00:50:43
The people of the Club	17/07/2015	00:44:41
Popular Committee of the World Cup in Porto Alegre	06/08/2015	00:33:16
Carlos Latuff	16/07/2015	00:16:19
Valdeci Oliveira	14/07/2014	00:09:55
Fernanda Melchiona	17/07/2015	00:40:58
Volunteers	24/07/2015	00:38:20
Marcio	17/03/2018	00:13:45
Anne	20/01/2018	00:09:40
Ariovaldo	20/01/2018	00:12:20
Isabel	20/01/2018	00:12:20
Maria Rita	20/01/2018	00:04:36
Otto	20/01/2018	00:11:53
Liana	20/01/2018	00:02:41

The groups of interviewees can be divided into two clusters, to facilitate the understanding of my approach and the techniques used. The first cluster is the one composed by elements chosen based on the studies carried out during the literature review. They are representatives of:

The Brazilian government;

The Rio Grande do Sul State sphere;

The city of Porto Alegre;

The Popular Committee of the World Cup in Porto Alegre;

‘The People of the Club’ movement (that includes members of Sport Club Internacional as well as supporters who are not affiliated. This group has been a critical voice on the gentrification of the club after the redevelopment of the Beira Rio Stadium in preparation for the 2014 World Cup);

Volunteers at the 2014 World Cup; and

Journalists.

I utilised individual interviews with this cluster, but I also used focus groups to allow more than one person to participate in the same interview session when representing the same entity or institution.

The other cluster is composed solely of residents of the research universe that were respondents to the survey. Since the field research methodology used in this thesis combines different techniques and since the field of studies is still developing its own tools, as evidenced in the subchapter 3.4.4, I had no indications of how many respondents to the survey I should interview. I decided to interview 5% of the sample, 7 of the respondents. I then went back to the archives of the survey and selected 10 respondents from different geographical areas within the universe of the research. These 10 respondents were also the ones who made more comments during their survey answers, and so they were the ones with more annotations on their forms. The logic here was to try to select individuals that had given more verbal comments during the survey collection meeting. After identifying them, I started to contact them. I decided to perform all these individual interviews mainly because I wanted to give the opportunity to the contradictory to emerge (in group, some people could tend not to manifest or to be intimidated with different positions manifested) and so that the methodology can be more easily repeated in the future.

Four of the initial respondents to the survey selected to be interviewed were no longer using the phone numbers they had provided at the time of the survey. One of them answered but was not interested in the interview. Five of them responded positively to my phone contact. I stipulated a date (20/01/2018) for the interview with these five people and hoped I would find at least two of those other four people later. When I went to the field to interview the five people I had contacted, I visited the other four I could not contact. One of them had left their neighbourhood, and their house had been destroyed. No one in the surroundings could provide any relevant information on how to find them. One other potential interviewee was not home but someone in their house contacted them and they accepted providing me with their phone number. I later interviewed such a person through Skype (17/03/2018). The last one was deceased. The person who informed me of this situation was a resident of the area who remembered

when I was there to perform the survey. In fact, he remembered that he had followed the survey as soon as it took place at the door of the now deceased subject. I then decided to interview that person. One reason that contributed to this decision was the fact that a whole sequence of houses, including the house where the deceased lived, had been demolished by the Porto Alegre City Hall after the survey. The person I interviewed in this case had a property less than ten yards from where the property of the person originally surveyed stood. The interviewees that were also respondents to the survey had their names changed in the text of the thesis, for ethical reasons.

As the readers will be able to observe in the presentation of the results, the interviews provided instructive and illustrative elements for the research. Thus, I consider appropriate the use of interviews together with other research techniques in the context of this thesis.

According to the literature consulted, as mentioned at the beginning of the section, the interview can provide the research with an insight into how the interviewee interprets a particular phenomenon or object. For example, one of the respondents, linked to the government, in his interview said that he considered the 2014 FIFA Men's World Cup an absolute success. As can be seen throughout chapter 6, all interviewees from the group of those affected by the event in Porto Alegre have a different opinion and evaluate the event negatively. This is evidence that the interviews captured different perspectives in the context of this thesis. Thus, the interviews conducted in the context of this thesis can be evaluated positively. Obviously, they were not perfect, as will be clarified below.

However, a key factor in the use of the interviews in this thesis was the richness of the data produced and the possibility of its use in conjunction with data from other research techniques. The triangulation of the data coming from the different research techniques was generally positive. Nevertheless, the data coming from the interviews deserves attention in the evaluation of the use of the methods because the excerpts of the interviews are positively highlighted in reading the results (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Hussein, 2015; Myers & Newman 2007; Opdenakker, 2006; Sparkes & Smith, 2014).

Some important issues that I find relevant to report here are: although simple to conduct, the volume of relevant data to be extracted from an interview can vary widely; and to distance the interview period from the survey period (if applying a similar methodology to that applied in this thesis) seems to be something positive.

On the use of data produced from interviews, I would like to consider that the analysis of such data can be challenging. Especially because some interviews, for different reasons, do not provide information that the researcher will consider relevant. For example, several of the government representatives interviewed throughout this research did nothing more than repeat the discourse I had already found in the documents I had analysed. On the other hand, Fernanda Melchiona, who took a different approach to the themes raised, added important information that helped the research to understand the context of the World Cup in Porto Alegre better. Therefore, I consider that the approach I have taken can be

considered appropriate. In choosing representativeness as the criterion, I had the chance to obtain relevant data from the interviews. As I said before, this is not always confirmed. However, on the other hand, I have the impression that by committing to the process and not only to the result, the research and the researcher can gain legitimacy and security. Because of this, even though some of the interviewees contributed little to the richness of the data presented, I decided to keep all interviews conducted in the records of this chapter.

Additionally, I consider that if future research takes into consideration my experience, distancing the survey period from the interview with the respondents to the survey period may be positive. One aspect that can be negative relates to the fact that depending on the situation, while the time passes changes can make difficult the contact with the people. Thus, each researcher will have to assess issues such as this. But, on the other hand, the perspectives that some of the interviewees of this research presented can be considered very comprehensive. Some of the interviews I conducted with respondents to the survey were relatively extensive and I believe that in part this is due to the fact that when I conducted such interviews, the event had already long passed and the interviewees were thus able to speak with more ownership and knowledge of the process as a whole.

In terms of the analysis of the interviews, the interviews were analysed with the help of NVivo qualitative data analysis software. While listening to and watching the interviews, I would transcribe relevant lines in the software. The lines would then be classified in accordance to themes. The themes were created from the interviews, although the interview scripts conducted the interviewees throughout certain topics (the same utilised in the survey). The lines related to each theme were thus grouped in 'nodes' within the software, which served to gather different views from different actors on the same subjects. Along with the data presentation, when appropriate, lines from the nodes/interviews were inserted when specific themes were displayed in the thesis text. Table 2 displays relevant information on the interviews.

Due to the great number of interviewees and issues of time, the research also made use of focus groups (Powell & Single, 1996; Smithson, 2000), as stated earlier, in order to permit specific groups to have voice in the themes that were being researched but also not to exclude any possible point of view (Kitzinger, 1995). As 'focus groups are group interviews that are structured to foster talk among the participants about particular issues' (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p. 109), the use of this technique proved appropriate by contributing to a broader understanding of the themes raised during the dialogues established between the interviewees during the sessions. This technique is also very suitable for providing a possibility of interaction between the different interviewees, within a context that allows the elucidation or the discussion of specific subjects (Kitzinger, 1994), something that can hardly happen in the context of individualised interviews (Woodring et al., 2006). Whether in focus groups or in individual interviews, the amount of time interviewees used and the relevance of what they said for this research varied widely. In relation to this topic, I consider it important to mention at least three issues.

First, a good part of the interviewees were members of some organisation, as previously stated. Thus, much of what they said was already known to the research through document analysis. Thus, their lines may not have been used more often in this research for this reason.

Second, the interviews with the residents were revealing because they offered a unique perspective, of those who witnessed first-hand the consequences of the 2014 World Cup in the area of the Tronco Avenue construction. But even among them there were differences. Some spoke more than others, some seemed to be more informed than others, and some seemed to have been involved with the issues surrounding the construction of the Tronco Avenue more than others. Thus, some of the interviewees will appear more frequently in the results as a consequence of the fact that they spoke more, gave more interesting examples, demonstrated more knowledge or involvement than others. In fact, I did not select the excerpts presented in the results from the authorship, but rather from the relevance of the text itself.

Third, even though I have evaluated the use of interviews in the context of this research positively (see 5.5.5), some issues are inherent to the methods chosen. For example, one of the respondents to the survey showed me a police record during our meeting. This refers to a case that was in progress during the survey and so I could not keep up with its outcome. The case would be related to the way a server of the Municipality of Porto Alegre approached the respondent. According to Sparkes and Smith (2014), there may be barriers between the interviewer and the respondent and such barriers may prevent certain experiences from being shared (p. 84). 134 people participated in the survey. I performed another 15 interviews with one or more people. However, only one person revealed such a specific case. So, the interviewing process also left me with the concern that perhaps some of the people I interviewed might have shared more information were the conditions different.

5.7 Notes from the fieldworks

This sub-chapter focuses on providing insights on the fieldwork periods, pursuing to explore dimensions of the research that were not explored in previous passages of this chapter.

Fieldwork 1 lasted 35 days, between 02 June and 08 July 2014. This period encompassed 13 days leading up to the 2014 World Cup as well as all the games held in Porto Alegre, the locality in which I spent most time during the period. This fieldwork allowed me to participate in seven meetings with protesters that were held before, during and after the 2014 World Cup took place in Porto Alegre. The discussions at the meetings focused on the role of social movements in relation to sport mega events and in different contexts, on preparative actions and assessments of the protests related to the 2014 World Cup, and on the discussion of broader issues. In the context of the protesters' organised movements (Block of Struggles of Porto Alegre and the Popular Committee of the World Cup of Porto Alegre), it was possible to take part in the preparation for the protests, in the staging of three protests, in the organisation of a seminar on sport mega events and Human Rights, and in the launching of a short film

prepared by the Popular Committee of the Cup of Porto Alegre. During the period, it was also possible to attend two matches in the stadium, and to visit the FIFA FanFest and the 'Caminho do Gol' on several occasions. It was also possible to frequent different environments of the city of Porto Alegre, such as bars and the houses of acquaintances during matches in order to experience different views of the event. During the period, I also took part in two academic debates at the Federal University of Santa Maria and the Federal University of Rio Grande. I kept a notebook and a folder in which I registered information gathered during the activities I was involved in throughout the period. I also gathered several materials more or less directly related to the event in Porto Alegre, from church flyers to social movement posters. It was during this period that I could start perceiving through newspaper and television news and, especially, from the reports of protestors, the particular experiences of the residents of Tronco Avenue.

The feeling I grasped from this period was quite contradictory. On the one hand, there was a festive atmosphere. On the other hand, the despair of the families impacted by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre began to surface more clearly and strongly.

In most of the environments I attended during this period, the atmosphere was festive. In some cases, it was even euphoric. A part of the city of Porto Alegre that is traditionally bohemian has been transformed into the home of fans who did not go to the stadium or the Fan Fest™ during the evenings and nights of the World Cup period. There was a carnival atmosphere there. And besides, according to reports of my acquaintances and some news, the applications of affective/sexual encounters broke records. Thus, the climate in the *Cidade Baixa* was warm, frenetic, happy and washed down with much alcohol³².

In other parts of the city, especially those where World Cup development projects had begun, causing disruption, where families had been removed or were being threatened of removal, where streets had open holes and debris of construction/destruction, the atmosphere was different. It was like a bank holiday in those places. Those people were not happy with the World Cup, they were not excited about the event. However, some of them did not seem to believe anything could be done during the event, so all that was left was to wait. For them that month was a long and sad Sunday.

Amid these two groups there were the social movements and the protestors. These were excited but not in favour of the World Cup. These were worried that during the event they could not do much, but they did not stop doing what they considered necessary. As I described above, they organized various

³² <https://exame.abril.com.br/tecnologia/gringos-chegam-para-a-copa-e-fazem-sucesso-no-tinder/>
<http://g1.globo.com/tecnologia/tem-um-aplicativo/noticia/2014/06/uso-de-aplicativos-de-paquera-dispara-no-brasil-durante-copa.html>

<https://www.terra.com.br/esportes/futebol/copa-2014/no-jogo-da-belgica-o-tinder-ficou-lindo-conta-mineira.b1dbe9fbc6ef6410VgnVCM3000009af154d0RCRD.html>

<https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/world-cup-passions-in-brazil-give-a-boost-to-dating-apps-tinder-and-grindr-9562309.html>

<https://www.news.com.au/technology/online/social/tinder-has-become-a-favourite-at-the-2014-fifa-world-cup-in-brazil/news-story/a0481f9b0bc69445a60213eeba4492f56>

<http://time.com/2923517/world-cup-sex-tinder-grindr/>

activities during the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre while I was in Porto Alegre. I returned from the first period in the field of research with many impressions. This helped me to better plan the second fieldwork, which I will now address.

Fieldwork 2 lasted 95 days, between 04 May 2015 and 08 August 2015. This stage of the research was committed to responding to the third research question set out above: 'how do people who are directly affected by sport mega events development projects perceive such events?'. During this period, I performed a survey with communities affected by the works of the 2014 World Cup as a way of gathering data on the perceptions of these communities and their people regarding the 2014 World Cup. As mentioned earlier, this phase of the research involved the preparation of the survey, its execution and the production of the fieldwork report. The preparation of the survey was carried out at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul. In an event that lasted from May 14 to May 17, I gathered several specialists from different areas, so that we could study the area in which the research would develop and for them to contribute with specific decisions regarding the research instrument (the survey form). From then on, for several weeks, practically every day, I would be accompanied by one of the colleagues who participated in the event from 14 to 17 May to the field of the research. We rarely went to the field in groups of more than two people. At the same time, we started to tabulate the data produced. This tabulation consisted of simple counts and gathering of data from subjects and not by respondent, as the forms were organised. This report, together with details of the event, can be found at the online address ³³(in Portuguese). This tabulation later served as a basis for the inclusion of the data in the SPSS software for the analysis presented in chapter 6 of the thesis.

I believe that most of the details concerning this field work are already described and discussed above. However, I want to register positively the collective organisation of the research that compose this thesis. Organising the event that helped to finalise the research instrument, the form used in the survey, and that established the parameters of the universe and the sample of the research was scientifically positive, but spiritually empowering.

When the period of the event was beginning, I already had some of the decisions taken, there were only a few details missing. There was also room for contributions from the various people who would come to join me in the research. However, I also had doubts: Would the event happen as planned? Were the people involved really taking the event seriously? The experience was more than satisfactory. I left the event excited about the research. Having held the event filled me with energy and reassured me about issues that bothered me. For example, I remember that I was concerned about the receptivity of people of the construction area of Tronco Avenue to the survey. Translating my concern: When I knocked on the door, would people respond positively to my 'invitation' to participate in the survey? Talking about it with my colleagues and treating this theme among so many others calmed me down. I

³³ <http://www.ufrgs.br/ceo/arquivos/IMPACTO%20DA%20COPA%202014%20-%20Relatorio%20da%20Pesquisa%20Interinstitucional.pdf>

had already expressed this concern to my supervisor and we had already discussed the limits of the research and the possibility of adjusting if things did not unfold as planned. However, the energy put into the research through the event was so great that in the end I visited the 134 residences needed without hearing more than half a dozen negatives, all of which were replaced by equivalent residences in relation to the research methodology.

Fieldwork 3 consisted in interviewing residents of the Tronco Avenue construction area who were also respondents to the survey. Sub-chapter 5.5 explained details of this process more minutely. The next sub-chapter recovers relevant points on the methodology chapter (5) as a form of conclusion.

5.8 Chapter conclusions

This chapter began with the presentation of the theoretical bases of this thesis, which relates to historical and dialectical materialism. Sub-chapter 5.1 established the theoretical basis of this thesis. In addition, sub-chapter 5.1 explained that the ontological categories that orientated the research were totality, historicity and contradiction. Moreover, that section exposed that the epistemological dimensions considered within this research were the diagnostic, the judicative, and the teleological.

This chapter also explained how the methodologies adopted throughout the research of this thesis were operationalised so that the research questions of the thesis were addressed. The research questions, in turn, were organised in a way that they would assist the objective of this research to be achieved. This objective is to develop a political economy of sport mega events that contemplates the impact that such events have in the everyday life of people directly affected by development projects linked to these events.

Thus, the research questions of this thesis are three. The first one is ‘what are the links between global capitalism and sport mega events?’. This first research question was approached from the review of the literature (5.3) on the subject and the analysis of documents (5.4). The same techniques were applied to address the second research question, ‘in what ways can the knowledge produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup?’. According to the discussion presented in sub-chapter 5.3, the literature review of this thesis was understood as a narrative review with traces of a critical review. The literature review was understood in such a way because it engaged discussions throughout its development and was integrated into the general arguments used in the thesis. In addition, the literature review of this thesis also involved analysis of the academic production on the subjects studied and innovation, justifying the understanding presented. The third research question of this thesis is ‘how do people who are directly affected by sport mega events’ development projects perceive such events?’. In order to address this research question, the survey technique was utilised (5.5). The universe of the survey research was defined as being the area indicated by the Porto Alegre City Hall as the ‘impact area’ of the Tronco Avenue construction, which, according

to the process described, was composed of 3465 houses. The sample of the survey research consisted of 134 of such houses.

Throughout the chapter, I also presented discussions that dealt with the accumulations made from the literature review regarding the objective of the thesis and the research questions (5.2.1). Additionally, information related to the practical fieldwork and other details was inserted in sub-chapter 5.7 to assist elucidating aspects that were not addressed in other parts of the chapter.

The next chapter presents the results of the survey and the discussion of such data accompanied by excerpts of the interviews, elements brought from the document analysis, and from the literature review. This form of presentation, as presented earlier, is called triangulation (Minayo, 1996).

Part III

The third part of the thesis is composed of one chapter and displays the results and its discussion. The chapter reveals the results by themes. The themes are housing, education, health, security, public sphere performance, employment/economy, and the 2014 FIFA World Cup. These themes are divided into sub-chapters. The sub-chapters present an introduction to the subject they deal with and elements that help the reader to better understand the environment in which the data were collected. Additionally, when appropriate, data from the interviews and other methodologies utilised during the production of the research complement the information contained in the sub-chapters. Similarly, the discussion of the results in each of the sub-chapters, when suitable, presents links to the themes discussed in Part I of the thesis.

6. Results and discussion

This chapter focuses on responding to the third research question of the thesis: how do people who are directly affected by sport mega event development projects perceive such events? Thus, this chapter is dedicated to the presentation and discussion of the data collected from the period of data collection, which took place between 2014 and 2018, via the different research techniques applied in the fieldwork described in the previous chapter. This fieldwork was undertaken in direct contact with residents of Porto Alegre affected by the 2014 World Cup. However, it is important to bear in mind that the objective of this thesis is to develop a political economy of sport mega events that includes the impact that such events have in the everyday life of people directly affected by development projects linked to these events. Hence, the presentation of the results is followed by a discussion which places these outcomes into a broader political economy context. Thus, in addition to the discussion of the results *per se*, this chapter also refers back to sources noted in the literature review in order to make explicit the links between the specific themes of the fieldwork research and the theoretical elements that underpin this thesis.

The organisation of this chapter respects the thematic organisation of the survey, displaying the results by theme. Thus, this chapter first presents the results in the form of sub-chapters relating to housing, and then education, health, security, public sphere performance, employment/economy, and the set of questions related to the 2014 FIFA World Cup specifically. The sub-chapters display a short presentation of the subject they deal with and elements that help the reader to better understand the environment in which the data were collected. Additionally, when appropriate, data from the interviews complement the information contained in the sub-chapters.

Additionally, the use of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) allowed the crossing of all the variables in order to detect possible relevant correlations. A final sub-chapter addresses the results found with the use of this analysis technique. Initially imagined as a simple identifier, the type of relationship to the houses the residents proved to be an important piece of information. Also the location of the houses, either in direct contact with the works or in the more distant areas in relation to the works, proved to be relevant information. The correlations considered important for the research in such cases were related to housing, the public sphere performance and to security.

6.1 Housing

Housing is one of the issues that appears most frequently when voices from those affected by sport mega events are heard. Several academic works list housing as one of the major issues related to sport mega events, as both a potential benefit and a weakness of the Games³⁴. It can be pointed out as a potentiality because of the numerous kinds of resources mobilising capacity that the Games carry. Housing can also be understood as a weakness because again and again sport mega events have meant the deterioration of living conditions for significant slices of already disadvantaged and vulnerable populations (Rolink, 2009). In certain cases, ‘instead of vigorously pursuing the full vindication of the right to adequate housing’, sport mega events are even part of processes that encompass the ‘violent displacement’ and ‘illegal destruction of private property’ (Crout, 2018). Also, initiatives related to housing can be considered to be, in many cases, the first or only real impacts of sport mega events upon specific populations. In the case of the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre, for example, Mr. Zé, from the Popular Committee of the World Cup in Porto Alegre, resident of the area of the works, stated that residents of the Tronco Avenue construction area ‘...started to actually feel the impacts of this mega event when the City Hall came to the region to say that 1600 families would have to be removed...’ (08 June 2015).

The set of data presented next takes into account the situation of the geographical area in which the research took place at that point in time. At the time of the data collection, several relatively disconnected actions related to housing and displacement of people were being performed in different regions of the area. The Porto Alegre City Hall was responsible for most of them. Such actions involved removal of people from households with and without financial restitution, official/semi-official eviction notices, and concrete and veiled threats to the possession of real estate and the right to housing. At the same time, the City Hall implemented programs that attended to part of the population affected, whilst individual cases of financial restitution (for individuals with consolidated documentation real estate tenure) were rushed in justice.

Such programs included *Social Rental*, which worked due to a decree of the city council authorising the transfer of monthly resources to families affected as a way to soften the impact of dispossession, as well as a way to postpone a final decision in relation to some of the cases in this category. *Social Rental* was accompanied by The *Resettlement*, which at the time of the survey was no more than a mayor’s promise to convince residents to leave their homes and provisionally accept the *Social Rental*. However, in the process of convincing the residents, a considerable amount of land was expropriated by the City Hall for the construction of a housing development in the area. At the time of the survey, residents of the region were concerned because two years had passed without any other related action being developed and they

³⁴Andranovich; Burbank & Heying, 2001; Bob & Swart, 2010; Chalkley & Essex, 1999; Coakley & Souza, 2013; Cornelissen, 2012; Gaffney, 2010; Greene, 2003; Hall, 2006; Hiller, 2000; Horne, 2007; 2015b; Janoschka & Sequera, 2016; Müller, 2015b; Olds, 1998; Pillay & Bass, 2008; Silvestre & Oliveira, 2012; Steinbrink, 2013; Stewart & Rayner, 2015; Tomlinson, 2014.

had heard rumours that a luxury condominium would be built on site. Another program was the *Housing Bonus*, which was a form of financing promoted by the City Hall in order to allow evicted families with no consolidated ownership of properties to buy new properties. It was a harshly criticised policy, principally because the values practiced (R\$ 52.340,00 = £ 12.666³⁵) were allegedly insufficient and would ultimately force families out of the neighbourhood³⁶.

During the data collection, issues related to such a policy started to surface. They were stories of families that had already left their houses, taken the *Housing Bonus*, spent all the money, only to return to the area and irregular properties, and thus, to the same circumstances as those at the beginning of the policy cycle. Anne, for example, reported that she knew of ‘people who stayed’ in the neighbourhood even after taking part in the policies implemented by the City Hall. She stated that these people ‘...got compensation and they stayed in the same area...’ and that in ‘that case there had been involvement of money...’. However, she alleged that because she is ‘poor’, she ‘cannot talk...’ (Anne, 20 January 2018). Although it was not possible to pursue this and other allegations of corruption that would supposedly have taken place within the context created by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre, it would not be a surprise if they were confirmed: first, because the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics, which both took place in Brazil, have been strongly associated with corruption; second, because sport mega events in general have been also marked by allegations of corruption and in many cases publicly linked to crime and corruption (see introduction to chapter 3).

These policies were introduced at different times, according to the interests involved and to time dynamics in the different Justice, Executive, and construction spheres. Thus, in some regions, the works were embargoed due to legal disputes, whilst other works were advancing amid partially unoccupied streets, mixing abandoned houses, destroyed houses, and fully operational homes. Visually, the consequences of such a mismatch was a combination of untouched areas, with spaces occupied by houses and other buildings, and regions that mixed demolition debris and construction sites. This disparity also manifested itself in other areas. For example, garbage collection and other basic services were interrupted several times during the period prior to and during the data collection. Anne reported in her interview that there is ‘no garbage collection’ in her neighbourhood. She added that, as a consequence, ‘people are required to put [the trash] in any corner... ..in the streets, in the creek, in the works sites...’. She also said that ‘before the works of the World Cup, [the neighbourhood] had [garbage collection]’. In her opinion, ‘it was an ugly, horrible village, but it had [garbage collection]’ (Anne, 20 January 2018).

³⁵<https://finance.yahoo.com/currency-converter/#from=GBP;to=BRL;amt=12.6664> - all conventions refer to 31 October 2014.

³⁶ From here on, when I refer to the programs implemented by the Porto Alegre City Hall as a form of restitution to the damages caused to the population and their habitations during the construction of the Tronco Avenue, I will do it directly referring to the names given to such policies. Summing up:

Social Rental = transfer of monthly resources to families affected as a way to soften the impact of dispossession;

Resettlement = it would be the delivery of houses to the families dislocated by the Tronco Avenue construction works, until the end of the fieldwork period (2018), no family had been resettled;

Housing Bonus (R\$ 52.340,00 = £ 12.666) = was a form of financing promoted by the City Hall in order to allow evicted families with no consolidated ownership of properties to buy new properties.

Residents considered these problems a tactic of the City Hall, which would have used such resources as a way of pressuring the residents to leave specific areas. Additionally, the construction and demolition companies rarely withdrew the remains of demolition and construction sites. Thus, in certain areas, the uninformed visitor might even confuse the scenario of the region with that of a war zone.

The images below exemplify how the neighbourhoods involved in the construction of Tronco Avenue were left after the construction began. The first problem reported by residents was the destruction of houses that were located among other houses. This practice led to several of the houses that were not overturned to face problems such as cracks in their walls, falling of part of their coverings, and, finally, the cessation of their properties as habitations. Another reported problem was the accumulation of construction/destruction debris that was left behind. These accumulations ended up attracting animals like rats and insects as cockroaches. According to reports, such accumulations also often ended up 'authorizing' people to throw their garbage over the remains of construction/destruction. Thus, the problem increased exponentially. At one point, due to the very large number of different actions being promoted to rush the construction of Tronco Avenue and the constant opening of new workplaces (and the abandonment of others in which the works had not been yet finished), residents reported that it was very difficult, almost impossible, to circulate within neighbourhoods. Finally, empty corners, with residues of construction/destruction, passageways to various courtyards, houses and other streets, without lighting, began to privilege and facilitate the activities of drug traffickers in the area.



Figure 10 - Images of the impact of the 2014 World Cup works on the area of the Tronco Avenue

Table 2 - Results on Housing

Question	Housing			
	YES (%)	NO (%)		
1.1 Removal threat	31	69		
1.2 Other threats	22	78		
1.3 Acquaintances removals	25	75		
	Did they leave the community?	94	6	
1.4 Basic services interruptions	50	50		
1.5 Public processes participation	19	81		
1.6 The DEMHAB office visitation	19	81		
	Was the service provided appropriate?	37	63	
	Worsened	Improved	Did not change	Do not know
1.7 Living conditions	54	32	8	6

In relation to question 1.1 'Did you feel threatened by removal due to the World Cup?', it would be surprising for a broader survey about sport mega events with populations around the world to present 'house removal' as one of the respondents' primary worries. This is mainly due to the fact that housing issues only recently started to be considered more systematically in relation to sport mega events (Rolnik, 2009). However, 31% of respondents to this survey reported feeling threatened with removal/eviction. It is relevant to mention that a part of the sample lives in areas that were clearly not involved with displacement but secondarily affected by the works. Regardless, if it is considered that Rolnik (2009), the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) (2007; 2008) and National Coalition of Local Committees for a People's World Cup and Olympics (NCLCPWCO) (2012) also reported that the treatment given to disadvantaged populations is inadequate in such cases, this field presents a problematic situation. Most of the works related to sport mega events involving expropriations tend to be held in underdeveloped areas regarding processes of housing legalisation. It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that such populations face double pressures, on the one hand, the threat of removal and in addition to this, the possibility that this will be forcible and/or unjust if it occurs. In this sense, whilst external threats (e.g. terrorism) are still part of the mainstream discourse regarding sport mega events, shaping organisational and financial aspects of the Games (Giulianotti & Klauser, 2010), as mentioned in the literature review, the inner threat related to displacement and forced and violent evictions is apparently as important and, perhaps more frequently materialised.

Question 1.2 'Did you feel any other type of threat in relation to your home during the period of the works of the World Cup? - If yes, of what?' revealed that the number of respondents who felt threatened by different factors was smaller than those in the previous question. However, the amount of potential threats that may be assumed from comments made by respondents and the data is considerable. Therefore, it can be said that aside from evictions, housing conditions decreased significantly due to the works related to the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Porto Alegre. The main sources of dissatisfaction in these cases were material damages to houses and surroundings; decreased quality of life in the neighbourhood; increases in the levels of violence and disruptions in the transport system, for example; and the loss of intangible elements such as memories, family and friendship ties, and disruption of mutual help networks, in cases of displacement.

Question 1.3 'Do you know someone in the community that has been removed due to the works of the World Cup?' changes the focus to the impacts of the works in the community. Thus, among respondents who said that they knew people removed from their neighbourhood due to the works of the 2014 World Cup, 94% reported that these people had also left the locality. This may have caused a number of disruptions in the lives of certain people. Informal work and support networking may have been broken, as well as social and family networks that may have suffered interruption. Additionally, most of the displacements of people/residences that happened during the period in which the works related to the 2014 World Cup took place, did not respect the international human rights law regarding

adequate housing (UN, 2010, n.d.; Housing and Land Rights Network and Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action, 2011; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2011a; 2011b). For example, the concept of ‘progressive realization of the right to adequate housing’ (UN, 2010, p. 32) was ignored by those responsible for the Tronco Avenue construction. Indeed, as this research evidences, the right to adequate housing is farther from its realisation for many of the residents of the area affected by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre than it was before the event.

Further issues related to the removals started to be reported as early as 2012. However, the situation began to worsen from the conclusion of the World Cup in 2014. 2014 was also an election year in Brazil, and during electoral years there is a reduced period for the use of public resources and lower levels of project work in general. Thus, during the six months following the World Cup, politicians had the ‘excuse’ that nothing could be done because the electoral legislation obstructs the use of resources. The first months of 2015 were dedicated to the substitution of occupants of political positions in the spheres involved in the elections of 2014. This category included the President, the State Governor, Congressmen and women, and public office officials. From the second half of 2015, many problems began to manifest themselves in relation to housing policies that dealt with issues arising in the construction zone of the Tronco Avenue. As an illustration, Anne said in her interview that her son had been receiving a benefit from the City Hall, the Social Rental, which was explained in the introduction of the sub-chapter, ‘until six months ago’ (end of the first semester of 2017). She added that then ‘they [the City Hall] blocked’ the payment. She added that the City Hall was demanding new documents and challenging existing arrangements when processing information. She expressed her worries in relation to her son’s family future. ‘How will my son stay on the streets with a baby?’ (Anne, 20 January 2018), she asked me during the interview.

Yet in relation to housing/removals issues, one strategy used by residents on the verge of being forced to leave the region to try to avoid community exit was the attempt to use several Housing Bonuses together. This benefit from the City Hall is the one that would allow people to leave their homes and then buy other real estate elsewhere. The strategy here would be to aggregate several families to buy a house that would shelter the families still in the region. Thus, for example, a few families would organise a proposal to buy a certain house and would be willing to pass the sum of the values they could provide together in accordance with the number of Housing Bonuses they would get from the City Hall. However, according to Isabel, ‘when the families organised to try to gather the bonuses values to buy a structured house [in the region] ... the process took 4, 5, 6 months and then the owner of the house ended up giving up the business and selling it to someone else’. She added that it was known to her that this ‘did not happen once, it [had] happened to [her] my brother and to most of the residents who tried to gather the bonuses’ (Isabel, 20 January 2018). Another consequence of the way the policies were applied to the case of Tronco Avenue was also reported by Isabel. According to her, her brother bought a house with the Housing Bonus in Quintão (120 km from Porto Alegre). However, Isabel claimed that in

Quintão 'there is no work for him, nor for his wife' and that 'they have three children...'. She said that now her brother and wife are living '[in Porto Alegre] and that the house [they bought in Quintão] is there ... because they have to wait 5 years to be able to sell the house again. So, he works to pay rent and the house is standing there [in Quintão]' (Isabel, 20 January 2018).

Question 1.4 'During the period of the works of the World Cup, have you suffered interruption of services such as electricity, water or other basic services? If so, what?' maintains the focus on the consequences of having the Tronco Avenue construction project developed in the local community. In the case of regular and unforeseen interruptions to basic services, the communities affected by the 2014 World Cup works have been suffering with the fact that works related to sport mega events are held in relatively short spaces of time and with little attention to the humanitarian aspects. The situation can be aggravated by the fact that in Global South countries and cities, the infrastructure for such works can be inconsistent and deficient. Additionally, as in the case of Brazil, if such works could not be ready for the event that motivated their expediting, they can be extended indefinitely. Further research could observe if the works are finally completed after the event. It is important to note that in the case of the Tronco Avenue works, international standards regarding basic services were not observed (UN, 2010). These results clearly support the understanding that the conditions of life for populations living in affected areas fall dramatically with the advent of the 'arrival' of the World Cup.

Question 1.5 'Did you participate in the public process of decision making about the destiny of your house due to the works of the World Cup?' investigates the levels of public participation within the development projects in the Tronco Avenue construction region. The participation of the respondents in public debates, meetings and/or private conversations with those responsible for the works of the 2014 World Cup has been particularly low. This may reflect the low level of participation observed in public decision-making processes taking place prior to the works having started. In relation to the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, for example, there was not any public debate before the Brazilian candidacy. Important decisions, such as the number of host cities or the cost of stadiums were also confined to governments, especially the central government and state governments. This may have played a role as one of the fuses of the set of demonstrations against the 2014 World Cup that played important role in the construction of the Brazilian national conjuncture in 2013 and 2014. Moreover, it is important to note that Porto Alegre in general and especially communities in unprivileged areas have a tradition in public debate and popular decision making due to years of 'participatory budgeting', a policy repeatedly carried on by Porto Alegre City Hall (Abers, 1998; Baiocchi, 2001; Santos, 1998; Novy & Leubolt, 2005). On the other hand, it can also be argued that formal democracy in Brazil has been widely discredited, phenomenon which allegedly gained strength with the June Journeys. Further research may investigate the effects of the Tronco Avenue construction on people affected by it in relation to participatory policies and on democratic practices.

Question 1.6 ‘Have you visited the DEMHAB office due to the works of the World Cup?’ analyses a specific action taken by the Porto Alegre City Hall to facilitate contact with residents of the area affected by the Tronco Avenue works. DEMHAB is the Municipal Department of Habitation from Porto Alegre City Hall. It was responsible for almost all contact with people that had their residences in the area affected by the works related to the 2014 FIFA World Cup. To better attend to those people and to facilitate contact with them, DEMHAB instituted an office in a central area of the works. However, parts of the different communities affected were well organised and thus could get into collective negotiations. This could have negated any need for them go to this office. The number of respondents that reported having indeed gone to DEMHAB’s office is modest. This can be an indication that the policy was not very successful. Furthermore, from the people that went to the office and responded whether the service was appropriate or not, 63% gave negative feedback. Thus, besides having indications that the policy implemented by the Municipality has not been effective, it also indicates that in many cases it was not implemented properly.

Question 1.7 ‘In relation to your new living conditions, have they improved or decreased?’ explores the perceptions of the residents of the area impacted by the Tronco Avenue works in relation to their new living conditions. Thus, most of the people living in the areas affected by the works related to the construction of the Tronco Avenue feel that their living conditions have worsened. The respondents reported that in many (almost all) parts of the Tronco Avenue construction, the works were interrupted and that they left abandoned construction sites, holes, remains and unfinished works. Additionally, it was reported by the respondents that because the DEMHAB could not negotiate with the totality of affected house owners, only part of them had left and had their houses destroyed. Thus, it was common during the research period to find streets in the region where half of the houses were demolished. In some of the vacant lots, supposedly illegal and criminal activities could be found to be taking place, while some others had even become points of garbage accumulation. Conjointly, many respondents to the survey have reported insect and rat infestations as a result.

For Isabel, the removal of the families and the destruction of houses played a central role in the fall of living standards. For her, while there were houses, ‘people would take care’ of things. ‘Now it is abandoned, it is a heath, full of rats, of bugs ... holes, sewers in the open...’ she reported. She also said that ‘when it rains it floods everything, it invades the house of the residents [t]here. People lost furniture ... with the works, they worked there, [and] they left everything in half, then when it rains, water invades everything...’ (Isabel, 20 January 2018).

6.1.1 Sub-chapter discussion

In terms of housing, the overall results of the research can be considered negative. The first feature produced by this set of data is related to the condition of insecurity to which the communities

were submitted. Threats, misinformation, lack of public debate, and disconnected, disjointed and ineffective policies were the main factors leading to such conditions. These factors were present throughout the entire period of the Tronco Avenue construction works. Claudia, from the Popular Committee, reported that the moment in which the City Hall started to converse with the residents was tense because ‘the families had no return on what the project would be, what the houses would look like, no drawings, nothing ... nothing more palpable’ (June 08, 2015). It led them to block the socioeconomic register, which is an obligatory step of mass resettlement in Brazil. That was the only way to get the City Hall to treat them appropriately, according to the Popular Committee.

Porto Alegre Councilwoman Fernanda Melchiona, who was involved with the community at the time of the works, says the processes that involved resettlement of residents in the context of the World Cup in Porto Alegre were ‘strongly marked by the authoritarianism of the City Hall, the lack of participation, lack of democracy ...’ (17 July 2015). Materially, according to her, the balance between homes destroyed or condemned and new housing was considered insufficient to solve the issues that faced the families affected. Similarly, the policies put in place in order to tackle the issue were considered ineffective and their development inappropriate.

Linked to these material concerns, an additional dimension for consideration was the impact caused by the related actions in the community, with the data suggesting a significant disruption to family and work networking. This is due to the removal of acquaintances, members of families and other related people. The works can also be related to the relatively frequent and unannounced interruption of basic services, which can be considered both an issue related to the Human Rights of people living in the area as well as an element that points to the disorganisation that characterised the works.

The low levels of public participation also contributed to the overall negative performance of the subject. Confusion and lack of information were again an issue, this time in relation to public participation. Only 19% of the respondents reported have been involved in public processes of discussion. The same percentage of respondents reported have been to the DEMHAB office in the region. Of such, 63% considered the services offered inappropriate. It can be an indication that the way issues were being addressed needed to be discussed and improved. Finally, 54% of the respondents considered that their living conditions decreased due to the event and its related works. These trends must be seen as disappointing for an event that was portrayed as a possible solution to long term problems of this nature in both the city and even the continent as a whole (Aquino, 2009).

The way the 2014 World Cup treated those affected by the event in the region of the construction of the Tronco Avenue represents ‘...a lack of respect for people’, for Isabel. She added that ‘there is no building built to serve these [removed] residents’. ‘They did not raise a brick to give residences to these removed people’, she said, in an emotional account. So, in her opinion, ‘it is misplaced what they [governments and the World Cup authorities] are doing, and ridiculous’ (Isabel, 20 January 2018). For Arioaldo, ‘in relation to housing’, the efforts made by the 2014 World Cup were manifested ‘only on

paper, in advertising'. He reported being aware that the City Hall had 'a project of making a condominium for low income people' in the region, but he said that this 'still has not left the paper, this is a promise' only (Ariovaldo, 20 January 2018). Nevertheless, the situation seems to be deteriorating as pressure for new housing and a lack of trust in the City Hall threaten the maintenance of the land mentioned in the introduction of this sub-chapter as that selected and bought by the City Hall to have a low-income community condominium built. According to one of the interviewees, the terrain is still there, an 'empty lot with the sign in front saying it was going to be a popular condominium but no work has been done ... things are still immobile and this week [March 2018]'. According to Marcio, a few days before the interview, homeless people tried to take the land for themselves. Families that were removed from their homes by the Tronco Avenue construction would be among the people that tried to occupy the lot. He reported that 'the community was a little disgusted and invaded the land'. In his opinion, 'the people began to invade due to the delay', because 'nothing [has been] solved in relation to the apartments they [the City Hall] promised ... (Marcio, 17 March 2018).

These results fit with the discussion on 'entrepreneurialism' made in the first part of the thesis. This is especially so if we consider that the logic of 'market rationality and privatisation' (Harvey, 1989, p. 5) is what relegates issues related to adequate housing in low-income communities to an inferior order in terms of government priorities and, in this case, in relation to the realisation of sport mega events. The results and the discussion here in relation to housing will be revisited in the conclusions. The next sub-chapter deals with education.

6.2 Education

Education is not a major theme in the field of sport mega events studies, nor a principal focus of sport mega events owners, promoters, organisers, sponsors and broadcasters. It can be considered that the Olympic movement's initiatives to foster Olympic Education are the most present and numerous, and also the most criticised set of actions related to education in the field (Armour & Dagkas, 2012; Lenskyj, 2012). However, governments tend to include educational initiatives within sport mega events bids and marketing these initiatives together with the bids and/or events, and Brazil 2014 (and Rio 2016) was not different (Knijnik & Tavares, 2012). Even when such educational initiatives have not existed, sport mega events exert such an influence among people of school age that effects on education would probably have been noticed anyway.

The situation of the educational sector in Brazil is a delicate matter. At least since the ending of the last Century and the beginning of the XXI Century, Brazilian educational issues have been marked by the influence of transnational agencies, such as the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (Coraggio, 1996; Cunha, Ludke & Moreira, 1999; Leher, 2005; Silva & Sguissardi, 2005; Torres, 1996). Such movements are in line with the description made earlier in relation to the Bretton Woods period, where the influence of transnational actors over underdeveloped countries was discussed. In short,

transnational actors, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, tend to orient (or force) governments of the Global South to cut off resources from the so-called social areas, including education, and to hand such areas over to the market and its logic (Harvey, 1989, 2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2012). This dimension of public policies is in close harmony with the precepts of neoliberalism, which were discussed in chapter 1. This situation is also a good example of how the ‘economic, political, and epistemic dependency’ is manifested in the Global South (Mignolo, 2011, p. 166). That is, the area of education imbues material elements, such as the volume of resources passed on by the government, which are derived from political arrangements, which in turn depend on conceptual elements. That is, in this specific case, the transnational actors (IMF and WB), which are dominated by people and corporations from the Global North and by Global North epistemic principles, draw on the dependencies of Global South nations to orientate the latter’s policies in education and other fields. Policies of privatisation have been put in place and there was a shift from a mainly state educational system and public/universal access mindset to a more corporative-oriented set of educational principles, in terms of basic education in Brazil. Also, although the dimension of the lack of schools and the number of students delayed in their school formation cannot be highly accurate, there is a common belief that the Brazilian educational budget is significantly lower than what is necessary (Cury, 2002; Dourado, 2007). In higher education, the situation is even worse, as less than 5% of the population reaches the university and less than 2% has higher education degrees. Additionally, from the 1970’s to the 2000’s, the balance between public and private higher education institutions went from 30% public versus 70% private to more than 85% private and only 15% public (Cunha, 2003; Rezende, 2004; Sécca & Souza, 2009).

The aim of this sub-chapter, in turn, is to assess general and particular issues in relation to education and the 2014 FIFA World Cup, especially in areas affected by the works related to the World Cup in the city of Porto Alegre. Several different actions can be linked to the relationship between the World Cup and education in the city of Porto Alegre. Although, apparently, many non-planned outcomes can be also listed in order to explain such a relationship. The Municipal Secretary of Education of Porto Alegre, for example, organised the 5th Solidarity Gincana³⁷ with the theme ‘2014 World Cup: knowing for welcoming’ between April and August of 2014 (SMED, 2014)³⁸. The tasks of the Gincana involved various disciplines of the school curriculum as well as aiming to show aspects of the cultures of the countries that would play in Porto Alegre during 2014 World Cup known. Thus, it can be noticed that such relations are relatively complex and consequences of the consciously or not, intended or not, interaction of various social actors. The following chart presents the results of questions about the

³⁷ Gincana is an activity that can look like a treasure hunt or a scavenger hunt. In Brazil, in general, a gincanas take place in schools, having specific themes to inspire tasks that tend to be like games. In practice, the school would be divided into groups, classes or teams and these would be responsible for carrying out the tasks. In general, the tasks involve non-school elements, such as student families; actions that contribute to the environment, such as garbage and/or recyclable materials collection; and raising funds for the school, such as the sale of a raffle or donations.

³⁸http://www2.portoalegre.rs.gov.br/smed/default.php?p_noticia=139915&GINCANA+SOLIDARIA+DIVULGA+AS+PRIMEIRAS+TAREFAS
http://www2.portoalegre.rs.gov.br/portal_pmpa_novo/default.php?p_noticia=148010&GINCANA+SOLIDARIA+ENTREGA+PREMIOS+NESTA+QUINTA-FEIRA
http://www2.portoalegre.rs.gov.br/smed/default.php?p_noticia=168752&EQUIPES+DE+39+ESCOLAS+PARTICIPARAO+DA+5A+GINCANA+SOLIDARIA

relations between aspects regarding the area of education and the perception of people affected by 2014 World Cup works in Porto Alegre regarding the issue.

Table 3 - Results on Education

Question	Education	
	YES (%)	NO (%)
2.1 Relationship with school	48	52
2.2 Changes in access to school	9	91
2.3 changes in the number of educational institutions	6	94
2.4 Interruptions of school procedures	15	85
2.5 Changes in school routine	48	52
If yes, have they changed their routine?	61	39
2.6 Proposals from governments	9	91
2.7 People changing schools	6	94
2.8 Dropping out of school	3	97

Question 2.1 ‘Have you or someone who lives in your house had or has a direct link with school during the period of the World Cup and its works?’ aimed at identifying respondents with relations to the educational sector. How it is easily conceivable, not all homes visited during the realisation of the survey counted with students, school teachers or school staff among their residents. To prevent data waste and produce a set of more qualified data, it was decided to differentiate between respondents. This question exists to contribute to such a task. As can be seen, more than half of the houses (52%) have not any relation with the education sector or the school. In the following questions, some responses will be presented considering this differentiation where appropriate.

Question 2.2 ‘Were there any changes in access to school (enrolment, transportation, classrooms, number of schools, others...) in the period of the works related to the World Cup?’ aims at assessing the perceptions of the respondents in relation to elements around access to education. In response to this question, all respondents that said yes, there were changes in access to school, were belonging to the 52% of houses with some kind of relationship with the school. Among them, of approximately 70 households, 10 commented that the situation had worsened. The works would have provoked problems relating to the transportation of students (buses could not access certain areas due to works), access of teachers to schools, and would have forced parents that could to bring their children to school by car, making the process more expensive and toilsome. For one of the interviewees, even if changes could be identified in relation to education, ‘...there was no progress at all. The schools remained the same, there was no evolution. On the contrary, the complaints continue’ (Ariovaldo, 20 January 2018).

Question 2.3 ‘Have you noticed any changes in the number of educational institutions in the region during the works related to the World Cup?’ evaluates the perceptions of the residents of the Tronco Avenue construction in relation to the educational offer in the region. In terms of primary and secondary schools, no changes could be observed nor were they perceived in the period in which the area was affected by the 2014 World Cup works. However, a specific community reported that a crèche was closed due to the works, leaving several families forlorn. It was apparently an irregular crèche administrated by a lady that left the area to join the Social Rent program.

Two years had elapsed between the completion of the survey and the interviews with the respondents. Thus, some things had changed. One of them was reported by Isabel. She said in the interview that she knew of plans for the school in her community to be closed. She also expressed concern that the closing of the school would lead to many problems for the community and specific families. ‘They’re closing this school up here’, she announced. According to her, this ‘is a school that serves children from the periphery’, and as such, the school caters to ‘children who do not have the money to pay for a bus ticket’. For her, the typical family of a school child in the region is composed of a ‘father and a mother [who] work outside all day’. ‘The father is a mason; the mother is a cleaner’. The situation is worrying, according to Isabel, because ‘these mothers do not have the money to pay [bus fares] twice, three times for the children to go to and come back from school...’ (Isabel, 20 January 2018).

Question 2.4 ‘Were there any interruptions of school procedures during the works related to the World Cup?’ and Question 2.5 ‘Did the World Cup and/or its works caused any changes in school routine? if yes, how?’ investigate the perceptions of the respondents regarding what is perceived as some of the most common interferences of sport mega events in the area of education: interruptions of school procedures and changes in school routine. In terms of access/lack of access to educational facilities and other types of disruptions in school procedures, 15% of the respondents reported issues, all of them from houses with links to the school. It is a relevant number, once it can be considered that apart from educational losses, such cases also have a cascade effect on families’ lives. The situation can also be aggravated if it is considered that these kinds of issues tend to be repeated in specific institutions due to their geographical location as well as to their socio-economic features. Additionally, in some of the cases issues related to interruptions and difficulties in access can lead to school dropout. For example, in the Maria Imaculada School, it was reported that 10% of the students dropped school activities during the 2014 academic year due to the ‘confusion caused in school surroundings’ (Nunes, 2014, p.1).

It is important to note that almost half of the interviewees reported changes in school routine. Extrapolating, it is possible to say then that half of the children of school age within the communities affected by the World Cup works had their study routine altered at some point. It is also relevant to point out that from the respondents that reported alterations in school routines, 61% felt that their routine was in turn modified. The most dramatic cases can be described as double losses. Firstly, the student is sent home for some reason (game day, no access to school) and thus he or she misses class(es). Secondly, one adult must then make room in their schedule to accommodate the unforeseen situation. Many times, it even has a third negative consequence which is to decrease the family’s budget given that the adult taking care of the student will probably miss work or at least decrease production to some extent.

Question 2.6 ‘Were there any proposals from governments (Federal, State or local) to changes in education because of the World Cup? If so, what/which?’ examines the existence and reach of governmental projects or programs linked to the realisation of the 2014 World Cup. The results from this question are symbolic. On one hand, they reveal that either the governments did not have any proposals that would involve the positive effect the World Cup could have had in the area of education or that they were not able to make the respondents aware of the proposals. In both cases, promoters of the Games and governments are apparently missing an important opportunity, if the enthusiastic environment they described in the bidding process and other occasions is considered. It is also very problematic that the comments of respondents noted that although the movements of the authorities in this field could be very timid, when they occurred, they were permeated by unfulfilled ‘promises’. Isabel, during her interview, reported that nothing positive was done in relation to education during the period of the Tronco Avenue construction. ‘If we talk about improvement in education, what has been done? Nothing has been done’, she said. Additionally, she reported that the number of classes in the region’s schools had fallen. Thus, the remaining classes had to accept the inclusion of a greater number of

individuals, negatively affecting the level of learning. Isabel told me passionately that such action was aimed at exploiting the teachers, ‘to make the most of the teacher, they throw 50 students into a classroom!’, were her words (Isabel, 20 January 2018).

Question 2.7 ‘Did you or someone in your family have to change schools due to the works related to the World Cup?’ and Question 2.8 ‘Did you or someone in your family drop out of school because of the works related to the Cup?’ explore the consequences of the event in relation to continuity of students’ school lives and to permanence in school. While the necessity of changing schools was not frequent during the period researched in the area studied - only 6% of the respondents reported doing so - it is still apparently a significant number of people. Abandoning school was another outcome of the 2014 World Cup related works in the area. 3% of the respondents reported drop outs. This issue certainly deserves more accurate studies and also the impact of sport mega events on school life needs to be addressed. Nevertheless, in another area of Porto Alegre, also affected by works related to the 2014 World Cup, a more expressive number of people had their school lives interrupted once the City Hall, representing the 2014 World Cup interests, did not fulfil its promise of providing transport for those who would leave the area expropriated (Moreno, 2014). The Vila Dique has been facing plenty of problems once evictions started to take place before the 2014 World Cup in order to make room to reform and enlargement of the airport runway. The problem is that the work was later evaluated to be unfounded due to a technical issue. People from Vila Dique have been living in a kind of limbo since then.

6.2.1 Sub-chapter discussion

The sector of education within the region affected by the World Cup related works was, according to this research, impacted by the 2014 World Cup. Although some of the results relate to specific areas of the region, it can be said that no positive aspect could be found. Also, the negative aspects apparently had cascade effects that can be considered to have aggravated educational issues and to have caused problems in other areas. For example, one of the most notable of these effects is how the parents of students felt in relation to the release of their children from school on game days. These absences from school allegedly have a negative ripple effect in families of workers, since the student who misses school often needs to be cared for by an adult. This means that the adult becomes unable to perform their usual labour activity in such period. The lack of planning, or even the lack of responsibility, for example, made it more difficult for teachers who did not live in the area to access the schools. Thus, they ended up being late and/or reporting absent from the school, again provoking a cascade of effects on students’ and families’ lives. Also, although the number of students that reportedly gave up the academic year or dropped out of school is not high, the consequences may affect such individuals for the rest of their lives.

An additional consequence that may potentially affect students for extended periods is the psychological imbalance that the uncertainties may bring. This may be considered a deeper issue in relation to specific populations. For instance, Marcio, who works in a school for children with special needs, reported that in the school where he works, they ‘had three or four students who had to move to places farther away. The children had to request the transfer of school because those who accepted that value that the DEMHAB was giving to buy homes [then] could not [afford to] buy in Porto Alegre’. During the period prior to moving, this was a recurring concern expressed by the students, according to Marcio. Students would query teachers asking, ‘how and what will be my house, what house will I have, or will I be homeless?’ (Marcio, 17 March 2018). Then, the issue of dropping out or transferring between schools appears again but with refinements that can be considered as worrying at least. By removing families that have school-age members who are considered to have special needs among them, the City Hall and the World Cup development projects may have interrupted their school trajectory. Thus, the Tronco Avenue works may have contributed to the worsening of the conditions of learning of these people, and have even placed their families in a precarious situation, since families may be penalised by justice in Brazil if they do not provide school-aged children with access to education. Further research could try and follow real cases, so the consequences of such actions can be better known. Marcio reported that real cases happened. He stated that

so many families had to go to the countryside or to the beach. From my [his] school, there was a family that had to go to the beach. They had to start over, the whole family. My school, for example, is a special school³⁹. So, it’s very complicated for the families to find a special school in the countryside or the beach, for example... (Marcio, 17 March 2018).

Another striking aspect of the results is the number of respondents that could not answer the questions due to their lack of knowledge about the issues involving the schools of the region. Thus, the relationship between 2014 World Cup and education in the region affected by the works of Av. Tronco in Porto Alegre can be considered detrimental to the population involved. I would like to point out that the set of data on education displays results that are consistent with the discussion made throughout the second chapter of the thesis on neoliberal policies (Maher, 2016; Meszaros, 1995). As stated earlier, these policies tend to drain resources from social areas. Additionally, the data on education and its discussion evidence the theoretical elements discussed earlier, which characterised the Global South as the part of the world on the ‘receiving end of globalization’ (Mignolo, 2011, p. 184).

According to the discussion presented previously, the Global South can be recognised by the shortage of diverse resources, by worsened circumstances in relation to the Global North regarding knowledge, domain and possession of techniques and technologies, and limited access to material and cultural goods and their production. It is apparent that such a description fits well here in relation to

³⁹ ‘Special schools’ is how schools that attend people with disabilities are commonly referred to, in Brazil.

education and the consequences of the 2014 World Cup in the region of the Tronco Avenue construction.

Moreover, it is important to mention that combining the results and discussions of the first two subjects of the survey, housing and education, a tendency begins to become apparent. Such a tendency indicates that the doctrines of global capitalism are indeed apparent within sport mega events. Additionally, such a tendency tends to contradict the works inclined toward understanding sport mega events as mainly positive to all involved, including local populations and those affected by development projects linked to the events. These works were referred to as being part of the discursive resources of sport mega events promoters and associates in the literature reviewed earlier (chapter 3). The following sets of results will help in the task of identifying whether this tendency will be confirmed or not. Thus, the next subject to be discussed is security.

6.3 Security

Security has been at the core of the contemporary rationale of sport mega events. According to the discussion in the literature review, that is principally due to two main factors. First, due to the policies implemented around the world regarding terrorism and perceived or potential terrorist threats in the post-9/11 context, which were incorporated by sport mega events. Second, due to the sequence of sport mega events happening outside of the Global North where border procedures are perceived as more flexible and terrorist actions considered more likely to be happening (Giulianotti & Klauser, 2010; 2012; Spaaij, 2016; Sugden, 2012; Toohey & Taylor, 2012).

The securitisation, for instance, is 'generally presumed to focus on operational risk management objectives, such as pedestrian decongestion, curtailing disorder and preventing terrorism' (Eisenhauer, Adair & Taylor, 2014, p. 377). Notwithstanding, an instrumental approach such as this can fail 'to appreciate that the management of public environments at a sports mega event requires more than accommodating patrons and securing venues. It also involves the protection of stakeholder interests within the spatial confines of a public spectacle'. This way 'security planning and delivery are not simply about managing crowds, dissuading hooliganism and so on. It is also very much an exercise in brand protection-both for the event owner and its sponsors' (Eisenhauer, Adair & Taylor, 2014, p. 377). As corporate interests are increasingly represented in sport mega events, as observed throughout chapter 3, the costs of protecting such interests also increase.

One of the volunteers interviewed, for example, reported during the interview that her

work was directly with the sponsors of the event. In the staterooms of the stadium there are the monitors ... most were Samsung and LG ... but one of the sponsors of FIFA and the World Cup is Sony. So, neither the Samsung brand nor the LG brand... or any other anywhere could appear... But not just competitors' brands, but any brand that was not a sponsor could not appear ...'. 'We spend these 18 days with the arms full of adhesive of all colours, gluing: "Ah, there's a fan there? Put an adhesive on to". We must have used about 500 rolls of tape. This was basically our task (Deusa, 24 July 2015).

Additionally, Baade and Matheson (2004) argue that ‘in the wake of terrorist incidents at the 1972 and 2000 Olympics, and on 11 September 2001 in the US’, sport mega events security arrangements started to ‘run into hundreds of millions of Dollars’ and that Greece broke the barrier of US\$ 1 billion (p. 345). Security expenditures have reached US\$ 1.5 billion in Greece and more than US\$ 6.5 billion in Beijing and US\$ 2 billion in London 2012 (Matheson, 2006, p. 12-13; Boyle & Haggerty, 2009; Houlihan & Giulianotti, 2012). Thus, security costs have been increasing *per se* but have also been an important vector of expansion of the general budgets of sport mega events. As seen in sub-chapter 3.2, security is a vector of the growing costs of sport mega events.

Security was also one of the main concerns for the 2014 FIFA World Cup organisers. Security-related issues may have climbed up the list of priorities after the June Journeys, which were explained in sub-chapter 4.1. Furthermore, due to the class division and the significant gap between them, almost every big city in Brazil has issues related to violence and security. The picture can be worse in certain capitals, especially in Rio de Janeiro, Recife, Sao Paulo, and Salvador. Rio de Janeiro has been a kind of experimental space for security matters, at least since preparations for the Pan American Games of 2007 (de La Barre, 2013). Additionally, although class division and issues related to poverty and misery are believed to be the main problems to be addressed in order to mitigate violence and security concerns within the biggest Brazilian cities, the 2014 World Cup decided to take a different approach. Most of the security expenditures in the context of 2014 World Cup have remained within the scope of training the security forces for the confrontation and the acquisition of lethal and non-lethal equipment (Mattos, 2014). Carlos Latuff, in his interview, for example, highlighted that ‘in Porto Alegre, during the World Cup matches ... [he] could see police repression...’, however no terrorist threat had been mentioned. He also added that, in his opinion, ‘...another result of these mega events is the training of police to suppress demonstrations contrary to the Games’ (Latuff, 16 July 2015), based on his experiences throughout the period of the preparation for the World Cup and the Olympics in Brazil. This testimony evidences the disengagement between the discourse used to promote security policies within sport mega events and the measures implemented in practice.

I myself, as a former resident of Porto Alegre, noticed modifications in the security conditions in the area of the Tronco Avenue construction during the research. I felt less secure during the fieldwork period than I would feel before, when visiting the area. For example, I was approached at least two times by drug dealers who offered me drugs. I also had to explain myself once to a man who presented himself as a resident of the street where I was collecting data. This man was surrounded by half a dozen young men, all apparently also curious about my presence there. And I chatted for a few minutes with one of the interviewees’ friends, who carried on his shin a device used to control the movement of detainees in the open regime. All of these situations happened in areas I was used to occasionally visiting due to having friends who lived in the area, many years ago. From my point of view, although drugs have been

sold in that region for as long as I can remember, the process is now more explicit and compelling. The trafficking was something done only in the shadows, with low voices, which were only noticeable when someone would accidentally bump into the people involved in a quiet corner. Now a 'street boss' feels entitled to interrogate passers-by, which was effectively my status in the area, as if he were an authority.

In this section of the data presentation and discussion, the relationship between the area of security and the perception of people from the region studied regarding the unfolding of such policies is explored. The different neighbourhoods comprised in the region have different social strata and thus different relationships to security authorities. Also, they perceive the way they are treated by such authorities differently. Question 3.1 is an example of this.

Table 4 - Results on Security

Question	Security	
	YES (%)	NO (%)
3.1 Sense of security	48	52
Rose	44	
Decreased	56	
3.2 Presence of policemen	51	49
Decreased	67	
Increased	23	
Do not know	7	
Only in games days	3	
3.3 Safeness in the presence of Policemen	51	49
More	62	
Less	24	
Do not know	14	
3.4 Threat to individual or collective security	11	89
3.5 Threat by the presence or action of the police	5	95
3.6 Dialogue between the community and the police	10	90

Question 3.1 ‘Has your sense of security changed in the period of the works of the World Cup?’ assesses the perceptions of the Tronco Avenue construction region’s residents regarding their sense of security. 48% of the respondents noticed changes in their sense of security during the period in which the works related to the 2014 World Cup took place. Again, it must be considered that specific areas of the region are well organised and shelter economically balanced families. Additionally, some of those areas had not yet experienced the effects of the works due to delays. Thus, even the sense of the 2014 World Cup’s presence was diminished, as will be seen in sub-chapter 6.7. On the other hand, the majority of the respondents that did sense changes in security considered that their sense of security had decreased throughout the period.

This information is important in the context of sport mega events studies as well in relation to the 2014 World Cup. As evidenced in table 1, spending on security at sport mega events has been growing both in absolute terms and within the budget of sport mega events. Brazil 2014 did not differ from this pattern. These results update and support prior studies into the consolidation of this tendency within sport mega events (Eick, 2011a, 2011b; Fussey, Coaffee, Armstrong & Hobbs, 2012; Giulianotti & Klauser, 2010), which was discussed in chapter 2. ‘War on terror’ initiatives, and the growing gap between elites and workers, within national borders as well as on a global scale, seem to have made security issues imperative for the organisation of any gathering of people in the contemporaneity (Giulianotti & Klauser, 2012; Graham, 2010; Harvey, 2005; 2007; 2014). Although, in line with the principles of neoliberalism, security can now be understood as a private matter, at least in terms of protecting and advancing private and market interests.

The vacuum left by the neoliberal state has opened space for the private security company (Avant, 2004; Lilly, 2000; Singer, P., 2008; Wirtz, 2004). As seen in table 1, significant shares of sport mega events’ budgets are devoted to security-related issues. Therefore, it would appear accurate to suppose that a share of these amounts ends up in the hands of private companies that operate security-related actions around sport mega events. However, the data presented suggests here that increasing security costs did not result in an improved level of satisfaction in relation to security in the region of the construction of Tronco Avenue. Also, there is no indication in the literature that this has been different in relation to any other area affected by development projects linked to sport mega events. On the other hand, the data supports the understanding that the discursive resources used by sport mega events’ owners, promoters, organisers, sponsors and broadcasters fails to explain the growing costs related to security within sport mega events.

According to such a discourse, which is the dominant discourse, security spending would prevent terrorism but also would leave a legacy behind. Such a legacy would allegedly assist in the task of increasing security levels in the host cities or countries after the event (Penglase, 2016; Fussey; Coaffee; Armstrong & Hobbs, 2012; Cornelissen, 2012; Donaghy, 2015; Ekberg & Strange, 2017; Giulianotti, 2011; Giulianotti & Klauser, 2012; Kennelly & Watt, 2011; Schausteck de Almeida & Graeff, 2016).

According to the data presented in this sub-chapter, this is not realistic in relation to the region impacted by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre. Further research may investigate more completely where the money spent on security for sport mega events goes.

Another important point is that some respondents to the survey also commented that they could feel that during the period in which matches were held in Porto Alegre there was an increase in the sense of security in the region but that immediately after the event there was a notable decrease. For the interviewees, the situation of the security area is problematic in the region of the Tronco Avenue construction. According to Anne, the World Cup did not help the condition to improve, as ‘nothing changed, nothing. Everything looks the same’, in relation to security (Anne, 20 January 2018). For Marcio, the situation is ‘worse and worse’. He gives an example of how the World Cup has contributed to the decrease in the sense of security in the region. He related that near his house, there is a

drugs traffic point, which is on Tronco Avenue. Since the works did not continue, what did the people related to the trafficking there do? They have isolated a corner, where they do trade. So, they put tyres, rocks, and construction debris and the police themselves do not pass. To pass, you must ask for a kind of license from the traffickers, for in the corner were left works debris, and an abandoned place...’ (Marcio, March 17, 2018).

Question 3.2 ‘Did the presence of policemen and/or private security guards change in the period of the works of the World Cup?’ aims to understand the perceptions of the residents of the Tronco Avenue region in relation to the concrete presence of security forces in the region. It is relevant to reinforce that between 2009, when the host cities of 2014 World Cup were chosen, and 2013, local resistance organisations to the 2014 World Cup had been developed and the National Articulation of Popular Committees of the World Cup and the Olympics (ANCOP) had already been created and had become an important actor (ANCOP, 2014; COMITEPOPULARRIO, 2011). The local Popular Committees and the ANCOP were of critical relevance to the protests that culminated with the June Journeys, where public demonstrations took place in Brazil between June and July 2013. The June Journeys started especially in large cities, Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte and Salvador, among others, with demonstrations that counted with thousands of people, as seen in sub-chapter 4.1. Later, the June Journeys took to the streets of medium and smaller-sized cities and also started to count on daily marches that came after hundreds of thousands of people in big cities and millions simultaneously in the country. Violence against protesters became commonplace and from then on police started to be seen by the general population as possible aggressors. Thus, such a complex background must be taken into consideration in the process of data analysis. Nevertheless, despite all the investment mentioned in table , only 51% of the respondents reported changes in the number of security officials on the streets of the region (or private security personnel). Considering the comments made by respondents, even in the case of those who considered that the presence of security guards increased (23%), it did not create an atmosphere of enhanced security for the community. Instead they felt watched.

More impressively, 67% of the respondents perceived a decrease in security agents in the region during the period. Most of the comments, even considering that for some time the presence of security agents could be more expressive in specific moments, reported a sense of abandoning after the Games.

For one of the interviewees, in relation to security, there was 'no evolution at all'. According to him, the general situation in relation to security in the region can be described this way:

sometimes a dead person appears, sometimes in the middle of the afternoon. People rushing, police, shooting, ambulance rescuing. It's been ten years since I moved in, it has not changed at all. Policing is always ostentatious, trying to solve the problems, trying to meet the urgencies, but in matters of improvement I saw nothing. The police are still missing ... now and then the national guard picks up ... but with rarity. Policing on the corners, for example, you can check during the day, the morning, the afternoon, night, you do not see any. In the streets and in the avenues, there is no policing, only the [police] car passes from time to time...' (Ariovaldo, 20 January 2018).

Question 3.3 'Did you feel more or less safe in the presence of Policemen and/or private security guards in the period of the works of the World Cup?' deals with the relationship between the security forces and the population from the Tronco Avenue construction area. As discussed previously, for part of the population, the presence of police can help to create a sense of security. The data presented shows that for those who felt that there was a change in their sense of security during the period of the works for the World Cup (51%), 62% felt more secure. In a sense, as had been the case during South Africa 2010 (Cottle, 2010), the event presented a highly securitised, semi-militarised setting. It was obviously an artificial and unsustainable situation, and potentially contributed to marking deeper social divisions (Giulianotti & Klauser, 2010). Nevertheless, for 24% of the respondents, the presence of the police or private security personnel created a sense of insecurity. In certain locations, it could happen more frequently as they were targeted by the works and officials from the municipality. Additionally, further research can investigate if the police themselves became involved with the reported process of pressing the dwellers out of the community.

Question 3.4 'Did you notice any threat to individual or collective security during the works related to the World Cup?' aims to explore potential threats to the residents of the region of the Tronco Avenue construction. Although only 11% of the respondents reported having noticed threats to individual or collective security during the works related to the World Cup, this percentage is still concerning. The common feeling of threat was related to the removals, but it was a minor issue in the context of this question because it was brought within more specific 'security' concerns in the group of questions. The most common narrative regarding possible or real threats accounted for lack of police presence on one hand and the consequent taking of locations by drug gangs, as mentioned earlier. On the other hand, the presence of police would also be regarded as a threat because in some cases it would mean that the compulsory expulsion was closer than far. Additionally, it was reported in interviews that many streets were abandoned in the middle of the works meaning that they remained dark and full of remains of construction, allegedly facilitating trafficking and crime. Respondents also reported feeling

threatened by police presence because police tend to treat all residents of the area as drug traffickers, indistinctly. For Otto, one of the interviewees, for example, the general condition brought about by the 2014 World Cup in relation to security changed the general perception regarding security in the areas where the works related to the event had already started. According to him, not only do people that live in the region now perceive it as more dangerous, but even people who do not live there hold the same view. For Otto, now ‘people are afraid to stop here [in the region of the Tronco Avenue construction], to park a car here ... because there have been robberies here, break-ins...’ (Otto, 20 January 2018).

Questions 3.5 ‘Did you feel threatened by the presence or action of the police and/or private security guards because of the works related to the World Cup?’ and 3.6 ‘Is there dialogue between the community and the police or private security?’ goals are assessing the type of connection the communities and residents from the region of the Tronco Avenue works have with the security forces. These questions were motivated by several reports of violence against the populations affected by the 2014 World Cup and people protesting the event and related actions, as examined in sub-chapter 4.1. Some issues can be related to this specific question. Firstly, respondents were very quick in answering the question related to police threat but were more hesitant to talk when answering other questions. It may indicate that they do not feel comfortable talking about such an issue with unknown people. Secondly, violence against the protesters from the region that organised a manifestation against the removals was mentioned during the survey. Even if it is almost only symbolic (one citation among only 5% of the residents), the issue of the protests being cited in this context is important. It may point to the fact that levels of democracy have been changed and that the right to expression has been curtailed by the police within the limits of the case studied. It is also relevant that comments reported that the police tended to treat all residents as criminals, as mentioned above. Although great investments were made in security around the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil, longer term problems were not addressed. The difficulties in relationships between the police and communities in general is one example. However, whatever the type of relationship that is expected of the police institution amid such great process of transformation of a city and even more so within a community that was affected by large and disruptive works, the indication that 90% of respondents do not see any kind of dialogue between the police and the community is at least disturbing. Additionally, comments made by respondents suggest a relationship based on repression and referred to as a ‘war’. This is certainly not the best indicator of a healthy relationship between a community and agents of security.

6.3.1 Sub-chapter discussion

According to the research performed here, the sense of security of those who were directly affected by the World Cup works in Porto Alegre decreased throughout the period in which the development project related to the event took place. The data presented show that 49% of the

respondents felt alterations related to security during the works of the World Cup and 56% of those believed that the change was for the worst. Thus, it can be said that despite the expenditure of more than £0,43bi (Brasil, 2014a), in the specific case of communities affected by World Cup related works in Porto Alegre, very little appears to have been done.

Mr. Otto's situation is illustrative. He has been waiting, since 2012, for a solution to his uncertainties. His house, as he reports, used to serve as a home for his family and he also had his business in the same building. However, the building was damaged by the works and he decided to take his family to a different place. Despite this, he kept his business open, which meant that he would come to the building where I interviewed him every day. One night, taking advantage of the fact that Mr. Otto and his family no longer inhabited the house, thieves took most of the belongings that were still in the house. His testimony was very emotional:

'I am waiting to be able to solve the housing issue and also my business problem. I lived here, my family ... but we left here because it is a situation of risk, of insecurity. There's been robbery, break-in ... [starts to cry] [they] steal everything we leave here, gadgets, everything. I have no more devices to work with. This began in 2012, when the works began. From that moment, the people here had no more peace, no peace. Violence has increased greatly. If you do a study here ... you will see that the violence has increased a lot in recent years. In the last four, five years, the rate of violence has increased enormously' (Otto, 20 January 2018).

Additionally, a strong sense of pretence could be perceived from the respondents in relation to security policies put in place in association with the 2014 World Cup. Many of the respondents would associate the presence of police only to days of fixtures, for example. The apparently total lack of dialogue between the police and the residents and the insistent repetition of situations in which the police treated residents as criminals are outcomes of the event-related development projects in Porto Alegre that are at least troubling. This is one of the most important findings of this section of the research. In terms of possible recommendations to policy makers and Games promoters/organisers, the approach to communities affected by works related to sport mega events, above all disadvantaged communities, should take into consideration that in such cases they are more like victims than perpetrators. Furthermore, security forces should be trained and managed to be part of a positive transition (of course other policy aspects should also be pointing towards such a direction) instead of being an oppressive force against such communities.

6.4 Health

Issues related to health in general were secondary in the context of the 2014 FIFA World Cup. However, they were present in stakeholders' discourses before the 2014 World Cup and also were an important part of the June Journeys protests (see chapter 4). Although the June Journeys were rather diffuse and not centralised public manifestations (Holston, 2014), 'we want FIFA standard schools and

hospitals' became one of the most repeated slogans of the demonstrations, as seen in sub-chapter 4.3. The Brazilian Government for instance listed actions related to health in its plans several times (Brasil, 2014a) but did not allocate or report allocating specific funding for the actions performed. This could mean that if the actions listed really happened, they were performed with regular ministerial budgeting. It is not a secret that the Brazilian public health system faces numerous challenges, one of which is funding. This is a consequence of the neoliberal policies, which were discussed more generally in chapters 1 and 2 of the thesis and in relation to education in this chapter (see 6.2). To avoid repetition, it is important to bear in mind that such policies tend to promote the cutting of resources from the so-called social areas, such as health, and to hand such areas over to the market and its logic (Harvey, 1989, 2005, 2005b, 2007, 2012).

Nevertheless, the Global Health Observatory (2013) pointed out the importance of fighting inequalities within health systems in order to tackle issues related to health in low- and middle-income countries. Marmot et. al. (2012) also provide relevant data on the issue and point out that a great opportunity to face the problems in the area would be brought by the World Conference on Social Determinants of Health, held in Brazil (Rio de Janeiro) 2011. Marten et. al. (2014) evidence the growing private sector operating in the health area and raises concerns regarding the low level of coverage in the country (25%) and the increase in practices such as co-payment in Brazil. However, the 2014 World Cup did not seize such opportunities nor helped the country to consider the event as part of a possible increase in the level of health coverage in the country. Therefore, it seems to indicate that, at least in this case, the arguments used by protesters and critics of the 2014 World Cup are solid.

For instance, Isabel correlates the overall problematic situations brought about by the World Cup works with the issue of access to health:

only [the health situation was] worsening. It worsened a lot because it made access worse for people here ... the hygiene issue ... because before [the works] people had a house, people took care of it. Now [the area] it's abandoned, ... [there are] holes, sewers in the open ... when it rains it floods everything, it invades the house of the residents here. People lost furniture ... with the works ... they [the people responsible for the works] left everything in half, then when it rains, it invades everything ... This [is the situation for], for the residents of the Village. And who does not live here? When it rains, the front of the medical centre turns into a pond. It is scary, I do not know how to explain, it is a Gaza Strip here. Whoever comes to the neighbourhood to go to the Medical Centre is disgusted by what they see. It is ridiculous (Isabel, 20 January 2018).

In front of Isabel's house, there is a large area of rubble and bush, where before there were houses. The residents of these houses were removed and the houses destroyed.

The data presented in this section focus on the relationship of people living in the region of the works related to the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre and the area of health. The set of questions was meant to capture the more general perception of residents regarding health in the region as well as to address more specific healthcare attributes, such as changes in the number of health facilities in the region.

Table 5 - Results on Health

Question	Health	
	YES (%)	NO (%)
4.1 Changes in the access to health	31	69
Improved	17	
Worsened	83	
4.2 Changes in the number of health facilities	13	87
Decreased	88	
Increased	12	
4.3 Disruption of health services	23	77
Consolidated	79	
Not consolidated	21	
4.4 Health care during the period of the works	38	62
Granted access	84	
Non-granted access	16	

Question 4.1 'Have you noticed any changes in the access to health services because of the works of the World Cup?' aims to assess the general perceptions of the residents of the region of the Tronco Avenue works regarding the situation of the health sector within the area. As reported earlier, at the time of the data collection, some areas in the region studied had not yet experienced the arrival of destruction/construction companies nor the development of construction sites. This is particularly reflected in the section of the research regarding health. For example, only one of the visited areas had issues with health centres closing or being moved away. Thus, the remaining areas would not perceive any relationship between the event and the health sector. However, those who would relate the World Cup to the changes happening in the health sector, would do it in the worst possible way. That is why 83% of those who noticed changes in the access to health services considered that such changes had a negative effect upon access to health in the region. This is clear from Sr. Ariovaldo's account of the sector of health within the period of the works related to the 2014 World Cup in that region of the city: 'also [there were] no changes ... the medical centre is there; the service as always is precarious. Too many people are looking for resources. The calls are always on the limit, [they] claim that there is a lack of medical doctors, lack of resources, medication. Ambulances are always busy. Complaints never stop. In this regard [health], I think it [the World Cup] was not worth it, there was no progress at all'... (Ariovaldo, 20 January 2018).

Question 4.2 'Did you notice any changes in the number of health facilities in the region due to the works of the World Cup?' evaluates the perceptions of the residents surveyed in relation to the existence of health facilities in the regions affected by the event. The number of health facilities in a certain region is the consequence of an enormous and inconstant set of variables. In Brazil, specifically, the access to such facilities is also part of a class struggle that can mean the difference between life and death. In such a manner that one of the main requests from groups that militate around health issues is the creation of health centres in communities so the access cannot be geographically determined. In the case of the region studied, many of these health centres were already built. They attend mostly to people from the region in a system that congregates 'low complexity' procedures. However, one of these centres is regional one and thus receives cases from different parts of the city.

In turn, only 13% of the respondents noticed any changes in the number of health facilities in the region studied. It is probably due to the fact that the centres are micro regionalised and thereby their disappearance/relocation only impacts directly upon the micro region. Of those 13%, 88% point out that the number decreased. It is probably due to a centre that ceased its activities, redirecting its patients to different centres in the proximities. Apparently, the closure was not related to the World Cup works. But the new regionalisation of the centres may have been at least part of the City Hall plan in order to force part of the community to move. Thus, it can be assumed that the decrease in basic services were part of the message sent: 'we are planning not having people living in this area, so there is no need to keep a health centre here'. Nonetheless, the works were years delayed and people were still living in the micro

region during the data collection period. Consequently, they are living in an area of low access to health care.

Question 4.3 ‘Was there the possibility of disruption of health services due to the works of the World Cup?’ explores the prospects of interferences between the event and the Tronco Avenue construction region and the provision of health services. The works that were taking place in the communities studied provoked several changes in people’s lives. In the case of access to health, besides the very existence or non-existence of health centres, their functioning is also of great importance for the communities. Decreasing days of operation as well as the shorter of hours that the centres would be running on certain days was the main complaint made by the respondents. But problems related to other areas also appear to have impacted the functioning of the health centres, such as the lack of water and/or power, which can be linked to the 2014 World Cup works. Additionally, one of the most disadvantaged communities in the region again felt the 2014 World Cup movements very harshly. That is why 79% of those who perceived threats of disruption of health services due to the works of the World Cup reported that they actually happened.

Question 4.4 ‘Did you need health care during the period of the works of the World Cup?’ targets the concrete demand for health care in the region of the works related to the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre. 16% of those who needed health care during the period in which the works took place could not have it granted by the Public Health System. It is necessary to acknowledge that the lack of beds as well as access to health exams and other health procedures is endemic to Brazil. This health inequality is one of the most dramatic aspects of the huge existing social gap. It would be difficult to precisely estimate how many of these cases could be related to the works being carried out in the area. Although, by the conditions present in the visits made at the time of the data collection and by the data presented previously regarding health services, it seems plausible to consider that at least the event did not contribute positively to the improvement of the issue in the communities affected. No new policies or actions have been reported associating the 2014 FIFA World Cup with the area of health during the data collection period.

6.4.1 Sub-chapter discussion

The data presented throughout the sub-chapter show that 83% of those who noticed changes in health access consider that the changes were for the worst. Disruption, delays, cancellations and problems related to closing service stations were reported. Hence it seems to be fair to appraise that the 2014 World Cup (a) did not plan accordingly for improvements in health, despite health being mentioned by organisers in their visions for the event; (b) did not allocate resources for additional actions required by the works carried on because of the tournament; (c) did not consider the impact of such a tournament (disruptions caused by the works, displacement of people, number of visitors etc.) in the area of health.

Thus, it is legitimate to say that general conditions of access to health decreased due to the 2014 FIFA World Cup in the area affected by Av. Tronco works in Porto Alegre.

Furthermore, it has been mentioned at the end of sub-chapter 6.2 (education) that the principles of global capitalism were certainly evident within sport mega events and the 2014 World Cup, considering also the sector of housing. Now, this chapter has further addressed issues related to security and health. The analysis of such areas points in the same direction. Additionally, apart from the fact that features of global capitalism and neoliberalism have manifested themselves in the context of the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre, another trend started to solidify. This trend is the tendency that data presented in this research has also occurred in opposition to the body of works identified with what has been referred to previously in this thesis as 'discursive resource'. This discussion will be resumed towards the end of the chapter taking into consideration the whole set of data presented. The next set of data to be presented and discussed in this chapter of the thesis concerns the public sphere performance.

6.5 Public sphere performance

This sub-chapter explores the perceptions of the residents of the Tronco Avenue construction area in relation to the performance of agents of the public spheres. This area was of special interest to Porto Alegre due to special characteristics of the city regarding public decision-making processes. Thus, Soares (2013) pointed out that 'megaprojects' could alter the production of urban space in Porto Alegre. The main reason for that would be the shift from participatory forms of management to a more corporate approach. Seoane and Taddei (2002) explained that Porto Alegre had bloomed a 'spring' of participatory policies in the context brought by the World Social Forum, from 2001 on.

Teivainen (2002) reported that several groups, among them the 'French journal *Le Monde Diplomatique* and the Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens (ATTAC)' (p. 623) gathered in the 1990's in order to organise an 'anti-Davos' event, referring to the World Economic Forum. After the electoral victories in the state of Rio Grande do Sul and its capital city, Porto Alegre, the Brazilian Workers Party could offer a very viable host-city in order for the event to take place in. Telles (2007) discussed how such elements helped to put Porto Alegre among some of the most advanced promoters of democratic policies.

Santos (1998) had pointed out that the 'Participatory Budget' was the centrepiece of such policies and that it challenged Brazil's 'long tradition of authoritarian politics' (p. 462). Thus, it was this elongated period of participatory and more direct democratic policies that megaprojects seemed to be threatening. The population of Porto Alegre is used to public discussion and the right to participate in decision making processes, especially in communities where no other type of power can be exercised. On the other hand, the 2014 World Cup would land 'in a spaceship'. The decision-making process took place in very distant places, the actors involved were not known by regular citizens of the city and even less by residents of

the areas impacted by the works related to it. Governance issues would obviously be raised, whether the 2014 World Cup was aware of it or not.

The general picture of the relationship between the 2014 World Cup and the public sphere in Porto Alegre was this. However, as evidenced in chapter 2, such an exemplification might be related to the typical change from managerialism to entrepreneurialism that cities have been going through in recent times. As pointed out earlier in the thesis, ‘neoconservatism’ and ‘appeal to market rationality and privatisation’ (Harvey, 1989, p. 5), are features of entrepreneurialism and have also manifested qualities of the performance of the public sphere during the Tronco Avenue construction. Regardless, although the 2014 WC has been reported in virtually all the media in Brazil, it seems conceivable to expect that those who would be directly affected by its actions should have been approached by public authorities. Depending on the legal-political structure of a certain nation and the organisation that the event would take in such conditions, this approach could have been the responsibility of a general government or a local government. In Brazil, however the funding was mostly federal, most of the initiatives in terms of works and construction were led by municipalities or state governments. In the case of the communities studied, the DEMHAB (Municipal Department of Housing) was the institution in charge.

Nevertheless, the respondents reported that the information regarding the works and consequent displacement of people was diffuse, unofficial and subject to speculation. The lack of direct contact between those responsible for the actions carried out in the region and those affected by them supposedly led to several situations in which partial or misguided information were spread. Such inaccurate information did not help the situation to be better understood by the communities. It can also be said that the lack of direct contact combined with the uncertainties brought by the conflict of information led the communities to a sense of mistrust and inclination to resist the 2014 World Cup and its actions in the region. These issues are reflected in the following questions and the correspondent responses.

For Marcio, the performance of politicians and officials related to the 2014 World Cup was based on the creation of propaganda and illusion. He described during his interview that in the period before the event agents of the governments made ‘a lot of propaganda’ saying ‘that the region was going to be an extremely valued region, that [the World Cup] was going to change the issue of the public highway, that incentives for improvement in the neighbourhood would be given’. According to him, ‘it was only in expectation’. ‘The moment’ the community lives in is one of ‘great frustration’. This frustration is due to ‘the things that’ they are ‘waiting for’, and because ‘half of them did not happen’. The feeling that the promises were just a form of making processes smoother is strong in Marcio’s testimony. He finalised his thoughts on the matter saying that for him ‘it was a fantasy World Cup. This is the feeling that stays ... A thing of illusion’ (Marcio, 17 March 2018).

Table 6 - Results on Public sphere performance

Question	Public sphere performance	
	YES (%)	NO (%)
5.1 Directly contact by governments representatives	8	92
Federal	9	
State	9	
Municipality	55	
DEMHAB	18	
Unidentified group	9	
5.2 Government officials approach to collectively discuss	88	12
Municipality	56	
DEMHAB	19	
Dwellers Association with the mayor	6	
Audio Car	6	
Councillor	6	
Justice Promoter	6	
5.3 community organisation or meetings	27	73
Amavtron (Dwellers Association)	22	
SAC (Dwellers Association)	13	
Casa do Gaucho (Dwellers Association)	4	
DEMHAB	39	
Church	4	
Participatory Budget	4	
QuilomboSopapo (NGO)	4	
Meeting	4	
Legislative and court public hearing	4	
5.4 Government consultation	4	96
5.5 Life change	59	41
Improved	42	
Decreased	58	
5.6 World Cup works worth it?	43	57

Question 5.1 ‘Were you or someone in your family contacted directly by a representative of governments, to address issues related to the works of the World Cup?’ aims at assessing direct contact between respondents and the 2014 World Cup or the governments involved with the event. Only 8% of the respondents reported have been contacted directly by representatives of governments in relation to issues linked to the works carried on by 2014 World Cup initiatives in the region. Of those, 68% reported that such contact would have been performed by the City Hall. This reinforces the perspective assumed by this research, when it took into consideration as a reference the City Hall plan for the area, thus defining the research universe and sample (see chapter 5). On the other hand, this can also be considered a representation of the distancing of different public actors from the ground level operations triggered by the event. As for the performance of these representatives of the event who had direct contact with the population, Mr. Otto’s opinion seems to be quite strong. According to him, it was ‘... lousy. All three [governments], [had a] very bad performance. There are none that can say they will solve your problem’ (Otto, 20 January 2018).

Question 5.2 ‘Have you been approached by government officials to collectively address the issues?’ aims to evaluate the communication between the promoters of the Tronco Avenue construction and the people affected by it, in collective terms. Judging by the discussion in the previous question, it could be expected that the strategy selected by the City Hall would be to invest in collective approaches. However, the data presented show that this was not the case either. Only 12% of the respondents reported have been approached by the municipality for any collective encounter. Additionally, it should be observed that (a) one of the meetings reported was with a Justice Promoter, which can indicate that the situation had already reached a point in which the dialogue between residents and the municipality was not considered the best solution; (b) one of the meetings reported was with a Councillor, and the Legislative was not directly involved in the 2014 World Cup actions, so it was not an initiative of the event or its representatives in any scale; (c) one of the meetings was organised by the Dwellers Association of one of the localities after several problems had already taken place in the community. Thus, although the percentage of respondents that recalled being approached by government officials collectively is superior to those who did it regarding individual approaches, 12% cannot be considered a positive result for this question.

Question 5.3 ‘Did you or someone in your family take part in any meeting or community organisation to claim the demands of your community due to the World Cup?’ targets the level of participation of residents in community organisation. It is important to note that the number of respondents who reported having participated in collective initiatives is more than double (27%) that of those who reported having been collectively sought to address issues relating to works of the 2014 World Cup in the region. After some time observing changes within the communities and getting inaccurate information, residents tried to organise in their associations. It happened in a scenario in which DEMHAB was already recognised as an important actor.

Despite having remembered and cited the organisations that they had been in contact with, for example the Dwellers Association, the respondents also associated the meetings with the Municipal Department. It is worth noting that the language used by the respondents during the survey and also the interviews suggests that this level of organisation was considered necessary due to the fear caused by inaccurate information and the absence of the public sphere initiative to communicate with the community. 'We had to', or 'then we had no alternative' were the words used to report the actions performed by the residents in the context of their associations. Also, the reports would include progress in talks, 'only then they showed us the plans', or clarity in dialogues, 'from the first meeting, we arranged a meeting with them every month'.

Thus, it can be considered that community organisation contributed to coordinate the collective actions in the context of the areas affected by the works of the 2014 World Cup and that such actions were far more effective than the initiatives that were led by government representatives.

Question 5.4 'Were you or your community, at any point, consulted by the government regarding the works of the World Cup and its consequences? If yes, who? When? For what?' aims to assess the feeling of participation of the respondents regarding the processes triggered by the 2014 World Cup. This question also aims at knowing whether the initiatives promoted by the organisers of the 2014 World Cup invested in any form of popular participation or consultation in terms of planning. In this regard, one of the most successful cases of sport mega events is often cited as the Olympic Games of Barcelona in 1992. And despite the urban changes and the city image transformation being the most remembered features of those Games, at least for sport mega events enthusiasts, according to Brunet (1995, 2002), IOC (2012b), Monclús (2003), Botella (1995), Calavita and Ferrer (2000), Brown (1992), Marshall (1996), Gold & Gold (2008) and Chalkley and Essex (1999) it was only possible due to an intense process that involved wide participation of the population and public entities.

But in the case of the 2014 World Cup these features were not so apparent. According to the previous questions, it could already be acknowledged that public institutions were relatively absent during the process involving the works related to the 2014 World Cup in the communities studied. In terms of the specific relationship between the works promoters and the population affected by them, the course of actions that could be expected, dialogue and popular participation, did not take place as well. 96% of the respondents reported not being consulted regarding the works in their communities. The feeling that seemed more common during the period of the data collection seems more attributable to the fact that there was no dialogue between the development project promoters and the residents. Many of them reported that their participation could have helped to avoid several problems that the works were facing.

Question 5.5 'Did the works of the World Cup change your life or the life of the community?' targets the perception of the impact the Tronco Avenue construction had on the lives of the residents. It seems to be feasible to imagine that such extensive and transformative works as the ones related to this research would impact in the communities in which they take place. What can be considered

surprising, considering the discourse around them, is that 58% of those who answered that the life in the community had changed due to the works believed that their lives worsened. It should also be taken into account that the research contacted those who had not left the community, who were potentially those who did not suffer the strongest impacts of the works. Regarding positive or negative changes on the lives of those involved, Mr. Ariovaldo explained that for the residents, he understands ‘that there was only the promise’. But that ‘in practice, the middlemen that took the big advantage ... the sponsors, those responsible for making things go further ... [for them] in that respect, it was even good (Ariovaldo, 20 January 2018).

Question 5.6 ‘Were the works of the World Cup worth it for your community?’ requested the respondents to judge the outcomes of the 2014 World Cup actions within the communities affected and to explain these views, on whether the community would be better off without being involved with the development project. 57% of the respondents considered that the works had not been worthwhile for the community in which they live. Considering that the works caused disruptions and changes in a wide range of aspects, it seems to be a relevant proportion of people from the communities affected. Moreover, it can also be indicative for governments and promoters of Games to take into account that specific actions may be required in order to mitigate the impact of sport mega events in already unassisted areas. Otherwise sport mega events would be reinforcing the criticism discussed in chapter 4 that has been hitherto addressed to it, which says that most of the works related to it tend to penalise poor socio-economical and geographical areas in the name of ‘progress’ (Rolnik, 2009). Often, progress that many times means gentrification and commercialisation.

6.5.1 Sub-chapter discussion

The first feature informed by this set of questions relates to information and direct contact. Figures such as 8% for direct individual contact and 12% for collective contact seem to be considerably low in terms of public sphere/public actors’ initiatives. The lack of direct communication efforts by public actors, and particularly by the City Hall, led the communities to be submitted to an environment of doubt and uncertainty. That is a probable reason why the residents organised themselves in their associations, but then in a more confrontational perspective. 27% of the respondents reported having taken part in such meetings.

On the one hand, this indicates that the popular organisation was considered the most appropriate tool for the struggle for information and, ultimately, for rights. On the other hand, promoters of sport mega events can take into consideration that initiatives performed in order to disseminate information, and that direct contact with residents of areas affected by works related to Games may be important instruments in the quest for balanced and healthy relations with such communities. Governments can also consider performing more democratic and participatory approaches to

communities affected by works related to sport mega events. In the case of this research, for example, 96% of the respondents considered have never been consulted regarding the works. The research suggests that allowing residents to take part in the decision-making processes, and in their unfoldings, can help to legitimate the initiatives and to foresee issues that only the residents could recognise.

For example, in different excerpts from the interviews and during the conversations I had during the survey realisation period, residents in the region pointed out that builders could have spared the community some problems if they had taken their tips into account. Such tips related to the functioning of the neighbourhoods, flow of vehicles, peak hours, presence of drug traffic, among other issues that became manifest throughout the research period and the results presented.

To continue works related to sport mega events without an adequate relationship between public actors/promoters of Games and populations affected by them can lead to results such as the ones produced by this research, where the majority of the respondents considered that the works associated with the event were not worth the investments made.

According to the results of this research, the World Cup did not only threaten the tradition of democratic and participatory policies in Porto Alegre, but even the very belief in electoral practices was tainted. Anne, for example, reported that after the performance of the politicians during the period of the 2014 World Cup and related projects, she had decided not to vote anymore. For her, the performance of the public sphere related to the 2014 World Cup was ‘terrible’.

They only showed up here ... to win an election or to say that they were ordering to build [buildings for people removed] because they were going to have the World Cup ... But that [was] a façade, they hide the ugly part and only show what is beautiful. Then things go to the city of the rich ... but the village they left [abandoned] ... when the elections start, they appear again ... I’ll tell you that, I’m 52, I never skipped voting. I do not vote anymore. I do not believe in anyone anymore... (Anne, 20 January 2018).

6.6 Employment/economy

Employment has long been an important issue related to Brazil’s development. Although always regarded for its productive power and abundant nature, Brazil has struggled throughout time in order to have better employability rates. Also, contradictorily, the country has been referred to as both having a strong level of development, as a BRIC country, and low levels of employability. The globalisation process and the rise of global capitalism played a relevant role on the sector, once it changed the working relationships within the country and also in relation to transnational operations (Cohn, 2012), as seen in chapter 1 of the thesis. According to the discussion in chapter 2, the change in urban administration from managerialism to entrepreneurialism likewise connects to employment shrinkage. According to that discussion, neoliberal practices within urban contexts led to widespread and structural ‘unemployment, fiscal austerity at both the national and local levels’, and ‘appeal to market rationality and privatisation’ (Harvey, 1989, p. 5). These trends tend to feed each other, and once sport mega events also went

contemporaneously through a process of commercialisation that can be recognised as neoliberal, it seems fair to say that there is contradiction between the civic and inclusive discourses of sport mega events owners, promoters, organisers, sponsors and broadcasters and the policies they promote (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Meier & Garcia, 2015; Maguire, 2011; Nauright, 2004). The results of this sub-chapter will assist on the task of assessing whether this contradiction is manifested within the 2014 World Cup or not.

The global financial crisis (2008) has also influenced the sector, once levels of employability had been rising and inequality had been falling in the first decade of the XXI century in Brazil (Lustig, Lopez-Calva & Ortiz-Juarez, 2013). The situation then worsened towards the end of the first decade of the century. Several authors identify that the accelerated march Brazil had developed at the beginning of the century can be understood as a form of new-developmentalism. It is also relatively well accepted that such a project has been ended towards the second government of President Dilma. The political and economic problems Brazil started to surface in 2013 suggest that that is the case (Nassif; Feijó & Araújo, 2014). Perhaps this is one of the reasons why governmental discourse placed such importance on reinforcing elements of the economy related to the event.

Thus, the promise of professional training was always present in 2014 World Cup organisers' discourse. The Brazilian Government, together with other organisations such as the Support Service for Micro and Small Enterprises (Sebrae), allegedly organised several courses in areas as tourism, health services and security (Portal Brasil, 2011; 2012; 2013). However, those who were affected directly by the works of the 2014 World Cup were not the primarily beneficiaries of such programs. Additionally, it is important to keep in mind that 'modernising' and training the workforce is one of the main arguments used by Games promoters in order to convince different actors to support bids of tournaments to be carried out by cities and countries. This discourse is often accompanied by the prediction of employment creation (Hiller, 2006). Moreover, if it is considered that this matter has not been meticulously studied (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006), the results that are going to be presented next appear to highlight the need for more specific and broader research on the theme at least. And until such a task is performed it seems fair to say that the promises made by sport mega events, including the 2014 World Cup, in the field of professional training and employability cannot be taken for granted as real or positive.

Economically, Brazil has also struggled throughout the last centuries. The 2014 World Cup organisers and promoters and the Brazilian central government used the event to circulate the idea that the event would assist the country in the mission of improving the economy. On the contrary, in relation to the area affected by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre, the event had the opposite effect, according to Marcio. For him, 'the works disrupted businesses in the region'. He cited a bar that 'used to be around the corner of his street'. With the works, the bar

had to be relocated further into the middle of the village. It continues to trade, but it was in a corner where everyone had to go. Now it is in the middle of the block and very close to where the drug traffic is. So, ... the circulation there has become much smaller ...' (Marcio, 17 March 2018).

For Marcio, this is just an example, and many others could be found in the region. However, in terms of positive outcomes related to the economy, no examples were given.

Table 7 - Results on Employment/economy

Question	Employment/economy	
	YES (%)	NO (%)
6.1 professional training	7	93
6.2 New jobs	10	90
Temporary	46	
Formal	25	
Informal	21	
Permanent	8	
6.3 Change in working conditions within the community	22	78
Decreased	57	
Increased	43	
6.4 Economy sectors changes	52	48
Construction	53	
Commerce	47	
6.5 Pricing changes	48	52
Same	17	
Increased	83	

Question 6.1 ‘Did you or someone in your community have access to any kind of professional training or professional course related to the World Cup? If yes, specify’ aims at establishing the level of access to professional training related to the 2014 World Cup within the communities affected by the event. 7% cannot be considered an insignificant result when discussing professional training within sport mega events. Because not every person going through such training would be employed directly after the training, it could be expected that the amount of people involved with the training would be greater. Also, several respondents commented that their opportunities were made available through NGOs. It is not clear whether the NGO’s were working with the event or not, however. This could mean that the opportunities created were not directly related to the event, but initiatives performed by different social actors in order to take advantage of the mobilising power the event can have.

Question 6.2 ‘Did you or someone in your community manage to find work due to the World Cup?’ assesses one of the most important economic themes in the context of sport mega events: job creation. Data on work and employment regarding sport mega events represents a very problematic issue within the field of studies, as seen previously. The area is one of the most important in sport mega events promoters’ discourse. The production of such data is problematic, first because many of the methodologies used in reports and research studies are imported from different areas and do not take into consideration specifics of the sport mega events field. One important concern is that some of these methodologies assume that different sectors of the economy, such as the construction sector, are not in motion before the events (Szymanski, 2002).

Thus, results can be misleading because they can consider a false zero movement prior to the event, increasing the events’ result perception mistakenly. In the case of Brazil 2014 World Cup, in which the estimates pointed between 95% and 97% of the funding of works related to the Games coming from public budgets (Konchinski, 2012), it can be even more tricky. In the case of Tronco Avenue residents, it is important to note that only 8% of the respondents reported that the jobs created were permanent, 46% reported having had access to temporary work, and 21% to informal jobs. This apparently reinforces criticism on the matter, once the sport mega events ‘carnival effect’ seems to operate grandly in this important area of cities and countries that host sport mega events’ economies. Anne, in her interview, corroborated the data presented, saying that ‘jobs, there were a lot while the works were on ... and the works functioned while the World Cup was going to happen ... The World Cup stopped, the works stopped. The World Cup was over, that was it’ (Anne, 20 January 2018). Liana agrees: ‘there were jobs only during the World Cup ... After the event, it came back to what it was before...’ (Liana, 20 January 2018).

Question 6.3 ‘Did you notice any kind of change in working conditions within the community due to the World Cup?’ assesses the impacts of the 2014 World Cup on working conditions in the communities impacted by the event in Porto Alegre. Regular businesses and workstations were not the most problematic issues regarding changes in working conditions within the region studied. The informal

economy, however, is one of the most impacted areas when sport mega events come to certain cities or countries, as seen in chapter 4 (Cottle, 2010; Gaffney, 2010; Hummel, 2018; Oxford Brookes University, 2010). It is also an important part of the culture of many geographical areas and means of subsistence. It is particularly important to notice that most of the areas modified for and by sport mega events are fragile in terms of official organisation, which means that they tend to rely on the informal economy. On the other hand, despite job creation and economic growth promises, 57% of the respondents who noticed changes in the working conditions consider that the World Cup worsened working conditions in the area studied. If it is considered that during the event, both in the stadium area and the FIFA Fan Fest area, informal commerce was heavily restricted, the opportunities for such kind of initiatives seem to have been limited by the 2014 World Cup. In certain cases, the event directly contributed even to the dismantling of local businesses. Isabel reported that before the event she and her husband had a 'business with seven workers formally regularised'. She had among them 'two attendants, a baker, a butcher, and a girl who cleaned ...'. Then most of their customers were removed from the area. 'Nowadays it is only me and my husband' (Isabel, 20 January 2018), she reported. For Mr. Otto, trading activities 'fell 60% in the region. People are afraid to stop [t]here, park a car [t]here ... because there has already been a robbery [t]here, break-ins. All small businesses [of the region] are going bankrupt after the World cup (Otto, 20 January 2018).

Question 6.4 'During the period of the works of the World Cup, has any sector of the economy (Construction, Trade, Services, etc.) changed more than others?' aims at learning about the perceptions of the residents of the area affected by the Tronco Avenue construction regarding sectors of the economy affected by the event. According to the discussion presented earlier (see table 1), construction is one of the areas that sport mega events stimulate the most. Services and commerce are also an important part of the rhetoric of sport mega events (Fussey et. al, 2012; Oxford Brookes University, 2010). It was clear for the respondents that these two broader areas, construction and commerce & services, were the ones impacted by the event in a more significant way. No surprises here. Perhaps more surprising is the fact that 48% of the respondents did not perceive any changes in any sectors of the economy due to the 2014 World Cup.

Question 6.5 'Did you notice any change in prices before, during or after the World Cup?' aims at assessing the direct impact of the economic changes during the period of the 2014 World Cup according to the perceptions of the respondents, based on their purchasing power. The promise of improvements in economy was ubiquitous in the Brazilian government discourse during the period in which the 2014 World Cup was news. Job creation and an increase in tourism would help to enhance Brazil's economic performance. It is natural to expect that the purchasing power of the population in general would be improved in such case. But what the results show instead is a great number of people reporting that prices worsened/increased throughout the period of the works. It is, to say the least, a challenging situation, given that (a) purchasing power is a rather practical way of measuring improvements

in general economy; and (b) products that can be considered pivotal in cascade effects, such as fuel and food, were among the most cited cases of price increasing in the observations made by the respondents.

6.6.1 Sub-chapter discussion

Although the areas of employment and economy were supposed to be positively impacted by the 2014 World Cup, according to the predictions of the consulting firm Ernst & Young and the Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV) in their study commissioned by the Ministry of Sport in 2010, such results could not be found within the research region. Thus, it is fair to say that the 2014 World Cup did not meet the expected performance in terms of improvements in economy and employment in the area affected by related works in Porto Alegre. Additionally, in terms of employment and professional training, the numbers were particularly worrying: only 7% of the respondents reported having access to training and only 10% reported access to work. But of those 10%, only 25% informed access to formal jobs (2.5% of the sample). Furthermore, another result that can be considered negative was the harmful approach the event had to the informal economy. Restrictions put in place might have affected workers from the whole city, while the working conditions in the Av. Tronco region were made worse, in addition to the fact that, according to 57% of the respondents that reported having noticed changes regarding the issue. Lastly, 83% of the respondents that reported having noticed a variance in prices considered that there was a general price increasing during the period of the works. This is an important piece of information because a) the relationship between the economy and the regular citizen is, many times, perceived through the purchasing power of the general population, and b) ultimately, any alleged improvement in the economy may have to reach such a point in order to be perceived by the general population. Thus, it can be said that the perception regarding the areas of economy and employment was negative in the context of the region of the Tronco Avenue, during the period the works related to the 2014 took place.

6.7 2014 FIFA World Cup

This set of questions was organised to capture the perceptions of the residents of the area affected by the construction of the Tronco Avenue regarding the 2014 World Cup itself. It draws upon the presence of FIFA, as the event's main promoter; upon the residents' perception of the relationship between their lives and the event; upon access of respondents to the single events related to the 2014 World Cup; upon the residents' perceptions on the relationship of the event to the city; and upon the residents' perception regarding the relationship the event had with the area of sport and leisure.

Research on sport mega events tends to focus on several different matters and it was not common to find references to the events themselves while going through the texts related to the perceptions of residents of host cities and countries read throughout the literature review. Thus, the decision to include a whole set of questions specifically related to the 2014 World Cup in the survey was based on the relative

lack of information regarding the perception of residents of areas impacted by the events in relation to the events themselves.

On the other hand, the 2014 World Cup was also interpreted as a catalyst for numerous developments related to lasting problems in Brazil (see chapter 3), and particularly for this research, in Porto Alegre. For example, Isabel reported in her interview that she had ‘lived [in the Tronco Avenue region] for 30 years’ and that ‘there has always been talk about this work [the Tronco Avenue construction]’. Additionally, she reported that with the ‘World Cup, came the promise that it would be a reality’. ‘We got a lot of expectation that this [the Tronco Avenue construction] would happen and things could improve for the people here’, she said. She also remembered that in that region, ‘... the conditions were always difficult to access’, she mentioned ‘sanitation problems...’, referring to the socioeconomic issues that have been a constant in the development of the region. Although, almost happily, she recalled that ‘in fact [when] the works started, [there were] many promises...’. But the works were not finished and the situation in the region deteriorated. According to her, one of the main issues regarding such a deterioration was the disinterest of the people related to the 2014 World Cup. She stated that ‘people were removed in a very disinterested way by the government - those responsible for the works’ (Isabel, 20 January 2018). Thus, when the survey was conducted, people had already gone through the preparatory period for the event and all the expectations created. In addition, they had also been through the period of the event and had been living with an open-air development project (the works) for years, which had not been completed and had not even been scheduled for completion.

Table 8 - Results on the 2014 FIFA World Cup

Question	2014 FIFA World Cup	
	YES (%)	NO (%)
7.1 Fifa presence in the works region	0	100
7.2 Was your community affected by the World Cup in any way?	35	65
7.3 World Cup direct consequences people's life	34	66
7.4 Attendance to stadium	14	86
7.5 Attendance to Fan Fest	30	70
7.6 Positive results to the city	46	54
7.7 Changes in sport and leisure offer	8	92
	Decreased	3
	Improved	0

Question 7.1 ‘Did any representative of the World Cup (FIFA Local Organising Committee (LOC), the Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF), or the Gaúcha Football Federation (FGF)) contact you or your community during the period in which the works related to the World Cup took place?’ was designed to assess the concrete involvement and presence of ‘sport representatives’ in the processes triggered by the event in Porto Alegre.

However, the content of this question can be subject to much debate. Do the sportive institutions have an obligation to accompany the initiatives countries and cities take in order to create the conditions for sport mega events to happen? Additionally, it should be added to this first reflection that in many cases works related to sport mega events are not necessary for sport mega events themselves but included within sport mega events planning by governments in order to capitalise upon the ‘catalytic power’ of such events. Or should they only take part in the selection of hosts and realisation of tournaments exclusively? If it is taken into account that ‘the transformation power of sport’ is central to sport mega events promoters’ discourse and that within vital RPSMEA areas such as employment/economy (mainly for Brazil and South Africa), human and workers’ rights (mainly for Brazil, South Arica and Qatar), and environment were the most problematic, then it seems that ‘Sport’ should be worrying about its role. If these examples continue to be so frequent, eventually ‘Sport’ is going to be related more often to them than to anything else. It is important to add that, at least for the last three decades, scandals involving match-fixing, use of illegal drugs, bribery and corruption have been so frequently related to ‘Sport’ that it would not be an exaggeration to say that the day in which ‘Sport’ will be considered beyond repair is closer than ever.

In his interview, for example, Andrew Jennings described how easy it was for him to identify the structure through which FIFA works:

...having spent a lot of time looking at organised crime, I knew much about organised crime and its structures... And I got this feeling ‘wait a minute, Blatter is running an organised crime syndicate... it ticks all the boxes, loyalty comes up and the income comes down in World Cup tickets and development grants’ (22 May 2016).

Also, by any standards, any development the size of the Tronco Avenue seems to deserve at least the occasional presence of all its stakeholders. In this case, FIFA could have prevented, for example, its image being involved in several issues that perhaps it does not believe are within its domains. However, according to the data collected, FIFA has never been to the Tronco Avenue works region. Perhaps it is worth pointing out that the Beira Rio Stadium, the Games venue in Porto Alegre, is within walking distance from the Tronco Avenue.

Questions 7.2 and 7.3 were ‘Were you or someone living in your home or in your community affected by the World Cup in any way?’ and ‘Did the World Cup have direct consequences for your life, or in the life of someone living in your home or in your community?’ The idea behind these questions was to explore respondents’ understanding of the relationship between the event and their lives. Although

the areas affected were looking like gigantic construction sites and sectors including education, health and basic services were severely altered, only 35% of the respondents considered that their lives were affected. This result can serve to discuss the intended impacts that promoters of Games tend to defend in their discourses and even the reach of such sport mega events, which have been considered almost universal within societies in which they take place.

It is also important to note that, when commenting on the matter, respondents to the survey that considered that the event had affected their lives would consider that these effects had been negative. Interviewees were more emphatic. They would relate the event to ‘losses of all types’ (Isabel, 20 January 2018). They would also relate the event to problems that were created in the community. For example, Marcio, reported that the works of the Tronco Avenue, and thus the 2014 World Cup, provoked a series of troubles for the communities of the region. He cited ‘a leak of water, [from] a hole that was made [by the works], that has been leaking water for almost half a year’ and that ‘they [residents] do not know whether it is sewage or potable water’ (Marcio, 17 March 2018).

Question 7.4 ‘Did you or someone who lives in your home watch any game of the World Cup at the stadium?’ aims to examine the access to the event by the residents of the area affected by the Tronco Avenue construction. 14% of respondents reporting they watched matches of the World Cup *in loco* can be considered important percentage of people if it is considered that the area studied is not wealthy. It can indicate that the program launched by the Brazilian government in 2014 that planned to give tickets for 50,000 schoolchildren may have worked (Portal Brasil, 2014). It also seems to point to the fact that despite all of the protests and problems relating to the 2014 World Cup, the event could draw the attention of the population in the area studied.

Additionally, it should also be considered that the area of the Tronco Avenue is fairly near the stadium, which can have facilitated the access. It also seems important, in the context of such results, to consider the importance that football (and especially the World Cup) has for people in certain places. In the case of Brazil, as it is widely known, football is particularly relevant. For Mr. Ariovaldo, this passion may even be at the core of the reasons people would think when responding whether the event was worth it or not (see question 5.6 in this chapter). He commented that the World Cup

was worth more for the one who is passionate about football because they had the opportunity to see great teams, like for example, Argentina played here at the Beira-Rio. The dream of many people was to see Messi. We only hear talk, he plays in Spain, in Europe. Practically, we had no chance to meet him in person (Ariovaldo, 20 January 2018).

Question 7.5 ‘Did you or someone in your family attend the ‘FAN FEST’?’ is related to the previous question. Taking part at the ‘Fan Fest’ is also a ‘direct’ form of participation. The FIFA Fan Fest is a promotion of the event. But it is likewise a marketing strategy designed by FIFA in order to create ‘unrivalled opportunities for associated affiliates to build brand relationships, communicate core values and be a major part of one of the standout memories of the tournament’ (FIFA, 2015a, n/p). It

can also be considered to be a cheaper option for local residents if contrasted to on site attendance of matches, as the Fan Fests are free to attend. This can be one of the reasons why twice as many respondents seem to have gone to these events than to the matches. Nevertheless, as 30% of the respondents reported having gone to such events, this can be considered a relatively important result and suggests that the policy worked.

Question 7.6 ‘Did the World Cup have any positive result for the city of Porto Alegre?’ provokes the respondents to think of the event in direct relation with its consequences to the city of Porto Alegre. Of the 2014 World Cup hosts, Porto Alegre was the city with the most projects removed from the list of intended World Cup Works (Zero Hora, 2014), due to a series of delays and also in order not to lose resources for the remaining works. Although the ploy gave the city the possibility of executing the work without considering the World Cup’s deadline, the population received the news as a sign that the event would not deliver the legacy that had been promised. The impact was even worsened once all the works removed from the list dealt with urban mobility. Works on basic sanitation and on the new subway, presented in 2009 (Zero Hora, 2009), were abandoned before construction even began. The general feeling in Porto Alegre at the time of the data collection was that the World Cup had brought ‘lots of mess’ to the city and that it had not fulfilled its part of the agreement. This seems to be reflected in the results of this question, once 54% of the respondents consider that the World Cup did not bring any positive results for the city. Additionally, it should be considered that, on the one hand, the respondents have a privileged point of view due to having the biggest World Cup-related works in their front yard. On the other hand, their judgement could have been influenced by the way the relations between the community and the authorities were established (see 6.1, 6.3 and 6.5).

The interviewees, when incited to think of the same question, were clear in support of the results of the survey. Mr. Arioaldo thinks that

for the city, in the case here of Porto Alegre, there was nothing [positive]. There are many works still unfinished today. Promises that were made before the World Cup and should have been fulfilled before the World Cup and it was not true, it did not happen. And I really do not know if these works are going to be finished or things will be like this [forever] (Arioaldo, 20 January 2018).

He completed his reflection saying that ‘overall, [he] did not see great progress’ (Arioaldo, 20 January 2018). For Anne, the event was ‘terrible’. She added that ‘It was beautiful, only had the media [around], they just said they were going to build, they treated people well because there were other countries here. They left, Porto Alegre was forgotten, completely forgotten’ (Anne, 20 January 2018).

Question 7.7 ‘Were there any changes in sport opportunities and leisure provision due to the World Cup?’ explores the possible relationship between the event and the area of sport and leisure. Improvements in sport and leisure provision were not prioritised in plans for the 2014 World Cup. Since the beginning, the focus of both promoters and the Brazilian government was economic development, tourism and urban mobility, together with image projection. Thus, it is not a surprise that 92% of the

respondents did not notice any improvements in the area of sport and leisure within their communities. The fact that one playground/square was closed during the works only reinforces this perspective. It also can raise a discussion about the role of sport mega events in the context of improving levels of sports, leisure and physical activity.

6.7.1 Sub-chapter discussion

The results presented in this sub-chapter point to a distancing between FIFA/the World Cup and those affected by the 2014 World Cup. The astounding zero positive responses to FIFA's presence in the area is a powerful indicator of this understanding. According to Luis Fernandes, his 'main challenge was to coordinate and integrate such a disparate variety of actors, because it involved 12 host cities, relations with state governments and municipalities, relations with different areas of the federal government, with different areas of state governments and different areas of city halls, with the Local Organising Committee and FIFA and with a group of private partners who had interface with the event'. This account perhaps demonstrates how far 'up' this sort of events go, and why it can be so difficult for them to have a 'ground' presence. However, the fact that 65% of respondents reported not recognising any events'-related effects or consequences in their lives is also indicative of how the respondents do not capture the length of the influence of such events clearly. Additionally, practically all the comments made in relation to the two questions about the relationship between the event and respondents' lives were negative. For example, Marcio stated in his interview that he believed that

it would be important to register the great excitement that we [residents of the region] had and the pride that the Cup would be in Brazil, that Porto Alegre would host games, movement of people from other countries ... [we]... will have a lot of quality of life and investment that will have a return ... [the developments related to the event] leaves us thus, in a way, as if we had been deceived. because everything is the same here ... unfinished works, promises ... So, to our neighbourhood, it continues as if we were waiting for the World Cup (Marcio, 17 March 2018).

Furthermore, despite all the criticism and practical issues in relation to the event, its appeal, according to the data produced, is still substantial. For example, attendance at matches and the FIFA Fan Fest was relatively high among respondents, 14 and 30%. Although the whole of the research seems to recommend that it would be naive, this specific set of data can suggest that the appeal of a World Cup or an Olympics could indeed be used to improve hosts' quality of life, due to its appeal and mobilising power. But then the final questions cast doubt on any positive thoughts that could have been raised from the previous two questions. In real terms, more than half of the respondents (54%) considered that the 2014 World Cup did not have any positive results for the city. And only 8% of the respondents could see any relationship between the event and the area of sport and leisure. Notwithstanding, the comments made during this question answering were predominantly negative.

Thus, apart from significant numbers regarding participation in the events' promotions, all the results related specifically to the 2014 World Cup were considered negative. For Ariovaldo, 'the promoters of the World Cup, the sponsors, were the greatest beneficiaries' (Ariovaldo, 20 January 2018). For Otto,

the World Cup ... in general, was not beneficial at all. It just got in the way of the people here [in the region of the Tronco Avenue construction]. They took out the residents and the small businesses. Everything is in a very critical situation. We have no right to anything, they say that we are entitled to those bonuses and social rent, but they are not paying right. They delay for 3, 4 months and the owners [of the houses people are living in] want to get the rent paid on the right day. So, they throw the people into the streets' (Otto, 20 January 2018).

6.8 Location of houses and property types

As mentioned in the introduction of the chapter, the use of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) allowed the crossing of all the variables contained in the research data set in order to detect possible relevant correlations. In the process, it was also considered as variables the location of houses in relation to the mega-event works, and the type of possession the interviewees had in relation to the properties they occupied. The houses were classified either as 'block 1' or in 'other blocks'. 'Block 1' houses were located in the first row of blocks in relation to the Tronco Avenue construction, and they were more likely to be in direct contact with the works. 'Other blocks' houses were not located in the first row of blocks, and they were not in direct contact with the works. However, as the geography of the area is relatively irregular, as reflected by the map the City Hall presented here, some houses in this category are farther away from the works than others. This sub-chapter addresses the results found with the use of such data analysis techniques. In the case of the house locations, the questions that appear in this sub-chapter are the ones in which the results presented at least 40% of difference between block 1 houses and houses of other blocks, in at least one of the components of the answers. In the case of the house property types, three categories were created in order to classify them according to respondent status: 'owner with documents', 'owner without documents' and 'renter'. The difference of 40% between answers in the different categories of property of houses was also used to select the cases presented in this sub-chapter.

The type of relationship between the houses and the residents/respondents has proved to be important information. It is worth noting that the research considered the peculiarities of the housing sector in Brazil. The first issue raised from that element is that houses can be owned in different ways. There is the regular ownership, which is consolidated by the possession of legal documents. In order to respect other forms of home ownership, I also established the category of 'ownership without documents'. A relevant number of houses in Brazil are owned by people that for one reason or another could not pursue the consolidation of ownership. Thus, they do not possess legal documents related to the ownership of the houses that they occupy, although it is socially accepted that the buildings actually belong to them. I also created the category of 'renters' so that people living in the area without having

ownership links to properties could be validly interviewed. Five questions of the survey showed particularly interesting results after the selection procedure, two related to housing and three related to security (table 10).

The location of the houses, either in direct contact with the works or in the more distant areas in relation to the works, proved to be relevant for this study. It seemed obvious that the residences in contact with the works would presumably feel more the direct consequences of that construction activity. But, additionally, the research also considered that other themes could emerge from the differentiation between the two areas, despite the perception that the effects of the works would be less harmful to those residences not in direct contact with the works. The initial motivation for the consideration of the whole area instead of only the area of the works was precisely the argument presented by Porto Alegre City Hall that the impact of the works would be felt by the whole area and not only the areas directly affected by the works. Thus, it seemed valid to test the City Hall's argument. Nevertheless, whilst the continued benefits or disadvantages of the works will only be known in the future, their immediate consequences according to the respondents' perceptions and to the differentiation between the area in direct contact with the works and more distant areas in relation to works presented interesting results. Hence, the correlations considered important for the research were related to housing, the public sphere performance and security (table 11).

6.8.1 Crossing results on houses location with sense of security, and community organisation or meetings results

Table 9 - Crossing results on houses location with sense of security, and community organisation or meetings results

Houses Location					
Question 1.1 Removal threat		Yes	No	Total	
Block 1		27	40	67	
Other blocks		15	52	67	
Total		42	94	134	
Question 3.1 Sense of security		Yes increased	No	Yes decreased	Total
Block 1		20	28	19	67
Other blocks		9	39	19	67
Total		29	67	38	134
Question 5.3 community organisation or meetings			Yes	No	Total
Block 1			27	40	67
Other blocks			9	58	67
Total			36	98	134

Question 1.1 presented valuable information in considering the differentiation between the areas. 40% of the respondents in the ‘block 1’ category reported feeling threatened by removal, while only 22% in other blocks felt this way. It is an indication that in addition to the material concerns brought about by the works to the community, and specially to people living in block 1, the menace of removal created an environment of uncertainty. Such perception was augmented for people living in block 1. The differentiation also contributes to a better understanding of the data presented previously in this research. Ignoring the differentiation between the areas, question 1.1 informed us that 31% of the respondents had answered positively to having felt threatened by removal. Once the information is more precise, it can suggest more specific actions, and perhaps cheaper and more easily implementable policies.

Question 3.1 had originally communicated that 56% of the respondents who had noticed changes in the sense of security in the period of the works (48%) considered that it had decreased. If the area’s differentiation is taken into account, then it is learned that only 21% of the respondents in the whole area actually considered that the sense of security increased. Perhaps because they were in direct contact with the works, 20 of the respondents in block 1 showed this understanding in comparison to only 9 from other blocks. In other blocks the changes in sense security were arguably less sensible. If ignored the responses that considered that the sense of security had not changed in the periods of the works, then

almost half of the respondents in block 1 would consider that it had decreased; and the number of respondents in other blocks that considered that it had decreased would be more than double the number of respondents that felt it had increased. This information contrasts very strongly with the argument presented by Porto Alegre City Hall that the works would improve the whole area.

40% of block 1 respondents reported having participated in community organisations or meetings in order to face the problems brought about by the 2014 World Cup related works. This figure contrasts with the 13% of respondents from other blocks that would accompany the ones in the former group. Question 5.3 had previously informed us that community organisations helped to mitigate the impact of the 2014 World Cup related works in the area. The results shown in table 9 can be taken to suggest that promoters and organisers may focus their attention in terms of communication, for example, in more directly affected residents.

6.8.2 Property types and attitudes to removal threat, other threats, living conditions, sense of security, and sense of safety in the presence of policemen

Table 10 - Property types and attitudes to removal threat, other threats, living conditions, sense of security, and safety in the presence of policemen

Property types					
Question 1.1 Removal threat	Yes	No	Total		
Owner with documents	8	41	49		
Owner without documents	30	40	70		
Renters	4	10	14		
Total	42	91	133		
Question 1.2 Other threats	Yes	No	Total		
Owner with documents	7	42	49		
Owner without documents	23	47	70		
Renters	2	12	14		
Total	32	101	133		
Question 1.7 Living conditions	Yes, improved	No, worsened	Same thing	Do not know	Total
Owner with documents	16	5	12	16	49
Owner without documents	12	9	29	20	70
Renters	3	2	3	6	14
Total	31	16	44	42	133
Question 3.1 Sense of security	Yes, improved	No	Yes, decreased	Total	
Owner with documents	17	26	6	49	
Owner without documents	8	33	29	70	
Renters	4	7	3	14	
Total	29	66	38	133	
Question 3.3 Safeness in the presence of Policemen	Yes, more safe	No	Yes, less safe	Do not know	Total
Owner with documents	22	21	5	1	49
Owner without documents	23	32	8	7	70
Renters	4	7	2	1	14
Total	49	60	15	9	133

The removal threat was present for approximately 13% of the responses from households with document holders. This percentage is not comparable to the 42% of non-document holders who reported feeling threatened by removal. Even renters reported a high level of insecurity in relation to the issue, 28% felt threatened by removal. Nonetheless, as discussed previously (sub-chapter 6.1), in addition to the removal threat itself, there is evidence to suggest that people facing it might be inadequately treated in the context of sport mega events.

Hence, the data suggest that an order of priority can be recommended in terms of regularisation of housing conditions, if sport mega events are to fulfil promises of social justice as the 2014 World Cup was meant to do. In relation to other threats, 14% of document holders reported having felt it. Non-document holders, in turn, felt it more noticeably, 32% of them have reported having concerns in regard to the issues. These results reinforce the perspective presented in relation to the previous question. Concerning living conditions, if 'do not know' answers are excluded, 48% of document holders considered that they had improved at the time of the data collection. The number of non-document holders sharing the same opinion is exactly half of that: 24%. Although this specific question is yet to be better explored in the future (when the works are finished), the dominant tendency within this research regarding living conditions is that, despite the changes provoked by the works, it is too soon to assess alterations in longer lasting living conditions.

The questions in the context of security presented some interesting results when the different types of residence ownerships were considered. If the respondents that have not perceived alterations in regard to sense of security are excluded, 26% of document holders reported a decreasing sense of security, while 78% of non-document holders had the same perception. In relation to the perception of safeness, again excluding the responses that considered there have been no changes, 18% of document holders felt less safe in the presence of policemen, whilst 25% of non-document holders stated the same perception. These results reinforce the perspective presented previously regarding security (sub-chapter 6.3). The security policies linked to the 2014 World Cup seem to have contributed to a negative perception by the residents of the area affected by the event in Porto Alegre, with a decreasing sense of security and with the perception of a decreased number of police officers around (questions 3.1 and 3.2).

6.9 Chapter conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to engage with the third research question of the thesis: how do people who are directly affected by sport mega event development projects perceive such events? For this to be done, I conducted fieldwork, a survey with 134 residents of the area affected by the works of the Tronco Avenue construction (the main development project related to the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre), and interviews with seven of these residents and other people and groups involved with the 2014 World Cup. Throughout the presentation of the results of this fieldwork, I have also inserted elements from the initial parts of the

thesis, which relate to the theoretical foundations of the research. The results from the fieldwork were considered overall to be negative according to the perceptions of the residents of the region impacted in relation to the areas analysed and collated with the 2014 World Cup. The areas analysed were housing, education, security, health, the public sphere performance, economy/employment, and the 2014 World Cup itself.

I would like to point out two elements that emerged from this chapter with relative strength. First, I would like to highlight the tendency towards negative perceptions manifest by the residents surveyed and interviewed. Second, I would like to underline the constitution of links between the areas analysed and the theoretical considerations made in the first part of the thesis, especially in reference to the influence of global capitalism and neoliberalism in relation to the areas studied.

For instance, as seen in sub-chapter 6.1, threats, misinformation, lack of public debate, and disconnected, disjointed and ineffective policies were the main factors leading to negative results in relation to housing. However, the general conditions in which housing issues developed within the region affected by the Tronco Avenue construction can also be seen as interconnected with features of global capitalism, neoliberalism and entrepreneurialism, specifically 'market rationality and privatization' (Harvey, 1989, p. 5). Thus, it seems fair to advance the argument I had made throughout the first two parts of the thesis, and say that features of entrepreneurialism, understood as part of the broader body of global capitalism and neoliberalism, were determinant in the context of the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre, and possibly in relation to the 2014 World Cup and sport mega events in general.

Areas such as education and health, although not central for sport mega events owners, promoters, organisers, sponsors and broadcasters also proved to be important to establish links between global capitalism and sport mega events. Education and health were considered areas that performed badly within the region studied and during the period in which the 2014 World Cup development projects had influence in the area. But this can also be seen as a consequence of the market logic and privatisation. Moreover, the results of the areas of education and health can be also seen as a reflection of the general conditions of the relationship between Global North and Global South actors, or as I presented the matter in Part I of the thesis. That is, in such a case, transnational actors located and dominated by people from the Global North orientate (or force) governments of the Global South to cut off resources from the so-called social areas, including education and health, and to hand such areas over to the market and its logic (Harvey, 1989, 2005, 2005b, 2007, 2012). This would not be possible without the assistance of elites located in the Global South, as discussed in chapter 2.

Results in security perceptions contributed to the overall understanding that global capitalism and neoliberalism have close links with the development of sport mega events as well. First, the results on security were mostly negative, indicating the lack of consequence of the discourse that accompanies such events in relation to security. Second, the results were important to permit the visualisation of the operation of one of the most essential principles of neoliberalism, which is the State's abandonment of certain areas. Thus, in the

case of security, the data presented contributed to the visualisation that the emptiness left by the neoliberal state opens space for the private security sector (Avant, 2004; Lilly, 2000; Singer, P., 2008; Wirtz, 2004). I will take the opportunity to develop this issue in the conclusions.

Before finishing this chapter, however, I would like to rapidly address the results of sub-chapter 6.8. In chapter 3 of the thesis, I addressed the characterisation of sport mega events, commenting that Müller (2015a) had proposed a new categorisation in which he includes a new order of events, the Giga event. In the introduction of the thesis, I also mentioned that the constant drive that sport mega events present towards growth, in every dimension, can be considered threatening to the very existence of these events. Issues related to such a drive are referred to as gigantism in the specialised academic literature. The results displayed in sub-chapter 6.8 suggest that at least in part, issues related to gigantism could be mitigated if sport mega events' owners, promoters, organisers, sponsors and broadcasters could restrain their disposition to making such events seem more impactful than they already are. Such a disposition, as the data set presented through sub-chapter 6.8 shows, ends up influencing bids and proposals and reflecting on public policies. But because the reach of such policies is tainted by the disposition to make the events seem more and more impactful, such policies turn out to be more expensive and complicated than they could be.

Additionally, the results related to security and housing also suggest that security and housing policies associated with sport mega events could be improved with a shift of focus. The difference in the sense of security and in relation to the living conditions, if considered the type of property the residents have to their homes, was tremendous. The results, then, suggest that policies focused more particularly on (a) those with less stable legal conditions in relation to their homes and (b) on those more directly affected by changes provoked by development projects linked to sport mega events can be a form of avoiding costs that may make projects unfeasible, as the case of the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre shows. In support of that understanding, it is important to note that the works related to the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre, and especially those related to the Tronco Avenue construction, remain unfinished to date.

Part IV

Part IV presents the conclusions of the thesis. Throughout the development of the text, I attempt to make interrelations between the various topics addressed and, above all, to highlight how the results of my research can contribute to the advancement of the field of studies.

The fourth part of the thesis is composed of one chapter, the conclusions. The conclusions are, in turn, divided into six sub-chapters: 7.1 The role of the ontological and epistemological premises in the thesis; 7.2 Sport mega events; 7.3 Global capitalism and sport mega events; 7.4 Concluding analysis on the perceptions of residents of areas affected by works of the 2014 World Cup in the city of Porto Alegre; 7.5 Recommendations; and 7.6 Limitations of the research and implications for future research.

7. Conclusions

The argument that I have developed throughout the thesis addressed three major areas: the relationship between global capitalism and sport mega events, a more specific look at sport mega events and the 2014 World Cup (macro dimension), and the perceptions of residents of areas affected by works related to the 2014 World Cup in the city of Porto Alegre (micro dimension).

The discussion I develop in this chapter revisits these issues, but in a more synthesised way. Thus, this chapter brings together the various discussions that composed the different chapters of this thesis in order to gather the most fundamental issues, to engage with the thesis' objective: to develop a political economy of sport mega events that contemplates the impact that such events have on the everyday lives of people directly affected by development projects linked to these events.

However, initially, I would like to argue that in analysing the wider features of political economy and its relationships with sport mega events, and integrating them into a coherent narrative, the connections between global capitalism and sports mega events were made clear. Thus, in looking at the two dimensions - global capitalism-sport mega events and the perceptions of the residents affected by such events – in a combined way, the study has revealed that such events follow neoliberal tendencies, tend to be profitable for the elites and harmful to those who are directly affected by projects of events. In the following pages, I appropriate the results of the research to discuss the conclusions of the thesis.

The way I organised the research in the context of this thesis divided the task of building a political economy of mega events and the 2014 World Cup with special attention to those who were directly affected by the 2014 World Cup into three research questions. The first research question concerns the most comprehensive elements of the society in which we live and their relationships to sport mega events: what are the links between global capitalism and sport mega events? The second research question is related to the knowledge historically accumulated in the field of research focused specifically on sport mega events. For the research to engage with such a field, it was asked: in what ways can the knowledge produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup? Finally, for such a political economy to contemplate the perspectives of those who were directly affected by sport mega events, the following research question was designed: how do people who are directly affected by sport mega event development projects perceive such events?

To combine aspects from the two dimensions (macro and micro) of the research in the construction of a political economy of sport mega events and the 2014 World Cup, this chapter will initially present a reflection on the discussions made from the literature (chapters 3 and 4) on the topic of sport mega events (7.2). As shown in Chapter 5, this was the initial route of this research, first approaching the theme of sport mega events, and then looking for the progress of the research from the study of broader aspects, the relationship with global capitalism, and from more specific features, the perceptions of those who are directly affected by such events.

Next (7.3), I engage with the considerations made in chapter 2 of the thesis, specifically looking at the links between global capitalism and sport mega events. Subsequently, I present the concluding analysis on the perceptions of residents of areas affected by works of the 2014 World Cup in the city of Porto Alegre (7.4). The structure of the text in that sub-chapter follows the organisation of the survey performed in this research, thus displaying the following subjects in sequence: housing, education, security, health, public sphere performance, employment/economy, and 2014 World Cup.

The chapter then presents the recommendations of the thesis (7.5). The recommendations address populations of countries and cities that may host sport mega events and communities that can be affected by works related to such events or that were affected in recent editions of such events. However, the recommendations can also serve as a guide to those who choose to act in a way that does not impose unnecessary suffering on local populations and communities affected by works related to sport mega events.

The recommendations are sub-divided into recommendations for the host selection phase (7.5.1), recommendations for the preparation for the Games phase (7.5.2), recommendations for the realisation of the Games phase (7.5.3), recommendations for the post-Games period (7.5.4), and an agenda for the dialogue between those affected by sport mega events and organisers of sport mega events (7.5.5). Finally, the chapter displays the limitations of the research and implications for future research (7.6). This sub-chapter is sub-divided in limitations of the research (7.6.1) and implications for future research (7.6.2). However, I believe it is important to reaffirm the importance of the ontological and epistemological positions upon which the advancement of the thesis is based (7.1) before developing the conclusions further.

7.1 The role of the ontological and epistemological premises in the thesis

This sub-chapter demonstrates how the ontological and epistemological premises of the thesis supported the development of the research. For example, totality, historicity and contradiction, the ontological categories that supported the research, guided the approach used in the analysis of the phenomena studied.

Totality is a category that fosters ‘... the perception of social reality as an organic whole, structured, in which an element cannot be understood, an aspect, a dimension, if it loses its link with the whole’ (Lowy, 1998, p.16). In this way, a given social phenomenon can only be understood if its links to other social phenomena are studied and known. In line with this approach, I decided to study the relationships between sport mega events and the broader context of global capitalism (chapter 2), seeking to understand the interrelations between the two spheres, to understand sport mega events in their totalities. This would not be possible, in the context of the theoretical orientation selected, historical and dialectical materialism, without such spheres being historicised, which led me to search for elements related to the

historical construction of the phenomena covered. Subsequently, such efforts would have no effect if the contradictions present in the social construction of such phenomena were not identified and explained. The category of contradiction is expressed in the constant struggle between opposites, the dynamics of which allow the production of new syntheses (Cheptulin, 1985). That is why I presented, for example, different points of view in relation to the factors related to the explanations given in reference to sport mega events (chapter 3).

As my analysis progressed, I also considered, at each step of the research, the epistemological facets of the production of knowledge within the framework of historical and dialectical materialism. Thus, as I conducted the analyses, I considered the diagnostic, judicative, and teleological dimensions of the research (Berker, 2013; Castree, 1995; Coletivo de Autores, 1992; Souza, 1987; Thomas, 2006).

The diagnostic perspective is linked to data collection techniques and it is understood that supported by it, a given academic work should produce a body of information capable of allowing the consideration of the various possibilities available to the understanding of a given phenomenon. Hence, the diagnostic dimension of the research is specially interwoven with the previous presented ontological categories of totality, historicity and contradiction. The diagnostic dimension operationalises the ontological category of totality guiding the researcher through broad searches within a given field of studies. And the diagnostic dimension of the research could also guide this research to seek a supply of information comprehensive enough to advance the subsequent considerations taking into account the possibly contradictory nature of such probable dissimilar pieces of knowledge. The judicative dimension supported those choices concerning theoretical analyses. For example, when I analysed the global capitalism and its relations to sport mega events (chapter 2), the judicative dimension operated through my subsequent choices. Therefore, I decided to advance to the analysis of the development of sport mega events (2.2 onwards), adjudicating that that was an important contribution to the development of a political economy of the 2014 World Cup grounded in political-academic principles upon which I base my research practices.

The judicative dimension also manifested itself in my fieldwork research choices. I could have studied how to promote greater profits for the companies involved in sport mega events. However, as discussed earlier (chapter 5), class contours are a decisive factor in the judicative dimension of research. So, I decided to study the impact of the 2014 World Cup on communities affected by works related to the event, the other side of the equation. In choosing the 'impacted' side, I also chose the direction to which my recommendations would point, the teleological dimension of this research. They will aim to support the reduction of the negative impacts of sport mega events on communities affected by them. The chapter centred on the recommendations will make such reflections explicit.

Thus, without exposing the reader to repetitive statements on how the ontological and epistemological premises of the thesis served to support the development of the research, I would just like to indicate that this was the intention at every step of the research. The next sub-chapters are

developed from this logic. The discussion that will be presented below was based on the ontological categories of totality, historicity and contradiction. That is, in seeking to know more about global capitalism and its influences on sport mega events, I sought to locate such phenomena in their totalities (see 5.1). For this, I historicised them, for example by trying to point out the most fundamental contradictions. Sport mega events are international events, so their backdrop is global capitalism, as can be seen throughout the discussions made in chapters 2 and 3.

When organising the presentation of the research, from the ontological categories, I considered also the diagnostic, judicative, and teleological epistemological dimensions. Therefore, chapters 1 and 2 of the research present a detailed review of the literature trying to find a diagnosis of the relationships between global capitalism and sport mega events. In addition, the sport mega events themselves are also presented and the field of research that involves them is evaluated from a diagnosis. From then on, the judicative category operates through the decisions I made, as previously explained, especially in relation to the fieldwork research. The consequence of the application of the ontological and epistemological categories in this research is that the recommendations point to a teleology of the sport mega events that imagines them as events that do not penalise the less favoured populations of the countries where they land.

7.2 Sport mega events

I started the thesis by saying that sport in general and sport mega events in particular have had a growing importance in the wider social context (Bourdieu, 1990b; Brohm, 1978; Dunning, 2010; Elias & Dunning 1985; Guttman 1978; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Parker, 1976; Stigger, 2002; 2005). Just as I also said that football was in a privileged position in such a context (Giulianotti, 2002). One of the spheres that make up this 'wider social context' is global capitalism. For this I located the discussion of the aspects of the sport mega events studied in this thesis in what I called the macro dimension of the research.

Thus, I located the football World Cup as a relevant social phenomenon to be studied. To know more about phenomena such as the football World Cup and other sport mega events, and to fit such a study within the objective of this thesis, I have defined the following research question: in what ways can the knowledge produced on sport mega events contribute to the development of a political economy of the FIFA 2014 World Cup? Correspondingly, to advance my concluding analysis on this particular phenomenon, I will return to three debates that I made throughout the thesis.

Firstly, I consider what constitutes a sport mega event and what are their main attractions for cities and countries. Secondly, I consider how knowledge about sport mega events is produced. Finally, I reflect on the characteristics presented by sport mega events in the current period, when they have been often awarded to cities and countries outside the Global North.

Sport mega events are understood in the scientific literature as events that are big in composition, discontinuous, international, out of the ordinary, with dramatic characteristics and remarkable popular appeal (Baade, 2009; Barclay, 2009; Horne, 2015; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Roche, 1994; 2000). This definition seems to reflect the degree of development of the field of study of sport mega events, which began to have its first specific studies more systematically published only within the last 30 years. More recently, attempts specifically identified with the task of defining and classifying sport mega events have been made, such as the formulation of Müller (2015a). In his article, Müller suggests a new approach in which clear aspects are considered to differentiate in the classification of events and even a new order of events is contemplated - giga events. Such efforts have been important to improve the understanding of the sport mega events. However, other features, beyond a watertight definition, are also important to advance the appreciation of such events.

As expressed in chapter 3, sport mega events are events held at predetermined time intervals in order to promote international sports competitions. They are the principal, if not the only source of income of the institutions that organise them. And most recently they have been disputed by cities that engage in a narrative that involves the belief that, through such events, cities can choose the image they will be projecting on the world stage, achieve economic outcomes and bring about legacies after the event.

The rhetoric that lends sport mega events such a high social relevance in the context of cities and countries competing to host them is identified in the academic literature as being produced from booster coalitions (Black, 2007; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). According to my considerations in the literature review, it is appropriate to refer to these groups, the booster coalitions, as part of the sport bourgeoisie as well. This is because the actors that form such an alliance all less or more importantly control the means of production.

Sports institutions have the legal and symbolic right to promote, organise and outsource the sport mega events. The corporate sector holds material and logistical resources to facilitate the hosting of the events. And governments control the financial resources to fund them. All actions described here derive from the dominance over means of production exercised by actors coming from these three fields, ISOs, commercial companies, and governments.

It is also important to reflect on the flexible composition of such a group, the bourgeoisie of sport. Although ISOs are consolidated actors, at the core of this grouping, companies and governments can establish less durable relationships. In the case of sport mega events, for example, governments will only be interested in editions organised or to be organised within their limits, whether national or municipal. Companies can develop long-term relationships with sport mega events, as is the case of some of the main sponsors of the Olympic Games and the World Cup.

However, there is room for sponsorships of individual editions of Games, thus creating more temporary alliances. The reason I said 'from' sport bourgeoisie and not 'by' the sport bourgeoisie

previously is because the sport bourgeoisie does not manage the huge machinery of sport mega events alone. It relies on several other sectors of the society to perform such a task. For example, this accessory force with which the sport bourgeoisie operates in relation to sport mega events is composed by part of the media and the ‘small industry’ of academics dedicated to spreading the idea that hosting events may be beneficial to cities and countries.

Moreover, sport mega events are administered by companies that are often referred to as International Sports Organisations (ISOs) and that operate, in the case of sport mega events, as franchise owners to such events. The existence of these organisations has been marked by problems, such as charges of corruption and lack of democracy and representativeness (Jennings, 1996; 2006; Samson & Jennings, 1992; Silvestre, 2009).

As stated in chapter 3, another key factor in understanding sport mega events is the corporate sector. According to Maguire (2011) and Nauright (2004), along with the ISOs and the media, companies are an essential factor for international sport’s operation, as well as for the operation of sport mega events. Without them, one of the main economic bases of sport and sport mega events is not supported: the agreements around ‘sponsorship rights, exclusive broadcasting rights and merchandising’ (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006, p.95).

Such trade agreements benefit sport mega events franchise owners because through them sport mega events franchise owners receive resources from companies willing to associate their brands with the events, so that they sponsor the events. Also, franchise owners benefit from companies wanting to associate the brand of the events with their products. Such companies pay significant amounts of money to add the brand of a certain event or of one of their editions to their products, practising merchandising. Due to the advanced state of commodification of sport in general and sport mega events in particular, it can be said that the role of the corporate sector has been increased in the context of sport mega events (Eisenhauer, Adair & Taylor, 2014; Meier & Garcia, 2015).

In the search for elements that could help me to historicise the development of sport mega events, I took a step back to try to see the movement of sport mega events in relation to their geopolitical allocation tendency. This led me to the statement that a renewed policy of sport mega events allocation (RPSMEA) is under way, at least in the period between the 2004 Athens Olympics and the Qatar Football World Cup 2022. It is the first time in history that these sport mega events have taken a systematic ‘tour’ outside the Global North. The analysis of factors more specific to the development of the socio-economic aspects of the sport mega events in the context of this RPSMEA revealed that such a policy has led to increasing costs of staging sport mega events, growing externalisation of the Games increasing costs to host governments, an increase in the revenue of sport mega events franchise owners, and benefits for sport mega events partners of specific areas, such as construction and security in particular (see table 1).

The issue of security has been increasingly important in the context of sport mega events. Although security has been a growing factor in the increasing budgets for sport mega events, the sector has also had significant importance during the RPSMEA because it has defined policies in the sphere of the relationship of sport mega events to local populations, specifically those affected by works related to the events and those who oppose sport mega events.

Notwithstanding, the security initiatives' rationale and discourse accompanying sport mega events are linked to the fight against terrorism and threats that are external to the hosts of sport mega events. But, in practice, the development of security actions linked to sport mega events have been marked by an undeniable preoccupation with control, and I would say the oppression, of local populations (Baade & Matheson, 2004; Eisenhower, Adair & Taylor, 2014; Giulianotti & Klauser, 2012; Houlihan & Giulianotti, 2012; Schausteck de Almeida & Graeff, 2016).

The civil construction sector is perhaps one of the areas that most requires greater academic attention in the field of sport mega events. As stated in chapter 2, during this RPSMEA, the lack of infrastructure, paradoxically, became one of the determining factors for the success of applications of potential hosts for sport mega events.

This paradox is linked to symbolic and economical advantages FIFA and the IOC can have due to the increased number of development projects that can be associated with their events and, consequently, to them. Furthermore, this process seems to have been acceleratedly incorporated into the core of sport mega events policies due to the ability to convince that the arguments linked to the logic of potential legacies have. Additionally, as seen in chapter 2, this process is also benefiting construction companies. Moreover, such arguments have been successfully applied in order to influence voters and public opinion in issues related to sport mega events.

Consequently, according to the discussion presented in chapter 3, continuing evidence that construction companies have taken part in cases of corruption linked to sport mega events seem to also justify such a necessity, from the point of view of sport mega events' organisers, or more specifically, the part of the organisers who profit from such corruption. In South Africa and Brazil, yet during the phase of preparation for the Games (2010 and 2014 FIFA Football World Cup, 2016 Olympic Games), scandals involving cases of corruption and exponential increase in costs of works related to the events already indicated the importance of knowing the relationship between civil construction companies and sport mega events better (Bond & Cottle, 2011; Cottle, 2010; 2011; Cottle, Capela, & Meirinho, 2013).

In Brazil, specifically, the post-Games period also saw a series of corruption cases involving mainly the construction and renovation of the stadiums of the 2014 Football World Cup. The situation became even more dramatic once the presidents of the four largest civil construction companies in Brazil, the '4 sisters'⁴⁰, were arrested due to corruption cases involving the highest scales of federal and state

⁴⁰<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-12-21/odebrecht-braskem-agree-to-carwash-penalty-of-3-5-billion>

governments, leading to the fall of important politicians in the Brazilian national context, and even to the imprisonment of several of them⁴¹.

Supposedly, there are enough elements to justify the deeper study of the relationship between civil construction companies and sport mega events in the allegations that I have made up to this point. On the one hand, there are practically two generations of FIFA officials under police investigation, with many of them being arrested or wanted⁴², comprising a period ranging from at least 1974 to 2015 and in which practically all sport mega events of the same period have been at some point involved in corruption cases (Müller, 2015d). And, on the other hand, events in China, South Africa, and Brazil showed that between 70 and 91 percent of the Games budget was spent on civil construction.

Thus, it is not necessary to be particularly imaginative to suppose that there is a possibility that the civil construction sector might be on the other side of this enigma. By that I mean that it is possible that construction companies are not only at the receiving end of such a policy development. I mean that it is possible that construction companies could have been at the heart of the RPSMEA, influencing decisions related to the allocation of sport mega events in the current period. Nevertheless, I believe that it is important to notice the explanatory vacuum in which the field of studies is in relation to the phenomenon. Due to this situation, I will resume this discussion on the sub-chapter dedicated to the implications for future research (7.6).

Another aspect of the macro dimension that was relevant in the analysis of sport mega events was urbanism. Elements that combine aspects of urbanism have been fundamental to understanding the sport mega events (Hammerse, 2012a; La Barre, 2014; Newman, 2007), as evidenced in chapter 3. The first is related to the change of forum in decision-making processes, from national forums to municipal spheres (Roche, 1994). Increasingly, decisions have been made in the context of cities, shifting the focus from national policy discussions to more local initiatives, and creating space for local elites to exercise power more effectively.

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-33942279>

<https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2017/apr/23/brazil-olympic-world-cup-corruption-bribery>

<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2017/04/15/world-cup-olympic-stadiums-brazil-corruption-scandal>

<https://www.voanews.com/a/corruption-probe-six-brazil-world-cup-stadiums/3810824.html>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-39604643>

<http://www.stuff.co.nz/sport/football/world-game/91595767/new-evidence-of-corruption-in-construction-of-brazils-world-cup-stadiums>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-39194395>

<https://www.ft.com/content/8edf5b2c-c868-11e6-9043-7e34c07b46ef>

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-corruption-oas-insight-idUSKCN0ZS0ZA>

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-corruption-odebrecht-oas-empre-idUSKCN0WA1G7>

⁴¹<http://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-brazil-corruption-20170412-story.html>

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-politics-arrests-idUSKBN13C11K>

<http://uk.reuters.com/article/brazil-corruption-brasilia-idUKE4N1FZ011>

<http://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Brazil-Arrests-Temer-Aide-Other-Former-Politicians-in-World-Cup-Fraud-Probe-20170523-0007.html>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-38011388>

<https://www.pri.org/stories/2016-10-19/brazilian-police-arrest-politician-behind-presidents-impeachment>

⁴²<http://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/football/news/full-timeline-fifa-corruption-scandal-6517127>

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/football/2016/09/01/franz-beckenbauer-under-criminal-investigation-amid-world-cup-co/>

<http://uk.businessinsider.com/whats-next-for-the-fifa-officials-currently-sitting-in-swiss-jail-cells-2015-6>

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/sportsnews/article-3264119/FIFA-corruption-scandal-explained-Sepp-Blatter-Michel-Platini-facing-suspension-world-football-s-governing-body-brought-knees.html>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-32897066>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/04/sports/soccer/fifa-investigation.html>

<http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/fifa-corruption-scandal-explained-60-seconds-1503361>

Secondly, along with such a change, there has also been a change in the way urban governance develops, from a style of managerial planning to an entrepreneurial style (Harvey, 1989; Silvestre, 2009). The latter is more fluid, more flexible and more adaptable, but also, more agile in absorbing discourses external to local realities (Harvey, 1989). As a result, also, sport mega events fit particularly well in this new narrative. Thus, entrepreneurial actors can more easily organise themselves around a unique and specific initiative, such as a World Cup for example, leaving aside aspects of urban development that do not interest them (Eisenhauer, Adair & Taylor, 2014).

In addition, dynamics involving inter-city disputes have also been important for sport mega events. The world's most important cities, global cities (Friedmann, 1986; Sassen 1991, 1992, 1994, 2001), have traditionally hosted sport mega events throughout the last century. Later, cities aspiring to be global cities also began to compete more fiercely for such events towards the end of the 20th century.

Due to this competitive condition, in addition to previously mentioned factors, the beginning of the 21st Century saw the flourishing of the RPSMEA and the awarding of sport mega events to places outside the Global North (see chapter 2, figure 1 and table 1).

But it is important to notice that although cities and countries in the Global South have been awarded most of the sport mega events within the current policy of sport mega events allocation, they are not consolidated within the sport mega events hosts universe.

For example, the IOC has recently decided to hold a single bidding process to the potential hosts of the editions of the 2024 and 2028 Summer Games⁴³. The only candidates were Paris and Los Angeles. This could be an indication that the time for editions of sport mega events in the Global South has passed. Although, it can also be an expression of how it is becoming increasingly difficult to raise support for sport mega events, given that there were only two candidate-cities.

As stated in chapter 3, it is important to consider how knowledge on sport mega events is produced in order to better understand them. However, it seems relevant to start by saying that a good part of the studies on sport mega events has been devoted to evaluating them and their impacts. Nevertheless, little success in the task of establishing the validity of such events as producers of results in the areas in which sport mega events are supposedly intended to impact, image projection, economic outcomes and legacies, can be found (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Müller, 2015d; Roche, 1994).

A striking feature of the field of studies of sport mega events is that much of the literature on sport mega events is devoted to the evaluation of economic aspects of such events (Szymanski, 2011). More specifically, studies dedicated to predicting potential results have dominated part of the publications on sport mega events.

⁴³<https://www.ft.com/content/f683076e-4c67-11e7-919a-1e14ce4af89b>
http://www.salon.com/2017/04/15/paris-in-2024-los-angeles-in-2028-how-to-save-the-olympic-games-from-extinction_partner/
<http://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1049665/avoiding-losers-key-in-plans-to-jointly-award-2024-and-2028-olympics-insists-bach-have>
<https://www.olympic.org/news/awarding-the-olympic-games-2024-and-2028-is-a-golden-opportunity>

Such 'economic impact studies' can be characterized by being biased as they are largely funded by stakeholders (De Nooij & van den Berg, 2013; Szymanski, 2002). According to Szymanski (2011), this situation seems to have created a small industry dedicated to convincing stakeholders that sport mega events can bring, or indeed bring, positive economic results to the countries and cities that organise them. In such a way that to question such results can cause that certain researcher to become even persona non-grata in the universe of sport mega events (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006).

Methodologically, the impact studies industry tends to make use of *ex-ante* techniques that tend to exaggerate the results and potentialities of sport mega events (Andreff, 2012; Barclay, 2009; Kasimati, 2003; Matheson, 2006; Teigland, 1999). Because they are so friendly to sport mega events, such studies are often the basis of the rationality used by the sport bourgeoisie when it needs discursive resources to boost the realisation of the events (Black, 2007; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Sterken, 2007; Szymanski, 2011) (see chapter 3).

One of the main problems of such studies is related to the importation of models from other areas, which are often not prepared to deal with the impact of an event of the magnitude of a mega sport event in its internal logic (Sterken, 2007). But misapplications provoked by the use or absence of components of such methodologies can be problematic as well. For example, the use of the multiplier effect logic has been widely discussed in the field of studies because of the lack of studies that have proved to be minimally adequate to the data produced by the events (Barclay, 2009; Szymanski, 2002; 2011).

Impact studies may also ignore important factors that could be considered in order to improve the sophistication of the approaches, such as the substitution effect (Baade & Matheson, 2004; Mehrotra, 2011; Szymanski, 2002). Proceeding in such a way, such studies may ignore the point that expenses related to sport mega events may be affected at the expense of expenditures not materialised in other areas or other events within the same region. Thus, by adding up these two spending orders, these studies would be inaccurate as soon as the available resources could cover only one such activity.

Even more serious, sport mega events' owners and associates tend to have tax advantages and exemptions. Then, when destined to the sport mega event and not to the local activity, resources may still be contributing negatively to the local economy. Additionally, impact studies rarely consider that part of the local populations can choose not to stay in sport mega events host cities or countries due to the problems caused by the events, such as agglomerations and congestions, phenomena known as crowding out effect or leakages (Barclay, 2009) (see chapter 3).

On the other hand, *ex post* studies have been shown to be more reliable, although less optimistic (Allmers & Maennig, 2009). Studies with real data, and not predictions, did not find general positive results in editions of sport mega events researched up to the present time (Baade & Matheson, 2004; Hagn & Maennig, 2008; Maennig & Du Plessis, 2007; Mehrotra, 2011).

Finally, in chapter 3, image projection, economic outcomes and legacies of sport mega events were addressed as the main aims of potential hosts when bidding for hosting Games (Barclay, 2009; Baade & Matheson, 2001; Manzenreiter, 2007; Roche, 1994; Silvestre, 2009; Vigor, 2004). Although image projection can be considered an accepted consequence of the hosting of sport mega events, the literature showed that this characteristic cannot always be controlled by the hosts. Likewise, positive economic outcomes could not be considered definite outcomes of such events according to the studies accessed, exposing one of the most problematic issues within the field of studies. Lastly, legacies similarly led to a non-conclusive discussion.

It was explained in chapter 3 that many argue that sport mega events leave positive legacies for hosts no matter the conditions in which the events are produced, while others maintain that this is not the case, as legacies can also be negative for hosts, such as when they may take the form of undesirable desirables, 'white elephants', and 'Trojan horses' (Cornelissen, Bob & Swart, 2011a). An important sub-chapter for the development of the thesis, that which discusses the perceptions of residents of hosts of sports mega-events, was not presented in this part of the conclusions. I did not insert it here because I want to discuss the main contributions of that sub-chapter to the conclusions of the thesis together with the results of the survey performed in the context of this research.

The overall conclusion which I reached after the examination of the literature focused on sport mega events is that most of the themes raised within the field of studies tend to yield inconclusive outcomes. That is, the literature on sport mega events is inconclusive in relation to most of the themes it addresses. The set of works approached in chapters 3 and 4 displayed that the subjects the area addresses exhibited inconsistencies, disagreements and reciprocally exclusive results. As discussed above, this is mainly due to researchers' decisions regarding the methods used.

Such decisions do not seem to be restricted to theoretical and methodological aspects, but also include economic and political considerations, as soon as such decisions appear to be based on aspects related to the financing of research and also to the relationships between such researchers and the promoters of the events. From these findings, the research developed in the context of this thesis then took two directions.

First, I sought to find the links between the socio-economic world system and the sport mega events. This discussion is outlined next. Then I sought to better understand how sport mega events affect the lives of those who directly feel the impact of such events. This discussion is presented in sequence.

7.3 Global capitalism and sport mega events

To better understand how global capitalism relates to sport mega events, I have established the following research question: what are the links between global capitalism and sport mega events? While pursuing such links, I learned that the logistic-organisational conformation of sport mega events,

imbricating ISOs, the corporate sector, governments and the media, is not an accident. It is an aspect that shows the concatenation between the different spheres that make up what I called the macro dimension of the research. That is, the specific form that sport mega events take in contemporaneity is the consequence of the uneven and combined development of sport mega events, and of the specific way that sport mega events are placed in the arena of global capitalism.

The form that sport mega events have taken in contemporary times is, at least in part, due to aspects of global capitalism. Thus, as evidenced in chapter 2, to understand the current stage of the development of sport mega events it is necessary to understand the development of global capitalism. And to understand the current stage of capitalism, it is important to understand that the dominant fraction of capital in the contemporary world is the transnational capital. Just as it is also important to grasp that transnational capital is primarily a financial capital type, concerned more with the logic of investment than with the logic of development (Sklair, 2002, Struna, 2013). But capital is not only a resource, it is also people. Thus, it is important to understand that the fraction of the ruling class that currently directs the bourgeoisie is the transnational capitalist class (Robinson, 2012; Sklair, 1997).

These aspects of global political economy are fundamental to understand the period sport mega events are going through. As seen previously (table 1), the RPSMEA can be understood as an investment policy by ISOs as soon as it became apparent that taking sport mega events to the Global South has had financial results for such institutions. In terms of the production of sport mega events, the dynamics of global capitalism seem to have been optimally absorbed by such events. Their own nature and history seem to have been shaped so that they could function within the logic of global capitalism. First, sport mega events, because they are international events, naturally develop from territorial expansion and the fractionation of the productive process (Meszaros, 1995, Robinson, 2004, Sklair, 2001, 2002a, 2002b). Second, by fractionating the production process, franchise owners maintain the centrality of decision-making processes and profitability (Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1994; Gereffi, Humphrey & Sturgeon, 2005; McMichael, Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1995; Meszaros, 1995) (see 2.1).

Thus, sport mega events have been updated in the context of global capitalism, making use of the structure set by global capitalism, especially in terms of technological advances and advances in the fields of transport and communication. Advances in the field of communication have allowed sport mega events to be transmitted with more quality and in different platforms, thus optimising the possibilities of commercialisation of the events. Advances in the area of transportation allow events to be held in distant parts of the globe in relation to the richest countries, the Global North, without people from such countries being prevented from attending such events due to difficulties in relation to people displacement.

But very importantly, advances in the technological area have allowed the transfer of financial values through virtual systems, rendering such transactions safer and more agile, as in the case of ticket sales for the Games, often without even including the countries where the Games are held in the

transactions (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2016; Harvey, 2007; 2010b; Meszaros, 1995). This ‘updating’ of sport mega events, as shown throughout chapter 2, backed the intensification of already imbalanced relationships of interdependence and domination between national and international elites, countries and regions, and above all, between the Global North and the Global South.

The development of my argument so far in this sub-chapter (7.3) and throughout the thesis has a clear logic. I have problematized specific aspects of the sport mega events, evidencing contradictions in the discourse of the promoters of such events (chapters 3 and 4). And I have also demonstrated how sport mega events have developed by borrowing characteristics from global capitalism and integrating global capitalism tendencies (chapter 2). I put in the same side of the equation the forces of global capitalism, sport mega events, ISOs, companies, governments and the media. Thus, I set the stage for a ‘turning point’ in the thesis. Such a point is to ask: how do people who are directly affected by sport mega event development projects perceive such events? And more specifically: how did people affected by works related to the Brazil 2014 FIFA World Cup in the city of Porto Alegre perceive issues related to housing, education, security, health, public sphere performance, employment/economy, and the FIFA World Cup? My idea was to expose the discourse used by promoters of the 2014 World Cup to the assessment of those directly affected by works related to the event. But more specifically, I preferred to test the consequences, the practical results of the 2014 World Cup development projects in the perception of the residents of areas affected by such works. The results of this endeavour and my concluding analysis are presented next.

7.4 Concluding analysis on the perceptions of residents of areas affected by works of the 2014 World Cup in the city of Porto Alegre

As I have previously evidenced, there is a significant gap in the literature focused on sport mega events that is related to the absence of studies conducted in/with communities directly affected by the events. Such a population tends to be diluted in more general populations when studies are carried out with residents of cities and regions where sport mega events take place.

This is one of the main reasons why the fieldwork of the research that was developed in the context of this thesis occurred in a community affected by the 2014 World Cup. The community studied was composed of people that lived around the area chosen for the construction of the Tronco Avenue, in Porto Alegre. The construction of the Tronco Avenue was the most important development project connected to the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre.

This area, as explained in chapter 5, had its delimitation defined by the Porto Alegre City Hall. The survey that was carried out in the context of this thesis assumed such an area as its research universe to enable the discussion of the result of the research with those responsible for the event and the works in the future, and with other actors but from a middle-ground - note that this research was developed in

an area defined as the impact area of the main development project related to the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre, according to the event promoters and organisers themselves. I estimated 3465 residences in the area designated.

Furthermore, the review of the literature on residents/locals of sport mega events hosts also revealed that apart from the definition of research universes, research samples were also a subject that offered space for the development in the context of the research concerned with populations of sport mega events hosts. Consequently, a sampling methodology (5.5.1) was applied to the universe selected for the fieldwork research. Thus, of the 3465 residences composing the universe of the research, 134 randomly selected ones were visited and surveyed. Additionally, 7 (5%) of the respondents to the survey were also interviewed. As the more specific discussion of the results of such an initiative was made in Chapter 6, I selected some of the results that I find most relevant to this concluding analysis, which is presented next.

Housing

Threats, misinformation, lack of public debate, and disconnected, disjointed and ineffective policies were the main factors leading to general negative results in relation to housing, according to the survey and the interviews. Additionally, an issue that appears to have influenced perceptions on housing across all the questions of the survey is related to the performance of Porto Alegre City Hall. The reports from the interviews and the answers to the survey point to a series of devious practices executed by the City Hall.

As exposed in sub-chapter 6.1, one of the interviewees, Mr. Zé, resident of the Tronco Avenue construction area and part of the Popular Committee of the World Cup in Porto Alegre, for example, stated that the first approach made by the Porto Alegre City Hall to the residents of the area was the exchange of a simple message that hit the community very hard: ‘1600 families would have to be removed’ (08 June 2015). Thus, even the start of the conversation was made more difficult. Allegations that processes triggered by the City Hall were involved in corruption surfaced throughout the data collection period, as well.

Moreover, successive attempts to worsen living conditions in specific sub-regions of the Tronco Avenue construction area were identified by interviewees and survey respondents, such as the suspension of garbage collection services and the abandonment of construction debris. These actions were interpreted by respondents and interviewees as part of a strategy of the City Hall designed to force specific sets of residents out of particular areas (6.1).

Nonetheless, three issues draw attention and I would like to address them in this concluding analysis. First, the sense of insecurity and disruption that the works caused in the community appeared as extremely important findings for the understanding of the general scenario created by the works in the community studied. Second, the confusion caused by the works and the lack of information and

participation processes served to aggravate the situation from the point of view of the residents of the area where the works took place. Third, the evaluation that there was a worsening in the living conditions of the local population affected by the World Cup works emerged as a contradiction to the discourse of sport mega events in general and the 2014 World Cup in specific.

To develop these points, questions 1.1 and 1.2 showed that 31% of respondents said they were living under the threat of removal, and that 22% also felt other threats. Question 1.3 showed that 94% of the people that were removed during the process involving the works had left the community. Thus, the removal was only part of the menace, but having to leave the community and all the links built over the years was also a concern. As the works have been delayed for more than seven years, it is impressive that practically a third of the population of that community is being exposed to such a degree of uncertainty. Questions 1.5 and 1.6 showed that less than 20% of the respondents reported having taken part in processes of public debate or having visited the DEMHAB office (City Hall). Of those who visited the office, 63% assessed the service as not appropriate. Question 1.4 evidenced that 50% of the respondents suffered from interruptions in basic services such as water and electric power supply. In question 1.7, it was shown that 54% of the respondents assessed that their living conditions had worsened due to the 2014 World Cup related works.

Thus, as exhibited in sub-chapter 6.1, results on housing in the context of the perceptions of those directly affected by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre, according to the research performed in this thesis, were considered negative. The issue of housing can even be considered to have been worsened by the 2014 World Cup in the communities affected in Porto Alegre due to answers to the survey regarding living conditions (question 1.7, sub-chapter 6.1), for example. Furthermore, evidence presented in sub-chapter 6.1 explicated that procedures carried out by Porto Alegre City Hall harmed international conventions, such as the concept of ‘progressive realization of the right to adequate housing’ (UN, 2010, p. 32).

Finally, the results on housing offered solid evidence that entrepreneurialism, as a subjacent logic to the current form cities are administered, can be particularly harmful for low-income communities in the Global South and specifically those involved by sport mega events related policies. Here it is important to emphasize the interrelation between aspects raised in the literature review related to the macro dimension of the research and the specific aspects that made up the micro dimension of the research.

Thus, the advance of the logic of ‘market rationality and privatisation’ (Harvey, 1989, p. 5), which we discussed in Chapter 2, as part of the macro dimension, seems to have pushed issues related to adequate housing in the communities impacted by the 2014 World Cup (micro dimension) to a second-rate order in terms of government priorities during the term of the event.

Uncertainties about the unfolding of the works and lack of access to basic issues, such as information and water and electric power make the situation a constant concern in the lives of the region’s

residents. Clear and precise information, access to plans and decision making processes, and viable options for the lack of basic services could have had a positive impact on the management of the works within the affected community. But above all, funding policies for new housing for those displaced, and not whimsical values such as those practiced in the *Housing Bonus* policy (6.1), would be fundamental for the realisation of the works with fewer negative impacts on the residents of the region.

Education

Education was not a central aspect of the 2014 World Cup, as discussed in sub-chapter 6.2. Also, few references to the theme could be found during the research preparation or realisation periods. Although, despite this lack of attention, the area can be affected by initiatives of sport mega events, either directly or indirectly (Knijnik & Tavares, 2012).

To better understand the educational situation in Brazil, it is important to bear in mind that social policies developed in Brazil, including education, are strongly marked by the influence of transnational actors such as the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (Coraggio, 1996; Cunha, Ludke & Moreira, 1999; Leher, 2005; Silva & Sguissardi, 2005; Torres, 1996).

The results of this research on education also evidenced how principles of neoliberalism orientate the development of social policies (Harvey, 1989, 2005, 2005b, 2007, 2012). For example, Isabel, in her interview (see 6.2), explained that throughout the period of the Tronco Avenue construction and in which the 2014 World Cup impacted on different public policies in the city of Porto Alegre, plans to reduce the number of classes in schools were revealed. According to Isabel, this policy is meant to inflate the remaining classes and to exploit the teachers, increasing their workload without increasing the number of hours worked.

Thus, such a policy corresponds to an attempt to reduce state costs with public education, as said previously, that is, it corresponds to neoliberal ideology, which was approached in chapter 2 as part of the macro dimension of the research. In turn, less than half of the respondents of this research reported having any links to school during the period of the works. Some of the answers on this topic were presented with reference to that distinction, when the data would be better understood considering the differentiation.

Thus, questions 2.2 and 2.3 can have been influenced by the low number of people that could actually answer the questions, for not having links to the educational system. Only 9% of the respondents noticed changes in access to school and 6% in the number of educational institutions in the region. This latter datum can also refer to the closure of a familiar crèche that had to move somewhere else due to the works. In question 2.6, only 9% of the respondents reported have had knowledge of any government plans linking the 2014 World Cup with education.

In questions 2.7 and 2.8, school change and dropping out of school reached 6% and 3% of the population, respectively, according to the respondents, which are not considered significant numbers.

But what can be considered worrying is the fact that 15% of the respondents considered that in some way the event and its related works provoked interruption of school procedures (question 2.4). Additionally, for 48% of the respondents, the event and related works altered the school routine (question 2.5). For 61% of those, the alteration of the school routine also had a cascade effect, impacting on their own routines and in their budgets. For example, depending on the situation, as one or more students that belong to a given family would be released earlier from school, one adult would not be able to work, because he or she would have to take care of the student.

As the data presented in the sub-chapter 6.2 evidenced, the policy area of education was impacted by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre. This impact can be considered negative, mainly due to the direct and indirect impacts that the event caused in schools. The direct impacts are related to the interruption of school procedures and to the alteration of the school routine. The effects of the disruption caused by the event around the schools can be added to these direct impacts. These are linked to delays, for example, and worsening conditions in terms of access to schools. Indirect impacts can be identified especially in relation to the cascade effects that interruptions and changes in the school routine caused in families of the residents of the construction area of Tronco Avenue.

The data on education also contribute to the understanding set out in chapter 2 of the thesis (macro dimension), which says that sport mega events borrow characteristics from global capitalism. For example, measures aimed at reducing public education budgets, while other investment measures increase their budget (such as investment in sport mega events), are characteristics of both neoliberalism and the experience developed around 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre.

Security

Security was one of the main areas of the 2014 World Cup discourse, according to chapter 3. In line with global policies and tendencies of sport mega events, the migration of sport mega events beyond the Global North brought the issue of security to a privileged space within the policies that involve sport mega events (macro dimension of the research).

That is mainly because, in the Global South, border procedures are perceived as more flexible and terrorist actions considered more likely to happen. But also, due to the ‘securitisation’ process that was intensified globally since the implementation of ‘wars on terror’ and the policies related to terrorism in the post-9/11 context (Giulianotti & Klauser, 2010; 2012; Spaaij, 2016; Sugden, 2012; Toohey & Taylor, 2012). Correspondingly, the cost of security within sport mega events budget has increased, also accompanying the general sport mega events budget increase, as displayed in table 1, sub-chapter 2.6.

Thus, it would be expected that the area would be positively assessed by those affected by the works related to the event. However, only 48% of the respondents noticed any changes in security in the region of the Tronco Avenue construction and, of those, 56% considered that their sense of security decreased (question 3.1). The presence of policemen also was considered a negative aspect, with 51% of

the respondents noticing modifications in the number of policemen in the streets of the region, of which 67% pointed out a decrease (question 3.2). Question 3.3 showed that the presence of the police could have increased the sense of security, given that 51% of the respondents reported feeling safer in the presence of the police (question 3.3).

On the other hand, this data also raises an intriguing question that this research could not explore: why do the other 49% of the respondents not feel safer in the presence of the police? Future research can examine this questioning in communities affected by sport mega events. Threats to collective or individual security, or due to the presence or action of the police reached 11% and 5% of the respondents, respectively (questions 3.4 and 3.5). And only 10% of the respondents identified any kind of dialogue between the police and the community (question 3.6).

The research outcomes on security show that the issue of security in areas affected by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre has not been improved. So, the question arises: If the cost of security within the budget of the mega events, and the 2014 World Cup, has increased, why did those impacted by the event hold negative perceptions of security? One factor contributing to this can be related to the form security policies are designed in the Global South and to dynamics related to the local elites' role in such policies and issues associated to social inequality.

But the report presented by Deusa (6.3), a volunteer to the 2014 World Cup, in relation to her responsibilities as a volunteer on the sector of 'marketing' of the event, can bring us indications of other reasons why security issues did not improve in the area affected by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre and why sport mega events spend so much on securitisation. Deusa reported that her 'work' and the work of her fellow volunteers in the 'marketing' group of volunteers was mainly related to the protection of brands. She stated that the 18 days she spent volunteering at the event involved covering up the symbols and adverts of non-sponsor brands and that about 500 rolls of tape were used in such a process. That is, although the discursive resource used by sport mega events' owners, promoters, organisers, sponsors and broadcasters focuses on 'pedestrian decongestion, curtailing disorder and preventing terrorism', 'brand protection-both for the event owner and its sponsors' (Eisenhauer, Adair & Taylor, 2014, p. 377) apparently consumes an important part of the efforts and supposedly of the budget that security related issues manage to capture from the overall budget of a sport mega event.

Regarding the data presented in sub-chapter 6.3, and on the perceptions of the residents of the Tronco Avenue construction area, the research seems to suggest that the police could have been part of the solution of several issues in relation to the works in the region. For example, they could have been informed of the plans the city hall developed, being made this way carriers of information. Additionally, they could have been trained to deal with communities going through large scale transformations, thus helping the situation to be calmer. Instead, what could be observed is that part of the community saw the police as enemies, felt threatened by it and even reported during the interviews that they were treated as drug traffickers and that the police served only to repress them.

Health

Health, together with education, was one of the main areas targeted by the protesters following the June Journeys in 2013, and in every protest related to the 2014 World Cup from then on (see chapter 4). The moto 'we want FIFA standard schools and hospitals' can be considered 'the moto' of that period (see 4.3). Although timidly engaged by the Brazilian government and the 2014 World Cup owners, promoters, organisers, sponsors and broadcasters, the theme seems to have been impacted by the event in the region researched.

First, because the works of the event caused disruption (question 4.3) and worsened the access to health in the region (question 4.1), as well as causing decrease in the number of health facilities in the region (question 4.2). Secondly, although 84% of those who needed health care during the period of the works had it granted, the shutting down of at least one health facility in the region seems to have had political motivations. According to reports of the survey respondents, that would have happened as a way to force people to leave the sub-region, facilitating the displacement process, from the point of view of the City Hall.

Thus, disruptions, delays, cancellations and problems related to closing health service stations were the main direct consequences of the 2014 World Cup in the area of the Tronco Avenue construction and the reason for these concluding considerations to assess the perception of the residents of the area as negative towards the theme. To this list can also be added the use of the Health System as a political tool by the Porto Alegre City Hall. Specifically, on the political use of the Health System as a way to pressure residents to leave their houses, this episode seems to have been decisive for the perception of the affected residents to be negative in relation to the performance of the health sector in relation to the 2014 World Cup.

Moreover, the data collected also served to reflect the advance of neoliberal policies in social areas such as education and health. The expansion of private health structures has contributed to the advancement of an understanding of the health area as part of expanding market logic (Harvey, 1989, 2005, 2005b, 2007, 2012). For example, the private sector has been gradually enhancing its share of the 'health market' in Brazil, which raises apprehensions regarding the low level of coverage in the country (25%) and the increase in practices such as co-payment (Marten et. al., 2014). Thus, attendance of the population of the areas affected by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre reflected these policies. As the region studied is considered low-income, public health services tend to be sought by most of its members.

Thus, the reports of long waiting times for care, lack of medical doctors, resources and medication were significant, as mentioned by Ariovaldo (see 6.4). This means that important messages were ignored by the 2014 World Cup owners, promoters and organisers. For example, the 2014 World Cup could have followed the orientation given by the Global Health Observatory (2013), which points out that fighting inequalities within health systems can be extremely relevant to tackle issues related to health in low- and

middle-income countries. Acting in such way, the event could have worked to dissipate the heavy veil of criticism associated with it in terms of its impact on housing.

Public sphere performance

The public sphere performance could have been a strong feature of the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre. The city is used to participatory policies and the population of the area affected by the Av. Tronco works was very active during the 'Participatory Budget' times, the most famous policy facing the elitist, conservative and authoritarian tradition of Brazilian politics (Santos, 1998).

However, the results were not encouraging. 92% of the respondents reported not having been contacted by government representatives directly, (question 5.1) although 88% reported having been approached collectively (question 5.2). The difference between accessing information collectively and being able to discuss their specific cases was one of the main complaints in relation to the performance of the public sphere, according to the reports of the respondents.

Another issue lies in the fact that the respondents felt that they were not consulted or involved in the decision-making process (question 5.4), 96% of the respondents reported feeling that they were not consulted by the government. Questions 5.5 and 5.6 then reflect the bad performance of the public sphere. They showed that 58% of the respondents that considered that their lives changed due to the works and the initiatives of the government, also considered that their lives changed for the worse. Also, 57% of the respondents considered that the efforts of the public sphere to organise the 2014 World Cup and to promote the changes required were not worth it.

Thus, my final considerations regarding issues related to the performance of the public sphere in relation to the 2014 World Cup emphasise that actors connected to the 2014 World Cup owners, promoters, organisers, sponsors and broadcasters contributed to the creation of a certain expectation, from 'a lot of propaganda' they have made. But conclusively, in almost all respects, the performance of those who created so many expectations was the cause of 'great frustration' (Marcio, see 6.5).

Likewise, according to the data discussed in sub-chapter 7.5, the developments related to the performance of the public sphere and the 2014 World Cup can be understood from the change from managerialism to entrepreneurialism that cities have been experiencing in recent times. Elements such as 'neoconservatism' and 'appeal to market rationality and privatisation' (Harvey, 1989, p. 5), characteristics of entrepreneurialism, which were examined in Chapter 2 as part of the macro dimension of the research, have manifested in the performance of the public sphere during the Tronco Avenue construction.

Furthermore, the discussions made in chapter 3 (sport mega events, companies, elites and sport bourgeoisie) seem to fit within the debate of the performance of the public sphere in Porto Alegre during the period of the 2014 World Cup. According to the data presented in sub-chapter 7.5, the perception of the residents of the area impacted by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre was that the three levels of governments were 'lousy' (Otto, see 6.5).

On the other hand, it was also reported that residents understand that ‘the middlemen that took the big advantage’ (Ariovaldo, see 6.5), that the event was positive for those who were profiting from it. As seen in sections 2.1 and 3.3, there is a dimension of the construction of sport mega events that is between the franchise owners and the realisation of the events. This dimension has been referred to in the specific literature of the context of sport mega events as ‘elite coalitions’ (Hiller, 2000) or ‘booster coalitions’ (Black, 2007; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). I referred to this group as the sport bourgeoisie throughout the thesis and I believe Mr. Ariovaldo was referring to it when mentioning the middlemen.

Thus, this divide suggests that, effectively, there are two orders of sport mega events. On one hand, it is agile, in that it is formed of, and seems to benefit, ‘top level managers and administrators of the state and other major social institutions and leadership positions in the political system’, the ‘...dominant political, socioeconomic, and cultural strata’ (Robinson, 2012, p. 351), the elites (Robinson, 2005; 2012; Hall, 2006), the sport bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, there is an order that encompasses everyone else and can be considered ‘lousy’, faulty, and slow when it refers to attending the interests of the general population and specific segments affected by sport mega events. Thus, the ‘lousy’ performance of sectors related to the public sphere and the 2014 World Cup may have even contributed to the destruction of the history of struggle and of political participation that was characteristic to the region impacted by the event in Porto Alegre until then. Anne (see 6.5), for example has decided that, although never having ‘skipped voting’, she will not vote anymore. She even said that she does not ‘believe in anyone anymore’.

Employment/economy

Impacts in employability and in the economy were some of the flagships of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics promotion (Aquino, 2009). Following the international tendency of a promised economic windfall, the promoters of the event never denied the potential positive results that the 2014 World Cup would have in relation to employability and economy. However, the data produced in this research tell a different story.

Only 7% of the respondents reported knowing anyone in the community that had access to professional training (question 6.1). Only 10% reported knowing someone that could actually find work due to the event (question 6.2). And of those jobs, only 8% were permanent. The respondents also identified worsening conditions to work in the community (question 6.3). 48% of the respondents considered that there was a change in prices throughout the period of the works, and of those, 83% considered that the prices had increased (question 6.5).

However the nature of my research would not allow broader assessments on the economic impacts of the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre and in the region affected by the works related to the event, the perception of the respondents was extremely negative.

Additionally, the data from sub-chapter 6.6 suggests that the advance of entrepreneurial and neoliberal policies contributed to the context brought about by the 2014 World Cup, in which ‘unemployment’ and other issues related to labour and the economy occur ‘at both the national and local levels’ (Harvey, 1989, p. 5). This is a relevant connection between the macro and micro dimensions of this research.

Also, several courses in areas as tourism, health services and security appear to have been organised by the Support Service for Micro and Small Enterprises (Sebrae) with the support of the Brazilian Government (Portal Brasil, 2011; 2012; 2013). But the data suggests that people from the area affected by the 2014 World Cup in Porto Alegre did not have access to these courses, or if they did, their participation was minimal. In terms of the conditions of labour in the area of the Tronco Avenue construction, the data presented in sub-chapter 6.6 suggests that ‘the works disrupted businesses in the region’ (Marcio).

Thus, the 2014 World Cup would have contributed to the decline of the local economy instead of assisting it. Furthermore, the data on employment/economy produced from the fieldwork research also suggests that there is a *carnival effect* in relation to labour positions. As seen earlier in this passage of the conclusions, a miniscule part of the jobs associated with the 2014 World Cup can be considered full jobs according to Brazilian standards. But even worse than that, according to reports made by respondents and interviewees, ‘there were jobs only during the World Cup ... After the event, it came back to what it was before...’ (Anne and Liana, see 6.6). Thus, the 2014 World Cup was perceived by the residents of the Tronco Avenue construction area as detrimental to the area of employment/economy.

2014 FIFA World Cup

The results of the research specifically in relation to the 2014 World Cup start with a resounding 0%. Question 7.1 showed that the respondents felt 0% presence of FIFA in the region during the realisation of the works. Questions 7.2 and 7.3 showed that around 65% of the respondents felt that the event did not affect their communities or had any consequences in their lives. This presents discrepancy in relation to the discourse of the event promoters, which repeatedly stated that the event would impact positively on the lives of the people affected, if not in the lives of all Brazilians (Jornal do Brasil, 2011; Lula da Silva, 2014; Rolli & Fraga, 2014).

The World Cup exerts such an allure in Brazil that even among the population that assessed so badly every aspect the research presented to them, participation within the event’s promotions reached high numbers. In questions 7.4 and 7.5, the respondents pointed out that 14% of them knew someone from the community that managed to attend to at least one game at the stadium and that 30% of them knew someone from the community that attended to the FIFA Fan Fest. Finally, 54% of the respondents considered that the World Cup would not bring any positive results to the city (question 6.6) and 92% of the respondents considered that the World Cup would not bring any improvements in the area of sport

and leisure (question 7.7). A few respondents even mentioned that a park had been closed by the works, suggesting that the event contributed to the worsening of the conditions of sport and leisure in the region.

As discussed in chapter 3, *Ex-post facto* studies tend to be pessimistic (Allmers & Maennig, 2009) in relation to the outcomes of sport mega events. This is because when compared to academic works that employ methodologies *ex-ante facto*, *ex-post facto* results tend to be less encouraging. Additionally, chapter 3 evidenced that research has also found no positive economic outcomes associated with sport mega events (Baade & Matheson, 2001; Hagn & Maennig, 2008; Maennig & Du Plessis, 2007; 2009; Mehrotra, 2011).

In that part of the thesis, it was revealed that a relevant portion of the research done on sport mega events so far is focused on economic outcomes (Szymanski, 2011). Thus, it can be inferred from that that little is known through academic research about other dimensions of sport mega events and the results associated to such dimensions. Certainly, studies carried out after (*ex-post*) editions of sport mega events can analyse dimensions that are not only economic. That is the case of the research carried out in the context of this thesis. Thus, in conclusion, when different aspects related to the 2014 World Cup were investigated by the respondents and interviewees, especially regarding the event, their perceptions were negative. The only exception was the appeal football and the World Cup had, according to the data generated.

My concluding analysis points to a general negative result in reference to the performance of the 2014 World Cup in the area affected by its development projects in Porto Alegre, according to the perceptions of those impacted by the event. The way I constructed the argument, putting the forces of global capitalism, sport mega events, companies, governments and ISOs on one side and communities affected by works related to sport mega events, to the 2014 World Cup in this case, on the other side, virtually pointed in the direction of a failure by the event. For all that is known in relation to sport mega events and low-income communities, it could have been expected that the results would be negative (COHRE, 2007, 2008; NCLCPWCO, 2012; Rolnik, 2009). But, in my evaluation, the only positive results are related to the passion Brazil has towards football and to the World Cup, thus attendance to games *in loco* and to the FIFA Fan Fest reached surprising numbers. This is an indication that the 'feel good factor' (Grix, 2012) is still an important component of sport mega events, even during the RPSMEA. All the other results were to a lesser or greater extent, negative. Some findings were even alarming, as in the case of housing and security.

Results exhibited in chapter 7 have strong connections with aspects of global capitalism (macro dimension of the research). Although I have not been able to enter into the discussion of the economic principles of capitalism as a societal model, at least one characteristic can be correlated to the problems that appeared throughout this research.

The explanation about global capitalism I have presented in chapter 2 elucidated that the current stage of capitalism is characterised by the expansion of capitalism territorially on a global scale (Meszaros,

1995; Robinson, 2004; 2015; Robinson & Harris, 2004; Sklair, 2001, 2002a, 2002b). It turns out that this territorial expansion also has aspects that are internal to capitalism and that are important. Among them is the need for capitalism to grow. The capitalist model requires that the economy grows incessantly so that it does not enter an insoluble crisis (Allinson & Anievas, 2009; Anievas, 2009; Feenstra, 1998; Mandel, 1970; Novack, 1966; 1976; Rosenberg, 2010; 2013).

Thus, the search for markets and consumers has been the frontier of the capitalist struggle as a mode of production and distribution of products (Marx, 1973; 1973 [1859]; 1963; 1978; 1982a; 1982b; 1983; Marx et. al, 1990; Meszaros, 1995). When I supposed earlier that ‘at least in part, issues related to gigantism could be mitigated if sport mega events’ owners, promoters, organisers, sponsors and broadcasters could restrain their disposition to making such events seem more impactful than they already are’ (see 6.8), I did not consider this dimension of sport mega events and global capitalism.

However, it seems clear from the research that sport mega events are so amalgamated to capitalist logic that even initiating a dialogue in the sense I have proposed seems unthinkable. It seems more plausible that, even in face of the arguments such as those raised throughout this thesis, sport mega events’ owners, promoters, organisers, sponsors and broadcasters would say that this path they have been following is the only way and that to conceive sport mega events existing from principles other than those that govern them nowadays is impossible.

It is a difficult moment because after writing this concluding analysis, I came to think that maybe I had been condescending in building my questions, or even biased. But then I remembered that the questions were built with the help of several academics and that we tried to avoid bias, even using a neutral language. Thus, instead of apologising for the negative results that the event had on respondents’ and interviewees’ evaluations, I will prefer to use the research data to humbly suggest recommendations to populations to be affected by works relating to them. Next, I will also discuss implications for future research based on this experience and the results of this research.

7.5 Recommendations

In the movie *Krull* (Yates, 1983), a planet of the same name is invaded by a cruel alien monster known as ‘The Beast’. The Beast lives in a fortress that teleports to a new and unknown location every sunrise. In the plot of the movie, the monster kidnaps a princess and the good guy needs to figure out a way to anticipate the location of the ‘Black Fortress’ to be able to rescue the princess and save the day. In relation to the local populations of sport mega events’ hosts and, particularly, the populations affected by works related to sport mega events, the narrative seems to be approximate. The case I studied showed that the 2014 World Cup appeared to have landed in the community ‘in a spaceship’, leaving the population confused and insecure.

I will keep myself from making comparisons between the monstrous nature of the film and the performance of the event in the context studied. However, temporal dynamics can be considered as an

inspiration. The timeline of a sport mega event is relatively accelerated. No more than seven to nine years pass between the announcement of the venue of the event and the realisation of the event. And then the event flies away at the next sunrise. However, the example of the organisation of the Popular Committees of the World Cup and the Olympics in Brazil and specifically in Porto Alegre can give indications as to how populations affected by sport mega events can organise themselves to face the problems caused by the events (Rocha; Barbanti & Chelladurai, 2017; Gaffney, 2015; 2016).

On the other hand, if the experience I have worked with throughout the thesis is taken into account by other actors, they may assist in the task of improving the effectiveness of the promises that have been composing the discourse of sport mega events. Acting in such a way, perhaps sport mega events franchise owners may avoid the waves of criticism that have been striking the universe of sport mega events in the current period. But it should be borne in mind that a significant part of the attacks that sport mega events inflict against low-income communities are not related to such events alone. They are guided by a set of principles, the neoliberal ideary, which is the contemporary form of the development of global capitalism (see chapter 2), which I approached as part of the macro dimension of the research.

My recommendations address populations of countries and cities that may host sport mega events and communities that can be affected by works related to such events in the near future and even those who were affected by more recent editions. However, the recommendations can also serve as a guide to any social actors that choose to act in a way that does not impose unnecessary suffering on local populations and communities affected by works related to sport mega events. But first I would like to return to the list of key issues of criticism on the hosting of sport mega events I presented in chapter 4, to bear in mind the kind of problem that is being dealt with here:

- A. Lack of benefits towards the poor and the disadvantaged;
- B. The fact that hosting sport mega events constitutes a misdirection of resources needed to meet a wide range of pressing social needs;
- C. The increasing budget of sport mega events;
- D. Problems related to urban transport;
- E. Problems caused to the informal economy;
- F. Problems related to working conditions;
- G. Disrespect for ethnic minorities, indigenous and traditional peoples;
- H. Threats to free speech and freedom of assembly;
- I. Lack of transparency and public participation;
- J. Problems related to housing and evictions;
- L. Problems related to violence against poor people;
- M. Problems related to human rights;
- N. Problems related to violence against opponents of sport mega events;

O. Problems related to inconvenience and disruption brought by sport mega events to cities and countries;

P. The elitist, privatised and exclusionary character of sport mega events;

Q. Gentrification and elitism of renewed areas;

R. 'False promises' made by sport mega events - do not deliver or develop projects advertised during the bidding process or the initial process of planning;⁴⁴

Additionally, it is worth remembering that some of the main problems related to sport mega events can be synthesised in the type of unwanted legacies the events leave behind once they are gone: white elephants, undesirable desirables and Trojan horses (chapter 3). I consider that unwanted legacies could make the list above as letter 'S'.

It seems important to advance this discussion a little further. These 19 questions raised from the review of the literature and this research can be synthesised into four areas. These areas would be:

1. Social inequality, which would gather:

- Lack of benefits towards the poor and the disadvantaged;
- Problems caused to the informal economy;
- Problems related to working conditions;
- Problems related to housing and evictions;
- The elitist, privatised and exclusionary character of sport mega events;
- Gentrification and elitism of renewed areas.

2. Public resource misdirection, which would gather:

- The fact that hosting mega events constitutes a misdirection of resources needed to meet a wide range of pressing social needs;
- Problems related to urban transport;
- Lack of transparency and public participation;
- White elephants, undesirable desirables and Trojan horses.

3. Issues related to gigantism and sport mega events management:

- The increasing budget of sport mega events;
- Lack of transparency and public participation;
- Problems related to inconvenience and disruption brought about by mega events to cities and countries;

⁴⁴Boykoff, 2011; Cashman, 2002; Cornelissen, 2011a; 2011b; Cornelissen & Swart, 2006; Cottle, 2010; 2011; Del Romero & Trudelle, 2011; Duminy & Luckett, 2012; Fussey et al., 2012; Gotham, 2010; Grix, 2013; Lenskyj, 2004; Livingstone, 2014; Minnaert, 2012; Ngonyama, 2010; O'Bonsawin, 2010; Olds, 1998; Pillay & Bass, 2008; Rolnik, 2009; Schausteck de Almeida et al., 2015; Steinbrink, Haferburg & Ley, 2011.

- ‘False promises’ made by sport mega events - do not deliver or develop projects advertised during the bidding process or the initial process of planning;
- White elephants, undesirable desirables and Trojan horses.

4. Human rights, which would gather:

- Problems caused to the informal economy;
- Problems related to working conditions;
- Disrespect for ethnic minorities, indigenous and traditional peoples;
- Threats to free speech and freedom of assembly;
- Problems related to violence against poor people;
- Problems related to human rights;
- Problems related to violence against opponents of sport mega events.

I will use this synthesised list in sub-chapter 7.5.5 An agenda for the dialogue between the opposition to sport mega events and organisers of sport mega events

7.5.1 Recommendations to the host selection phase

The dynamics of the host selection process for sport mega events are relatively public. Often, candidates for hosts make great mobilisations and organise different sectors, especially elites, to show the bodies of voters the strength of their candidatures and the unity of their proposals, as explained in chapter 2. Due to such a publicity, those concerned with the potential problems that sport mega events can cause to local populations can begin to organise to intervene, debate, and seek to take part in the process of building the candidacy.

It is not an easy process and I believe that the role of academics can be fundamental at this stage, as the issue of which populations would be affected by the event is often unclear at this point. The Brazilian experience with the Popular Committees has shown that academics can play a leading role in discussing democratic and popular directions for sport mega events. Initiatives of the Popular Committees and the Brazilian higher education syndicate in contribution to the popular organisation and producing socially relevant knowledge in the contexts of confrontation between the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics and affected communities was fundamental to soften the impact of such interventions (ANCOP, 2014; ANDES, 2014; Comitopularrio, 2011; NCLCPWCO, 2012).

Thus, I would add that the main recommendation at this stage is for greater dialogue. That is, dialogue between academics and advocates of the candidatures; dialogue between academics and popular movements; dialogue between actors of the public sphere and populations. These dialogues can also involve progressive sport organisations of fans, athletes, and other people that may have a connection to the issue. I would also add that the list of key issues of criticism on the hosting of sport mega events

presented earlier could serve as an agenda, a summary of issues to be debated and agreed upon during the dialogue processes.

If the dialogue proves to be difficult, the path may be then to follow Oslo, Stockholm, Lviv, Krakow, Munich, Boston, Hamburg, Budapest and others, and to hold a plebiscite, a task that may prove difficult, especially during the RPSMEA, since democratic processes may tend to be devious in the Global South. In any case, the flag of a plebiscite alone can already create space for discussions and gather people willing to organise themselves.

7.5.2 Recommendations to the preparation for the Games phase

Depending on the previous phase, the period of preparation for the Games may be the most difficult for local populations and communities affected by actions related to sport mega events. Processes of expelling communities and other types of violence, either through gentrification or by the force of the state are common. The Brazilian experience (2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics) points to 'organisation' as the key term of this phase in the case of confrontation with sport mega events.

The research I conducted showed that the organisation around the Popular Committee of the World Cup in Porto Alegre and residents' associations contributed to the decrease of the strength of the event in Porto Alegre. For example, as reported in Chapter 6, Porto Alegre City Hall's first contact with the community to be affected by the works on Avenida Tronco was a message that 1600 families would have to be removed. As the area included irregular accommodations, from the point of view of the residents, that implied that at least some families would be removed from the area without any form of compensation. Although several people have come to accept the terms of the City Hall and have left their homes, the collective organisation has forced the City Hall to create modalities to support those who would leave their homes according to collective negotiations

The dynamics of collective support and reflection, very importantly, came to create a modality that became the slogan of the community - 'Key for Key' - during the negotiations with the City Hall⁴⁵. The report of the interviewees linked to the Popular Committee for the World Cup in Porto Alegre says that this was the only way that the residents of the region found to be able to pressure the City Hall to show practical results in the negotiations. The idea has become a kind of a slogan but also the central point of the housing policy developed by the residents to face the problems brought about by the event. The former UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Adequate Housing, Raquel Rolnik, even praised the initiative and promoted the idea in her social networks⁴⁶. Another key word in this phase would be also 'vigilance'. At this stage of the Games many economic abuses also happen. Such abuses can increase

⁴⁵<http://comitepopularcopapoa2014.blogspot.co.uk/2012/04/moradores-atingidos-pelas-obras-da.html>

<http://apublica.org/2013/02/chave-por-chave-porto-alegre-copa-2014/>

<http://www.sul21.com.br/jornal/quase-800-familias-da-avenida-tronco-em-porto-alegre-aguardam-definicoes-sobre-remocao-das-moradias/>

<https://medium.com/@midiamaruim/com-fim-da-copa-moradores-da-vila-tronco-em-porto-alegre-aguardam-decisao-sobre-suas-moradias-b5d35ff7fa26>

⁴⁶<https://www.facebook.com/raquelrolnik/posts/348447401870493>

costs of sport mega events related projects between 300% and 1000% (Cottle, 2014; Cottle & Meirinho, 2014) and impact human rights particularly faultily (see chapter 4). But also, given actors can move in shadow spaces, leaving little room for reaction from the people affected by the event. Vigilance can be the only chance such people may have to learn that they will be hit by a given action related to the event. Organisation and vigilance are the recommendations emanating from the studies related to this phase of the Games. It was due to the vigilance that the communities affected by the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics could cope with the disregard related to the events. With the support of the Popular Committees, they could then organise themselves and from there take part in protests and even organise their own protests and other actions, as reported in chapters 4 and 6.

As I said above, the experience I studied showed that only the organisation of the communities, whether around the Popular Committee for the World Cup in Porto Alegre or in the residents' associations, was able to slow down the 2014 World Cup on its way to the unfair conquest of the communities' territory. On the other hand, the struggle for information has constituted an important field of disputes between the residents of Tronco Avenue and the 2014 World Cup. If, in an organised way, communities affected by sport mega events can fight for access to information, they can also use the information as a tool to build strategies and to avoid unnecessary harm, both locally but also in relation to broader issues, as the issue of the public expenditure not only regarding processes that involve the local community.

7.5.3 Recommendations to the realisation of the Games phase

The period of realisation of the Games generally extrapolates resistance. The force with which the events take place, articulating high members of governments, legal dispositives, police forces, and the media, practically prevents popular organisations from acting. Although the protests in Brazil have had some effect, the assessment made by the groups involved subsequently was that the violence of the State in cases such as these may be too dangerous to be challenged at such times (see 4.4 and 6.3).

Thus, I consider that the key word here would be 'visibility'. While preventing events has proved to be near impossible, one can use them as a platform for protest (Giulianotti, Armstrong, Hales & Hobbs, 2015). The presence of foreign tourists and the media can be used as a way to bring issues that were eclipsed by the dynamics of local confrontations to the front of the stage. The 2016 Olympics opening ceremony, for example, generated an image that became a symbol of social inequality in the 'Rio de Janeiro Olímpico'⁴⁷. Bringing public demonstrations to the events' insulation cord (the Games restricted border area) can also yield results as soon as both tourists and the media would be forced to take notice of events that might otherwise be obscured by the virtually omnipresent propaganda of sport

⁴⁷http://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2016/08/06/politica/1470483911_929958.html

mega events. Building links with international actors capable of giving visibility to the problems caused by sport mega events can also be fundamental.

In this phase of development of the Games, very often there are several types of violence against local populations, and access to public opinion seems to be the only way to prevent the local forces of investing specially against the poor (Eick, 2011b; Fussey, Coaffee, Armstrong & Hobbs, 2012; Giulianotti & Klausner, 2010; Hyde, 2010). The recommendation here is to use every opportunity to make the point of view of the residents and people affected known. This can include make known stories of abuse by the Games, denounce illegal or immoral practices performed by the Games, and criticize the performance of global and local actors in relation to the Games.

7.5.4 Recommendations to the post-Games period

The period following the realisation of the Games presents two movements that need to be understood and avoided so that populations affected by sport mega events do not lose focus and are not further harmed. The first of these movements has direct implications on the academic agenda, as well as on the lives of those affected by the events, the *carnival effect*. The second concerns governments and the franchise owners. They must be publicly implicated, to be held accountable.

The *carnival effect* tends to lead politicians, officials, the media and researchers to shift their focus to the next editions of the Games. While little can be done to keep government-bound actors and ISOs tied to their promises, academics can avoid such an effect and focus on *ex-post facto* assessments, thereby keeping the criticism and the possibility of achieving better results alive. The key words here are visibility, memory and accountability. The issues created by sport mega events must not be allowed to ‘disappear’, or fall into oblivion.

Thus, it is also necessary that academics, popular movements, people and families affected by the initiatives of sport mega events force the actors responsible not to escape their responsibilities. From the point of view of academia, in addition to the direct and practical sense of the maintenance of the research agenda in the events that already happened, *ex-post facto* research may also contribute to the weakening of the discursive resource of sport mega events. It also weakens the strength of the sports bourgeoisie when in the first phase, the host selection, it promotes events by spreading indiscriminate hopes that later will become forms of oppression of impoverished populations. Avoiding the *carnival effect* may also have a pedagogical legacy. Sport mega events may learn through such a change that whatever they do will not be easily forgotten.

Secondly, and perhaps even more difficult, it is necessary that in the post-Games phase, more directly the governments, but also symbolically the franchise owners, be publicly implicated, be held accountable. When the event’s period of effervescence is over, popular movements, people and families affected by the event, academics and other actors need to look for ways to publicise unresolved problems

and to call those responsible to account. Here again, reversing the dominant logic of the academic publications on sport mega events, from *ex-ante* studies to *ex-post* studies, can provide good arguments both in local contexts and in other contexts facing similar issues.

7.5.5 An agenda for the dialogue between the opposition to sport mega events and organisers of sport mega events

The summary of the recommendations based on the research that I developed during my doctorate is that those who are motivated, due to the necessity or the willingness of their militancy, to face sport mega events and their undesired consequences take into account a pattern of inversion of the list of key issues of criticism in the hosting of sport mega events presented earlier. Hence, the dialogue, from the point of view of those who assume such a responsibility as oppose to sport mega events and fight against the harm they can cause to affected populations, should include the search for the following:

- (A) clear benefits towards the poor and the disadvantaged;
- (B) the avoidance of misdirection of resources needed to meet pressing social needs;
- (C) public and transparent policies to avoid the increase of the budget of sport mega events;
- (D) changes in urban transport that effectively address issues related to the majority of the populations;
- (E) forms of protection to the informal economy;
- (F) adequate working conditions;
- (G) respect for ethnic minorities, indigenous and traditional peoples;
- (H) guarantee of free speech and freedom of assembly;
- (I) extensive transparency and public participation;
- (J) guarantees to adequate housing and of no forced evictions;
- (L) no violence against poor people and the homeless;
- (M) guarantees to human rights;
- (N) guarantees of dissension and no violence against opponents of sport mega events;
- (O) policies aimed at avoiding and softening inconvenience and disruption brought by sport mega events to cities and countries;
- (P) the avoidance of elitist, privatised and exclusionary character of sport mega events;
- (Q) the avoidance of gentrification and elitism of renewed areas - no economic expulsion;
- (R) the avoidance of 'false promises' made by sport mega events - the presentation of the practical means necessary to develop projects advertised during the bidding process or the initial process of planning;
- (S) the avoidance of white elephants, undesirable desirables and Trojan horses.

Of course, this list needs, later and according to each context, to be developed and specialised in different branches of the activities mentioned. However, it may be a good start as soon as it accumulates references to past experiences and, specifically, aspects evidenced in this thesis.

In order to contribute to dialogues between actors from different areas and to the organisation of actions and movements to face sport mega events, the preparatory discussions could take into account the grouping that I suggested earlier (7.5). Also, meetings with sport mega events representatives could have such themes, so more than one issue would be tackled and more collective solutions are sought. Thus, themes for meetings and debates could be:

1. Social inequality, which would gather:

- A. Lack of benefits towards the poor and the disadvantaged;
- E. Problems caused to the informal economy;
- F. Problems related to working conditions;
- J. Problems related to housing and evictions;
- P. The elitist, privatised and exclusionary character of sport mega events;
- Q. Gentrification and elitism of renewed areas.

2. Public resources misdirection, which would gather:

- B. The fact that hosting mega events constitutes a misdirection of resources needed to meet a wide range of pressing social needs;
- D. Problems related to urban transport;
- I. Lack of transparency and public participation;
- S. white elephants, undesirable desirables and Trojan horses.

3. Issues related to gigantism and sport mega events management, which would gather:

- C. The increasing budget of sport mega events;
- I. Lack of transparency and public participation;
- O. Problems related to inconvenience and disruption brought about by mega events to cities and countries;
- R. 'False promises' made by sport mega events - do not deliver or develop projects advertised during the bidding process or the initial process of planning;
- S. White elephants, undesirable desirables and Trojan horses.

4. Human rights, which would gather:

- E. Problems caused to the informal economy;

- F. Problems related to working conditions;
- G. Disrespect for ethnic minorities, indigenous and traditional peoples;
- H. Threats to free speech and freedom of assembly;
- L. Problems related to violence against poor people;
- M. Problems related to human rights; and N. Problems related to violence against opponents of sport mega events.

Additionally, I would add that dialogue, organisation, vigilance, visibility, memory and accountability could function as organisational principles. Thus, groups opposing sport mega events could be prepared to tackle the most common issues brought by the occurrence of an edition of the sport mega events to their reality.

Dialogue proved to be very important throughout the process that involved the communities affected by the works of the Tronco Avenue in Porto Alegre. Only when, through dialogue, they realised that the problem they were facing was a collective issue, they started to think of organisation. But dialogue is not only something that can be done among peers. It was also important for the residents of the area to dialogue with other communities affected by the event and as well with national and international organisations that could then help them.

Given the current tendency for the use of force against communities affected by sport mega events, as discussed earlier, dialogue can also be a tool to disarm local authorities and to raise awareness regarding the issues involving the communities and support for those in need. Those that for one reason or another are aware of the bitter unfoldings of sport mega events can use this organisational principle to foster an initial informal meeting, for example, or the projection of one of several critical videos available on YouTube. A good title for an activity as proposed here would be 'let's talk about the World Cup/Olympics?'

Organisation, in turn, was the only way residents of the area affected by the 2014 World Cup and studied in this thesis found to endure throughout these years of constant feeling of threatening and disruption. It was only when they joined as a community that they were able to initially halt the accelerated process of eviction of residents and later face and take the lead in the process of approximation between the event and the community. The principle here is simple. Together, it is apparently less difficult to achieve better results than alone. But why gather? First, as stated above, to facilitate dialogue; to get to know different local realities, the type of threats that will be dealt with upon the 'arrival' of the event, and perhaps past successful experiences of resistance.

Secondly, to seek collective proposals and solutions; here, I believe that the policy of 'key for key' can be an excellent example. When residents from the Tronco Avenue area managed to assemble, they felt more powerful, they felt they could face the City Hall and the World Cup. And in a way, it was true.

After the conformation of the policy of 'key for key', no resident of the region was expelled or left the area unwillingly.

Information is an important commodity in the political economy of sport mega events. The timeframe of a sport mega event is tight, thus access to certain specific pieces of information can be central. For example, the residents of the Tronco Avenue were initially contacted by the municipality with the information that 1600 families would have to leave the area. After initial despair, they managed to contact lawyers through the Popular Committee of the World Cup in Porto Alegre and the residents' associations and learned that the process would not be so simple. Hence, the struggle for access to information can be essential for communities affected by sport mega events.

But because information is such an important currency within the sport mega events universe, it tends to be difficult to access. That is why vigilance can be of paramount relevance. Finding ways to access public reports, information regarding public expenditures, legislations, public hearings, movements the organisers perform, can be especially important in such an environment where response time can be crucial. Again, here, the role of academics might be important, once for them some of these practices are common.

The power of the presence of sport mega events in the media and in public spaces in general is overwhelming. This can cause the problems faced by communities affected by sport mega events to disappear amidst so many other aspects of the events. Thus, it is a relevant organisational principle to give visibility to the issues faced by the communities affected by sport mega events. The main television companies will probably not work with the communities. The message here will have to be passed along through other channels and through forced appearances. Social media can be important in this case. Campaigning and diffusing information through social media can be a relevant strategy. The social media channels can access very different people and raise awareness of the problems faced. Producing materials that work as propaganda can also be important.

In the case studied in this thesis, the Popular Committees produced several reports documenting the abuses of the World Cup and the Olympics. Those documents were used by the communities as an important tool to dialogue with the general population and with the authorities. Another strategy is to 'take the stage'. In more than one opportunity, the residents of the Tronco Avenue appeared by surprise in an organised way in events meant to promote the 2014 World Cup. I was present at some of those occasions, for example on the day of the 2014 Brazil World Cup opening ceremony when several political leaders were in Porto Alegre town centre celebrating. The reaction of the people who were promoting the event was certainly not the most amicable, they would not invite the protesters to the stage or dialogue with them openly. But, in some of those situations, the public authorities were forced to commit and to point out dates for meetings, for example. The message here is to make noise and give visibility to the issues that are important to the communities affected.

As stated earlier, after the event, the focus tends to shift. Therefore, at an organisational level it is necessary both to learn from previous events and to hold key actors accountable for their actions. These measures can help to prevent abuses from being forgotten and also to ensure that their perpetrators are not allowed to go unpunished. First, the documentation can be used to seek compensation. Several cases of wrongdoing can be impossible to avoid due to the use of state power (police forces, for example) in the context of sport mega events.

However, a well-documented case can support a legal process and from that it can derive a possible compensation for individuals or groups. Secondly, memory tools (registers, news compilations, official government documents, videos of public authorities dialoguing with the communities) can avoid false promises from being repeated. The policy of 'key for key' could only have the strength it has because the Mayor of Porto Alegre had previously made promises in relation to housing issues in the region that were later not fulfilled.

Thus, the community had accumulated enough to propose a policy that the municipality could not deny because the Mayor had not kept his previous promises. This links directly to the case of accountability. As soon as the editions of sport mega events take place, several organs are dismantled. The organising committee cease to exist, boards in legislatives are extinct, inter-ministerial structures disassemble. But responsibilities cannot disappear with them.

Thus, it is important that the communities seek to understand which sphere of the public structure is responsible for each of the issues they face throughout the processes. For example, in 2015 while I performed my fieldwork, the community of the Tronco Avenue was starting to address the Secretary of Social Development, once the former structure that dealt with them during the initial years was dissipated by the new Mayor of Porto Alegre, Nelson Marchezan. Because they had well documented registers, they were confident that nothing important would be forgotten or overlooked.

7.6 Limitations of the research and implications for future research

In this sub-chapter, I initially consider the limitations of the thesis. Next, I indicate areas that could be relevant to observe in the near future in terms of research on sport mega events. First, I discuss how changes in global capitalism can affect sport mega events. Subsequently, I address possibilities of research on sport mega events opened by the dynamics of the relationship between the Global South and the Global North. Conjointly, I also point out the relevancy of advancing studies on the (fr)agile assemblages of sport mega events (the coalition produced to foster a specific edition of sport mega events) and their relationship to the transnational capitalist class. Later, I address issues that are specific to the field of studies of sport mega events. For this, I identify as relevant issues themes related to human rights; the need for *ex-post* studies and to avoid the *carnival effect*; the need for more investigative journalism inspired research, especially in relation to the relationship between construction companies and sport

mega events; and the need to focus on areas directly affected by actions related to sport mega events and not only on general populations.

7.6.1 Limitations of the research

I will start this sub-chapter by discussing the limitations of the thesis. The aspects I raise here are linked to the further implications I discuss throughout the sub-chapter. I will focus on two dimensions to discuss the limitations of the thesis, time limitations and methodological limitations.

The issues around time limitations prevented the thesis from developing further considerations upon at least one important part of the study, the theoretical framework. Although every theme present in the thesis could have been advanced if I would have more time, the uneven and combined development of sport mega events theory was the part that made me feel more dissatisfied (chapter 2). I knew that I had built a framework strong enough to support the progress of my study but at the time I had reached the end passage on the uneven and combined development of sport mega events I was already with my concerns starting to concentrate on the fieldwork. I had spent a significant amount of time studying the development of global capitalism. I had learnt the most important features of global capitalism and had showed how they influenced the development of sport mega events. But at the end of that chapter (2) I felt that I could have done more. For example, principally, I believe I could have developed in a more detailed way the discussion on the relationships established between actors in the Global North and in the Global South.

The methodological limitations of the thesis are due to the state of the field but also due to decisions I have made. After studying the way residents of sport mega events host cities and countries had been researched in chapter 3, I came to understand that there were only few indications in relation to important elements of the research to be learnt from those studies. The lack of agreement in relation to aspects of the universe to be researched, methods and samples was rather confusing.

Then, I decided to follow the indication made by the Porto Alegre City Hall in terms of the universe of the research, I used a well-accepted scientific formula to determine the sample, and I used the criticism I built on the methods used to assess sport mega events to justify my decision of performing an *ex-post* study and a survey. I consider that those were all right decisions. But because perhaps I was not totally confident - it was the first time I would perform a research of such an extension - I allowed certain decisions to escape through my fingers in the event I organised to help me prepare the fieldwork. I now assess that my list of questions was too long, for example. Having people specialised in so many different areas being part of the process of discussion of the methodology led me to add several additional questions that made the instrument very difficult to apply. More than once I dealt with questions as 'is it going to take too long yet?' during the field work. The instrument needed to be sharpened, made more direct and short. But because it had already yielded relevant data, the adaptation of the instrument cannot

change the content too much. It would make it difficult to compare results. This is a limitation that I will have to face in the future.

Moving on to the discussion of the recommendations, I would like to make a special note derived from the reflection on the limitation of the thesis. Performing the field work in the year following the event was a clear benefit. Processes that were triggered by the event should have been already finalised - no excuses from the organisers were considered plausible, the memory of the respondents was still fresh, and the feeling that something could still be done was still alive. It can be also a way to initially tackle the *carnival effect* as well.

7.6.2 Implications for future research

In deciding to study the correlations between sport mega events and global capitalism (chapter 2), I did not imagine how fertile this field of research could be. I thought I could identify some trends and that would be enough. In fact, linking those trends to the development of the sport mega events was sufficient for the construction of this thesis. However, towards the end of the process, I came to understand that there is still room for many further advances.

Thus, the first implication of my thesis for future research is that, in order to better understand the development of sport mega events, it might be important to observe global capitalism and its development. The features of global capitalism I have outlined in this thesis are the main tendencies of global capitalism (see chapter 2) (Meszaros, 1995, Robinson, 2004, Sklair, 2001, 2002a, 2002b). In line with how the research suggests that sport mega events borrow characteristics from global capitalism, it can be expected that changes in global capitalism may cause changes in sport mega events.

So, it is important to pay attention to the movements of transnational and financial capital and to their dominance within capital as a whole. Transnational and financial circuits of accumulation (Meszaros, 1995; Robinson, 2012) shown to be closely related to the ways sport mega events have been organised in the contemporaneity, according to the research, thus any changes in that sphere may also provoke alterations in the world of sport mega events.

Consequently, it may prove relevant to observe the tendencies that are also evident in the production sector. Crises and other elements of change can modify the current global chains of production and distribution of wealth, having also consequences related to sport mega events. For example, with the reign of neoliberalism and the 'opening of the ports', the movement of blurring commercial borders, global production chains (including sport mega events) were facilitated. Modifications in that feature could cause changes in sport mega event policies, above all in terms of geopolitical, logistical and organisational decisions.

It is equally important to observe changes in the relationship between the Global North and the Global South and between the international sport bourgeoisie and potential hosts of sport mega events

in the Global South. The historical tendency dictates that the dominance of the Global North might be extended through the next period (Feenstra, 1998; NUPI, 2014; OECD, 2012). But the relationship to the Global South though can suffer alterations. Actors such as Russia and China, and in lesser extent Brazil, South Africa and India, among others, can play important roles in shaping world policies and economy. The centrality of the control and profitability of operations may tend to keep concentrated in the Global North, but the circuits of accumulation may change the paths of flow, meaning that at least a few countries of the Global South may come to play a more significant role in the world markets. That could have consequences in the world of sports and perhaps in the world of sport mega events as well. However, it must be considered that China, Russia, Brazil and South Africa, some of the biggest and more important countries of the Global South in economic terms, have all recently experienced the hosting of sport mega events, which could make it difficult for them to consider hosting new editions in the near future.

Furthermore, the reader at this point will not be surprised if I emphasise that this study area needs further research that is focused specifically on populations affected by sport mega events. Most reports from institutions working in areas such as human rights, adequate housing and traditional populations, for example, have indicated that sport mega events can be threatening. However, due the issues presented in chapter 3, the area still presents an extremely small number of works that contribute to the task of knowing better the consequences of sport mega events to those directly affected by them.

Keeping observation on the allocation of sport mega events also seems to be a way to better understand the events and their policies. Although the Global North's dominance in relation to other geopolitical areas of the globe seems to be certain for the next historical period, minor changes within this situation as well as specific changes in the context of sport mega events may cause changes in the policy of allocation of sport mega events. Thus, whether the current policy of taking sport mega events to the Global South is maintained or not, researchers can yet find indicatives of changes both in the broader scenario and in the specific scenario of sport mega events through the observance of these tendencies. An example of the kind of trends that can be found through such a practice can be seen in the discussion I made from the data gathered in Table 1.

Regarding sport mega events more specifically, it is important to follow the movements of the ISOs. For example, many of the issues I addressed throughout the thesis relate to Human Rights. Recently, both FIFA and the IOC have presented initiatives related to this area. In 2016, FIFA commissioned a Harvard professor to carry out a report on human rights⁴⁸. Later, in 2017, FIFA also created an independent advisory board of human rights⁴⁹. The presence of companies such as Coca-Cola and Adidas on the board may be viewed with suspicion. Thus, questioning the actions taken by this board and investigating the adequacy of the entity and its events to possible recommendations made by the

⁴⁸<https://www.shiftproject.org/news/independent-report-fifa-news/>

⁴⁹<http://www.fifa.com/governance/news/y=2017/m=3/news=independent-advisory-board-of-human-rights-experts-to-meet-on-13-march-2875485.html>

organ can be a way to develop research focused on sport mega events and the search for honest and socially just practices in the context of sport and sport mega events.

Additionally, soon after the problems which afflicted the Olympics in Beijing, Sochi and Rio, the IOC decided to invest in human rights practices. In its new host city contract, the IOC included a specific chapter related to human rights, anti-corruption and sustainable development standards⁵⁰. Are the Olympic cities capable of building effective human rights, anti-corruption and sustainability policies? Will FIFA recognise its role in relation to such issues and also take more serious actions towards the improvement of its standards in relation to it? Having been put on paper, will such policies be appropriately developed alongside the events? These and other questions can be asked by researchers so that the pressure on the IOC and FIFA contributes to socially just Games.

In terms of movements specific to sport mega events research, I would like to highlight three issues. First, the need for *ex-post* studies and to avoid the *carnival effect*. Second, the need for more investigative journalism inspired research, specially regarding the relationship between construction companies and sport mega events. Third, the need to focus on areas directly affected by actions related to sport mega events and not only on the general populations.

The trend of publications aimed at ‘forecasts’ and evaluations of future impacts of sport mega events dominated part of the literature on the subject at least until the beginning of the 21st century. As previously mentioned, such publications are part of the discursive resources used by advocates of sport mega events and their policies. Typically, authors of such publications are also part of the small industry of ‘impact studies’ that have become commonplace in the set of applications and processes of convincing local leaders. Often, such predictions are made based on predictions made for previous editions of the Games.

Thus, a cascade effect of data that do not rely on any acceptable evidence is created, which on the one hand contributes to the state of frenzy associated with the events and, on the other hand, distances the academic universe from serious and committed to practical reality research. Thus, it seems that increasing the number of publications that deal with real data, considering real reports and other sources and not predictions is a necessity of the field of research. This may initially contribute to the advancement of the area in the academic universe, but may also have an impact on policies linked to sport mega events.

Another movement that seems to be important in academic and political contexts is the avoidance of the *carnival effect*. Important part of the academics, especially those with international profile - access to different areas of the globe, control over different languages (but especially English), resources to conduct research - follows the migratory dynamics of sport mega events. There is nothing wrong with that. However, it is important that locations that served as hosts for sport mega events are studied even after

⁵⁰<https://www.olympic.org/news/ioc-strengthens-its-stance-in-favour-of-human-rights-and-against-corruption-in-new-host-city-contract>
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/02/28/olympics-host-city-contract-requires-human-rights>

the events have happened. Two strategies seem plausible to me in this case. First, local researchers can keep research agendas on the impact of sport mega events in their cities or countries in parallel to their other interests. This may give rise to *ex-post* research in the academic universe of sport mega events and contribute to the advancement of the academic field. Second, researchers of international calibre can collaborate with local researchers and can also 'go back' to locations previously studied to assess long-term impacts. These two strategies may also have political and policy impacts in the context of sport mega events since they can feed the well-founded criticism on sport mega events editions and their universe.

The impressive amount of money earned by construction companies displayed by this research is an important datum (see table 1). However, little is known about the process involving the transfer of resources, especially from the public coffers, to private companies. Aggravating factors, distinctly during the RPSMEA, are the constant construction cost increases, which often appear to be 'rehearsed'. Thus, it seems important to better investigate how civil construction companies operate in association with sport mega events. It is necessary to understand more about how these companies operate in the local contexts and what their potential links to the decision-making processes are, especially regarding the decision-making process concerning which projects are absorbed by the platforms of the events.

However, it is perhaps equally important to know more about parts not covered by official reports and discourses. The example of Brazil 2014 can be intriguing in this way. 91% of the resources employed in the event ended up in civil construction companies' coffers (table 1). The case of Qatar may also be emblematic given that the country will build several new stadia for the 2022 World Cup and has been repeatedly cited as a case of bribery of FIFA's voting body. I am aware that it is not an easy task and that undertaking such an endeavour can mean many difficulties in an academic career. But perhaps some of us can borrow tools from investigative journalism to handle this task that seems to be both necessary and beneficial (Jennings, 2011). In other words, we need to ask if the construction sector has lobbied the decision-making bodies of FIFA and the IOC, thus helping to shape the RPSMEA. And after that, we need to ask how this would have been done. And due to the high degree of involvement of civil construction companies in corruption both in the context of sport mega events and outside of them, we need to ask how this industry was involved in cases of corruption and investigate the involvement of the sector with cases that may surface in the future.

In chapter 3, I showed that most of the research on sport mega events locations' residents/locals perceptions presents inconclusive and vague results, with a tenuous trend towards a positive approach in specific areas of research, such as tourism. I consider that the issue of scale and the universe researched may be a key factor to consider in order to obtain more significant results. It is necessary to keep in mind that resources used in the events are usually from public funds, so the 'opinion' of all residents of a particular city, region or country is important.

However, residents of such cities, regions or countries often do not have any direct relation to the initiatives of the event, not feeling their impact, or are not interested in it. Thus, it would be beneficial to carry out more research on communities directly affected by actions of the events so that the impact of such events can be better understood. I would like to raise two main reasons for that. First, because the way in which actions develop in the communities affected by sport mega events can tell us about the commitment of the event and its promoters with principles that are often part of the discourse of the events' advocates, especially in the Global South. Second, because many of the transformations intended by the plans of such events can be known and assessed only if directly affected populations are consulted.

New transport routes and housing complexes are little known by citizens who do not use such structures. This indication could even have been placed as a recommendation in the context of the thesis. When promoters of the Games present their plans, many issues go uncovered or are presented in a nebulous fashion. If the first question addressed was 'what happens to people who live in that area?', perhaps sport mega events would be in a better position today. For example, FIFA has been consistently voted one of the worst companies in the world⁵¹ and has even been crowned 'hall of shame' by the Public Eye - NGO dedicated to observing issues related to human rights⁵². This is mostly due to forced evictions and negative impacts on local communities. Additionally, due to its negative records in relation to human rights, the Rio 2016 Olympic Games can go down in history as 'the exclusion Games'⁵³. These issues could be avoided if 'what happens to people who live in that area?' was a concern of the organisers of sport mega events. This change of behaviour could bring back to sport mega events their festive aura and popular support. Sport mega events could then be something to be celebrated and not to be feared.

⁵¹<http://www.correiopovo.com.br/blogs/hiltormombach/2013/11/29540/fifa-e-indicada-a-premio-de-pior-empresa-do-mundo-em-2014/>
<https://business-humanrights.org/en/documents/public-eye-awards-2014>

⁵²<https://www.publiceye.ch/en/>
<http://www.taxijustice.net/2014/01/17/public-eye-awards-help-put-fifa-hall-shame/>

⁵³<http://www.childrenwin.org/rio-2016-the-exclusion-games/>
<https://www.boell.de/en/2016/07/26/rio-2016-olympics-exclusion-games>
<http://www.streetchildrenresources.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Rio-2016-Olympics-The-Exclusion-Games.pdf>
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/08/rio-olympics-2016-human-rights-violations-report>

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Appendix 1: Documents and reports consulted

TITLE	INSTITUTION REPOSIBLE	REFERENCES
Matriz de Responsabilidades Consolidada	Ministério do Esporte - Governo Federal Brasil	December 2012, pp. 1-3; September 2012, pp. 1-4; March 2013, pp. 1-3; September 2013, pp. 1-3;
Mapa de atualização e revisão da Matriz de Responsabilidades	Ministério do Esporte - Governo Federal Brasil	April 2012, p. 1
O TCU e a copa do mundo 2014 - Relatório de situação	Tribunal de Contas da União	January 2012. pp. 1-72; April 2013, pp. 1-90
Resolução N*3, de 8 de novembro de 2011- Secretaria Nacional de Futebol e Defesa dos Direitos do torcedor - Grupo Executivo da Copa do Mundo FIFA 2014	Diário Oficial da União - Ministério do Esporte	November 2011, p. 43
Resolução N*19, de 22 de novembro de 2012- Secretaria Executiva- Grupo Executivo da Copa do Mundo FIFA 2014	Diário Oficial da União - Ministério do Esporte	November 2012, p. 152
Resolução N*1, de 23 de setembro de 2011- Secretaria Executiva - Grupo Executivo da Copa do Mundo FIFA 2014 - GECOPA	Diário Oficial da União - Ministério do Esporte	September 2011, p. 67
3o Balanço das ações do Governo Brasileiro para a Copa	Ministério do Esporte - Governo Federal Brasil	May 2012, pp. 1-22

TITLE	INSTITUTION RESPONSIBLE	REFERENCES
4o Balanço das Ações do Governo Brasileiro para a Copa 2014	Ministério do Esporte - Governo Federal Brasil	December 2012, pp. 1-40
5o Balanço das Ações do Governo Brasileiro para a Copa 2014	Ministério do Esporte - Governo Federal Brasil	September 2013, pp. 1-58
Luis FERNANDES SECRETÁRIO EXECUTIVO DO MINISTÉRIO DO ESPORTE COORDENADOR DO GECOPA/ Aldo Rebello Ministro do Esporte	Ministério do Esporte - Governo Federal Brasil	??, pp. 1-8
PARECER AO PROJETO DE LEI N.º 2.330, de 2011, QUE DISPÕE SOBRE AS MEDIDAS RELATIVAS À COPA DAS CONFEDERAÇÕES FIFA DE 2013 E À COPA DO MUNDO FIFA DE 2014, QUE SERÃO REALIZADAS NO BRASIL - PROJETO DE LEI Nº 2.330, DE 2011	Camara dos Deputados - Poder Executivo	December 2011, pp. 1-45
Balanço Copa 2014	GECOPA 2014	January 2011, pp. 1-163
Situação dos preparativos do país para a Copa do Mundo FIFA 2014	Ministério do Esporte - Governo Federal Brasil	September 2011, pp. 1-40

TITLE	INSTITUTION RESPONSIBLE	REFERENCES
Ações e Efetivo do Governo Federal Balanço da Copa - Copa 2014 Monitoramento	?	July 2014, pp. 1-66
BNDES ProCopa e Turismo	BNDES - Ministério do Desenvolvimento, Indústria e Comercio Exterior - Ministério do Turismo	February 2010, pp. 1-2
Proposta Estratégica de Organização turística Copa do Mundo 2014 Brasil	Governo Federal Brasil - Ministério do Turismo - EMBRATUR - FGV	??, pp. 1-35
Chamada Pública para Seleção de Projetos que integrarão a Programação Oficial do Governo Federal para a Promoção do Brasil pela realização da Copa do Mundo FIFA 2014 - Anexo II	Ministério do Esporte	September 2011, pp. 1-4 September 2011, pp. 1-3
Copa 2014 Desafios e Responsabilidades	Câmara dos Deputados -Ação Parlamentar	? 2010, pp. 1-157
Impactos econômicos da realização da copa 2014 no Brasil	Ministério do Esporte - Governo Federal Brasil	March 2010, pp. 1-42
Requerimento de Informação	Senador Alvaro Dias	March 2012, pp. 1-2

TITLE	INSTITUTION RESPONSIBLE	REFERENCES
Preparação institucional: 6 garantias já atendidas; Lei Geral da Copa em vias de ser encaminhada ao Congresso	Ministério do Esporte - Governo Federal Brasil	August 2011, p. 1
Garantias da União à FIFA	Ministério do Esporte - Governo Federal Brasil	??, pp. 1-8
Legados de Megaeventos Esportivos - Legacies of Sports Mega events	Sistema CONFEF/CREFs - Ministério do Esporte - Governo Federal Brasil	? 2008, pp. 1-610
Garantia da Lei e da Ordem	Ministério da Defesa Estado-Maior Conjunto das Forças Armadas	December 2013, pp. 1-70
Parecer sobre PL 728	Senadora Ana Amélia	? 2013, pp. 1-7
Projeto de Lei - Medidas Relativas à Copa das Confederações FIFA 2013 e a Copra do Mundo FIFA de 2014	Congresso Nacional	??, pp. 1-12
Planejamento Estratégico de Segurança para a Copa do Mundo FIFA Brasil 2014	Ministério da Justiça Secretaria Extraordinária de Segurança para Grandes Eventos	January 2012. pp. 1-63

TITLE	INSTITUTION RESPONSIBLE	REFERENCES
Plano de Promoção do Brasil - A Copa do Mundo FIFA 2014 como plataforma de promoção do País	Ministério do Esporte - Governo Federal Brasil	??, pp. 1-12
Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito destinada a apurar a regularidade do contrato celebrado entre CBF e a NIKE	Silvio Torres	June 2001, pp. 1-676
Subemenda Substitutiva Global (PL N* 2.330, de 2011, e PL 2.686 de 2011, apensado)	Camara dos Deputados - Congresso Nacional	March 2012, pp. 1-25
Termo de Compromisso	Ministério do Esporte - Governo do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul - Prefeitura Municipal de Porto Alegre - Sport Clube Internacional	January 2010, pp. 1-2
2014 FIFA World Cup Brazil June 12-July 13 - 2014 Frequently Asked Questions	Brazilian Government	??, pp. 1-20
O Aumento da Demanda por serviços	SEBRAE	??, pp. 1-3
Copa 2014 Desafio e Oportunidades Breve Avaliação e Balanço	SINAENCO - SECOVI	May 2014, pp. 1-78
Mapa de atualizações e revisão da matriz de responsabilidades	Governo Municipal Porto Alegre	November 2012, p. 1

TITLE	INSTITUTION RESPONSIBLE	REFERENCES
Contrato de Cidade Sede	Federation Internationale de Football Association FIFA - Comitê Organizador Local da Copa do Mundo da FIFA de 2014 no Brasil	May 2007, pp. 199-225
Host City Agreement	Federation Internationale de Football Association FIFA - 2014 FIFA World Cup Local Organising Committee Brazil - City of Belo Horizonte Belo Horizonte City Hall	November 2012, pp. 412-434
Copa do Mundo e Olimpíadas	Datafolha Instituto de Pesquisas	June 2013, pp. 1-27
Copa do Mundo da FIFA Brasil 2014	SINAENCO	June 2011, pp. 1-68
Fools Gold	Community Links - NEF	??, pp. 1-56
Brasil sustentável Impactos Socioeconômicos da Copa do Mundo 2014	Ernst & Young - FGV Projetos	??, pp. 1-56
Entrevista Raquel Rolnik “Coisas nada civilizadas ocorrem quando um país prepara um megaevento”	Revista Adusp	April 2012, pp. 6-13

TITLE	INSTITUTION RESPONSIBLE	REFERENCES
Copa 2014 Desafio e Oportunidades Breve Avaliação e Balanço	SINAENCO - SECOVI	May 2014, pp. 1-78
Copa do Mundo da FIFA Brasil 2014 Copa das Confederações da FIFA Brasil 2013 Áreas de restrição comercial	FIFA World Cup Brasil - Equipe de Proteção as Marcas da FIFA	??, pp. 1-10
MEGAEVENTOS E VIOLAÇÕES DOS DIREITOS HUMANOS NO BRASIL	Articulação nacional dos comitês populares da Copa e Olimpíadas	2@ ed. ? 2012, pp. 1-124
Mega events and Human Rights Violations in Brasil	Articulação nacional dos comitês populares da Copa e Olimpíadas	June 2012, pp. 1-36
As lições de Vancouver	Megaeventos	??, pp. 40-44
O Aumento da Demanda por serviços	SEBRAE	??, pp. 1-3
Building a Legacy Sports Mega events should last a Lifetime	ATKEARNEY	??, pp. 1-12
Estádios de Futebol Recomendações e requisitos técnicos	FIFA	5@ ed 2011, pp. 1-434

TITLE	INSTITUTION RESPONSIBLE	REFERENCES
Football Stadiums technical recommendations and requirements	FIFA	4 ed 2007, pp. 1-248
Changing the game Outlook for the global sports market to 2015	PWC	December 2011, pp. 1-40
Copa do Mundo e Olimpíadas	Datafolha Instituto de Pesquisas	June 2013, pp. 1-27
MEGAEVENTOS E VIOLAÇÕES DOS DIREITOS HUMANOS NO RIO DE JANEIRO	Dossiê do Comitê Popular da Copa e Olimpíadas do Rio de Janeiro	? 2011, pp. 1-92; May 2013, pp. 1-140
Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context, Raquel Rolnik	United Nations - Human Rights Council	13* session, December 2009, pp. 1-21
Economia e Futebol Brasileiro Patrocinadores e seus segmentos	GSN - Global Esports Network	September 2011, pp. 1-16
Impactos Econômicos do Evento Copa 2014 no RS	FEE - Fundação de Economia e Estatística	February 2014, pp. 1-8

TITLE	INSTITUTION REPOSIBLE	REFERENCES
Financial Report 2013 - FIFA	64* FIFA Congress	June 2014, pp. 1-142
Mega-Sporting Generating Tourist Spending	VISA	September 2010, pp. 1-16

Appendix 2: Interviewees informed consent example

Andrew Jennings



School of Sport, Exercise and Health Sciences
Sociology of Sport Research Group

PhD candidate: Billy Graeff Bastos (Federal University of Rio Grande, Brazil)

Supervisor: Prof. Richard Giulianotti

Sponsor: Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) – Brazil

Research Project: 2014 FIFA World Cup™: political economy and the city

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

The purpose and details of this study have been explained to me. I understand that this study is designed to further scientific knowledge and that all procedures have been approved by the Loughborough University Ethics Approvals (Human Participants) Sub-Committee. Yes No

I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form. Yes No

I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation. Yes No

I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in the study. Yes No

I agree to participate in this study. Yes No

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage for any reason, and that I will not be required to explain my reasons for withdrawing. Yes No

I understand that all the information I provide will be treated as public and that when mentioned, they shall contain a reference to this interview. Yes No

I understand that I have the right to refuse answering any questions during the interview, and that I will not be required to explain my reasons for refusing. Yes No

I received a copy of this informed consent form.

Yes No

I declare to assign the raw material of this interview to the Memory of Sport Centre of the School of Physical Education, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul. The Memory of Sport Centre is therefore entitled to use, distribute and publish, for cultural purposes in any media, mentioned the testimony in whole or part, edited or not, and allow third parties access the same for identical purposes, with the only caveat of its integrity and provided the source and author. I understand that the raw material of this interview will be available in the virtual repository of the Sport Memory Centre after the embargo of 24 months from the publication of the doctoral thesis related to this research / interview.

Yes No

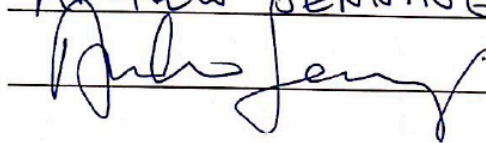
I agree with the use of this interview or parts thereof in presentations with academic or scientific purposes, by the author of the research.

Yes No

Your name

ANDREW JENNINGS

Your signature



Signature of investigator

Date

21/4/2015

Appendix 3: sample of data collection instrument - 'survey table'

O Impacto da Copa 2014 na cidade de Porto Alegre: a percepção de comunidades afetadas.
Levantamento de dados no período entre Maio e Junho de 2015

Nome: _____

Endereço: _____

Observações:

1	Moradia			OBS.
		SIM	NÃO	
1.1	Algum momento você sentiu-se ameaçado de remoção em decorrência da Copa do Mundo?			
1.2	Você sentiu algum outro tipo de ameaça em relação à sua casa durante o período das obras da Copa?			Se sim, qual?
1.3	Você conhece alguém da comunidade que tenha sido removido por conta das obras da Copa?			Caso sim, para onde? Contato?
1.4	Durante o período das obras da Copa, você sofreu interrupção de serviços como luz, água ou outros serviços básicos?			Se sim, qual/quais?
1.5	Você participou dos processos públicos de decisão sobre o destino da sua moradia por conta das obras da Copa?			Se sim: Comitê Popular da Copa () Ministério Público () DEMHAB () Audiências Públicas () SECOPA () Outro. Qual? _____
1.6	Você visitou o escritório do DEMHAB por conta das obras da Copa?			Se sim, o atendimento foi apropriado? Sim () Não ()
1.7	Em relação à suas novas condições de moradia, melhoraram ou pioraram?	M ()	P ()	Obs.:

2		Educação		
		SIM	NÃO	OBS.
2.0	Você ou alguém que mora na sua casa tinha ou tem ligação direta com a escola durante as obras da Copa?			
2.1	Houve alteração quanto ao acesso à escola (matrícula, transporte, salas de aula, nº de escolas, outros...) no período das obras da Copa?			Se sim, Melhorou () Piorou ()
2.2	Percebeu alteração no número de instituições de ensino na região durante as obras da Copa?			Aumentou () Diminuiu ()
2.3	Houve possibilidade de interrupção do funcionamento da escola durante as obras da Copa?			
2.4	A Copa e/ou suas obras causaram alteração na rotina da escola?			Se sim, estas alteraram a sua rotina? Sim () Nao () se sim, de que forma?
2.5	Houve proposta dos Governos Federal, Estadual ou Municipal para alterações na área da educação por causa da Copa?			Se sim, qual/quais?
2.6	Você ou alguém de sua família teve que mudar de escola por conta das obras da Copa?			
2.7	Você ou alguém de sua família abandonou a escola por conta das obras da Copa?			

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Levantamento de dados no período entre Maio e Junho de 2015

3		Segurança		
		SIM	NÃO	OBS.
3.1	Tua sensação de segurança se alterou no período das obras da Copa?			* Se sim, aumentou ou diminuiu Aumentou () Diminuiu ()
3.2	A presença de Policiais e/ou Seguranças Privados aumentou ou diminuiu no período das obras da Copa?			Aumentou () Diminuiu ()
3.3	Sentiu-se mais ou menos seguro com presença de Policiais e Seguranças Privados no período das obras da Copa?			Se sim, mais () menos ()
3.4	Notou qualquer ameaça à segurança individual ou coletiva durante as obras da Copa?			Se sim, qual/quais?
3.5	Sentiu-se ameaçado pela presença ou ação da Polícia e/ou de Seguranças privados por conta das obras da Copa?			
3.6	Existe diálogo entre sua comunidade e a Polícia ou a Segurança Privada?			

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Levantamento de dados no período entre Maio e Junho de 2015

4		Saúde		
		SIM	NÃO	OBS.
4.1	Percebeu alteração nas condições de acesso aos serviços de saúde por conta das obras da Copa?			Se sim, Melhorou () Piorou ()
4.2	Percebeu alteração no número de instituições de saúde na região por conta das obras da Copa?			Se sim, Aumentou () Diminuiu ()
4.3	Houve possibilidade de interrupção dos serviços de saúde em função das obras da Copa?			Se sim, consolidou? Sim () Não ()
4.4	Precisou de cuidados de saúde durante o período das obras da Copa?			Conseguiu acesso? Sim () Não ()

5		Atuação da Esfera Pública		
		SIM	NÃO	OBS.
5.1	Você ou alguém da sua família foi procurado diretamente por algum representante dos governos, para tratar questões relacionadas às obras da Copa?			Se sim: Federal () Estadual () Municipal ()
5.2	Você foi procurado por representantes do governo para tratar coletivamente das questões da sua comunidade, relacionadas à Copa?			Se sim: Federal () Estadual () Municipal ()
5.3	Você ou alguém da sua família participou de alguma reunião ou organização comunitária para reivindicar as demandas da sua comunidade em função da Copa?			Se sim, qual(is)?
5.4	Você ou sua comunidade, em algum momento, foram consultados pelo governo sobre as obras da Copa e suas conseqüências?			Se sim, Quem? Quando? Para quê?
5.5	As obras da Copa mudaram sua vida ou a vida na comunidade?			Se sim: Melhorou () Piorou ()
5.6	As obras da Copa valeram a pena para a sua comunidade?			

O Impacto da Copa 2014 na cidade de Porto Alegre: a percepção de comunidades afetadas.
Levantamento de dados no período entre Maio e Junho de 2015

6		Emprego/economia		
		SIM	NÃO	OBS.
6.1	Você ou alguém da sua comunidade teve acesso a algum tipo de treinamento profissional ou curso por conta da Copa?			Se sim, Especifique:
6.2	Você ou alguém da sua comunidade conseguiu trabalho por causa da Copa?			Se sim: Informal () Formal () Temporário () Permanente ()
6.3	Você percebeu algum tipo de alteração nas condições de trabalho dentro da comunidade por conta da Copa?			Se sim: Melhorou () Piorou ()
6.4	Durante o período das obras da Copa, algum setor da economia (Construção Civil, Comércio, Prestação de Serviços, etc) modificou-se mais que os outros?			Se sim, qual/quais?
6.5	Você notou qualquer mudança nos preços antes, durante ou depois da Copa do Mundo?			Se sim, qual/quais?

O Impacto da Copa 2014 na cidade de Porto Alegre: a percepção de comunidades afetadas.
Levantamento de dados no período entre Maio e Junho de 2015

7				
Copa do Mundo FIFA 2014				
		SIM	NÃO	OBS.
7.1	Algum representante da Copa do Mundo FIFA (Comitê Organizador Local - LOC), Confederação Brasileira de Futebol (CBF), Federação Gaúcha de Futebol (FGF) entrou em contato com você ou sua comunidade no período das obras da Copa?			Se sim, Especifique:
7.2	Você, alguém que vive em sua casa ou na sua comunidade foi atingido pela Copa de alguma forma?			Se sim, Especifique:
7.3	A Copa teve consequências diretas na sua vida, na vida de alguém que vive em sua casa ou na sua comunidade?			Se sim, Especifique:
7.4	Você ou alguém que mora na sua casa assistiu a algum jogo da Copa no estádio?			Se sim, Especifique:
7.5	Você ou alguém de sua família participou da "FAN FEST"?			Onde?
7.6	A Copa do Mundo teve algum resultado positivo para a cidade de Porto Alegre?			Se sim, Especifique:
7.7	Houve mudança na oferta de esporte e lazer por conta da Copa?			Se sim, melhorou () piorou () - Observações:

Telefone: _____

Proprietário com título () Proprietário sem título () Aluguel ()

Número de pessoas que moram na casa: _____

Há quanto tempo mora neste local? _____

Removido? Não () Sim () Para onde? _____

Tipo de negociação? Nenhuma () - Bônus moradia () - Aluguel social () - Reassentamento () - Indenização ()

Questions of the survey in the English Language	
1	Housing
1.1	Did you feel threatened of removal due to the World Cup?
1.2	Did you feel any other type of threat in relation to your home during the period of the works of the Cup?
1.3	Do you know someone in the community that has been removed due to the works of the Cup?
1.4	During the period of the works of the World Cup, have you suffered interruption of services such as electricity, water or other basic services?
1.5	Did you participate in the public process of decision on the destiny of your house due to the works of the Cup?
1.6	Have you visited the DEMHAB office because of the works of the Cup?
1.7	In relation to your new living conditions, have they improved or worsened?

2	Education
2.1	You or someone who lives in your house had or has a direct link with school during the construction of the World Cup?
2.2	Were there any changes in access to school (enrolment, transportation, classrooms, number of schools, others ...) in the period of the works related to the World Cup?
2.3	Have you noticed any changes in the number of educational institutions in the region during the works related to the World Cup?
2.4	Were there any interruptions of school procedures during the works related to the World Cup?
2.5	The World Cup and / or its works caused any changes in school routine?
2.6	Were there any proposals from governments (Federal, state or local) to changes in education because of the World Cup?
2.7	You or someone in your family had to change schools due to the works related to the World Cup?
2.8	You or someone in your family dropped out of school because of the works related to the Cup?

3	Security
3.1	Your sense of security has changed in the period of the works of the World Cup?
3.2	Did the presence of policemen and/or private security guards changed in the period of the works of the World Cup?
3.3	Felt more or less safe with the presence of Policemen and/or private security guards in the period of the works of the World Cup?
3.4	Noticed any threat to individual or collective security during the works related to the World Cup?
3.5	Felt threatened by the presence or action of the police and/or private security guards because of the works related to the World Cup?
3.6	Is there dialogue between the community and the police or private security?

4	Health
4.1	Have you noticed any changes in the access to health services because of the works of the World Cup?
4.2	Noticed any changes in the number of health facilities in the region due to the works of the World Cup?
4.3	Was there the possibility of disruption of health services due to the works of the World Cup?
4.4	Needed health care during the period of the works of the World Cup?

5	Public sphere performance
5.1	You or someone in your family was contacted directly by a representative of governments, to address issues related to the works of the World Cup?
5.2	Have you been approached by government officials to collectively address the issues related to the World Cup related to your community?
5.3	You or someone in your family took part in any meeting or community organisation to claim the demands of your community due to the World Cup?
5.4	You or your community, at some point, were consulted by the government on the work of the World Cup and its consequences?
5.5	The works of the World Cup changed your life or the life of the community?
5.6	The works of the World Cup were worth it for your community?

6	Employment/economy
6.1	You or someone in your community had access to some kind of professional training or course because of the World Cup?
6.2	You or someone in your community managed to find work because of the World Cup?
6.3	Did you notice any kind of change in working conditions within the community due to the World Cup?
6.4	During the period of the works of the World Cup, some sector of the economy (Construction, Trade, Service Delivery, etc.) has changed more than others?
6.5	Did you notice any change in prices before, during or after the World Cup?

7	2014 FIFA World Cup
7.1	Any representative of the World Cup (FIFA Local Organising Committee (LOC), Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF), Gaúcha Football Federation (FGF)) has contacted you or your community during the period of construction of the World Cup?
7.2	You, someone living in your home or in your community was affected by the World Cup in any way?
7.3	Had the World Cup direct consequences on your life, in the life of someone living in your home or in your community?
7.4	You or someone who lives in your home watched any game of the World Cup at the stadium?
7.5	You or someone in your family attended the 'FAN FEST'?
7.6	Had the World Cup any positive result for the city of Porto Alegre?
7.7	Were there any changes in sport and leisure offer due to the World Cup?

Appendix 4: Sample of the interviews with the survey respondent transcription

Billy - Então hoje é dia 20 de janeiro de 2018, nós estamos aqui na Moab Caldas xxx, acesso x, conversando com a XXXXX XXXXX que mora aqui na região a quanto tempo XXXXX?

XXXXX – Uns 30 anos

Billy – Uns 30 anos, ta bom. Então tu estavas aqui quando começaram as obras da Copa.

XXXXX – Sim, sim.

Billy – E aí? Como é, que que tu acha?

XXXXX – *Na verdade desde que eu, né, nasci bem dizer aqui nessa vila, me criei aqui, sempre se falou dessa obra né então, sempre ouvi falar que aconteceria mas tardou, tardou e com a história da Copa veio a promessa que seria realidade né. A gente ficou com bastante expectativa de que isso acontecesse e pudesse melhorar pra o pessoal aqui né, pq as condições sempre foram de difícil acesso né, problemas de saneamento, mas na verdade a obra veio e iniciou muitas promessas, o pessoal foi removido de forma bastante assim desinteressada por parte do governo dos responsáveis pela obra pq ofereceu um bonus abaixo do valor de mercado não tinha como comprar casa escriturada com todos os requisitos que eles solicitaram aqui, o pessoal teve que se afastar e buscar casas no litoral em outros lugares né, se afastaram e muitos foram viver de aluguel social e que né estão sofrendo as consequências de sair de sua casa pra ir morar num aluguel social estão atrasados, sendo despejados, sofrendo consequências pq não existe uma preocupação, nunca foi, eu não vi até hoje não existe nenhum prédio construído pra atender esses moradores, eles não levantaram um tijolo pra da residencias pra esse pessoal que eles removeram, então assim é descabido, é ridículo é uma falta de respeito com as pessoas de todos os tipos tá. Essa região é uma região bastante importante por que ela centraliza aqui nós temos o posto de saúde que é um posto que tem estrutura pra ser um hospital ele é um posto gigante, ele tem né, não sei se tu já chegou a ir ali visitar?*

Billy - So today is January 20, 2018, we are here at Moab Caldas xxx, access x, talking to XXXXX XXXXX who lives here in the region... How long, XXXXX?

XXXXX - About 30 years

Billy - About 30 years, okay. So, you were here when the World Cup works started.

XXXXX: Yes, yes.

Billy - So? What do you think?

XXXXX - Actually since I, I was born... well... say here in this village, I grew up here, there were always talks of this work then, I always heard that it would happen but it was late, and with the history of the World Cup came the promise that it would become a reality... We got a lot of expectation that this would happen and could improve things for the people here, because the conditions were always difficult to access... no sanitation, problems... but in fact the work came and started many promises, the people was removed in a very disinterested way on the part of the government... the responsible ones for the work... because they offered a bonus below the market value... no way one would buy a house with all the requisites they requested here, the people had to move away and look for houses on the coast and in other places... They went away and many are living on social rent and are suffering the consequences of leaving their homes to live on social rent - because it is always delayed - being dumped, suffering consequences because there is no concern, never was, I have not seen until today there is no building built to serve these residents, they did not raise a brick to build residences for that people that they removed, so... so it's ridiculous, it's ridiculous, it's a lack of respect of all kinds with people, okay? This region is a very important region because it centralizes... here we have the medical centre... that is a facility that has the structure to be a hospital, it is a gigantic medical centre, I do not know if you ever got there?

Billy – O Postão?

XXXXX – O Postão, né, ele tem uma estrutura que gigantesca que poderia ser investido pouco né pq a estrutura já ta ali, a grande estrutura, investir pouco e fazer daquilo ali um hospital né referencia aqui pra zona sul, a gente tem uma escola aqui, que também uma grande escola, estrutura grande, pátio né tudo poderia ser ampliada e que poderia trabalhar e atender toda essa região que é uma região de periferia né, de pobreza, de miséria, de pouca estrutura podia essa escola ter atendimento em turno integral, ter escola de manhã e atividades a tarde para essa criançada não ficar na vila né, descuidada na rua, então assim os moradores aqui saíram, alguns ainda estão esperando pra sair os demais tiveram prejuízos de todos os tipos é rato é bicho porque tem tudo aqui né, então quem mora aqui está recebendo é rato, é barata, é bicho de todo o tipo, com licença

(toca o telefone) desculpa.

XXXXX – Desculpa. Não pede pra mim falar que eu falo

Billy – Não pra mim é ótimo. Mas eu queria ouvir mais sobre alguns assuntos que tu falasse, vamos lá primeiro: esse pessoal daqui dessa região específica, que saiu por conta das obras da copa, tu conhece algumas dessas pessoas?

XXXXX – Muitos aham, até o meu irmão também saiu daqui.

Billy – É? O que que aconteceu com o teu irmão como é que, oq q aconteceu com ele?

XXXXX – Meu irmão teve que comprar uma casa na praia pq como eu te falei aqui an região não tem né, até algumas pessoas tentaram comprar perto né, só que assim quando conseguiam encontravam uma casa as vezes eles juntavam dois bonus, duas famílias juntavam de bonus pra comprar uma

Billy – The Postão?

XXXXX - The Postão, it has a gigantic structure that could be invested little, because the structure is already there, the big structure, invest little and make a hospital there, it is a reference here to the south zone... we have a school here, that is also a great school, a large structure, a patio, and everything... could be enlarged and could work and serve all that region that is a periphery... poverty, misery, little structure... this school could have attendance in integral shift, to have school in the morning and activities in the afternoon for this children not to stay in the village, neglected on the streets... so, the residents from here left, some are still expecting to leave, others had damages of all kinds... and there are rats, there are insects... excuse me

(telephone rings) I'm sorry.

XXXXX: Sorry. Do not ask me to speak because I will.

Billy – No, for me it's great. But I wanted to hear more about some of the things you said, so, first: these people here from this specific region, who left because of the works of the World Cup, do you know some of these people?

XXXXX - Many of them, yes, even my brother left here.

Billy - Yeah? What happened to your brother, how... what happened to him?

XXXXX - My brother had to buy a house at the beach... as I told you, here you do not find an area for the value they give you, some people tried to buy it ... so that when they could find a house sometimes they would add two bonuses, two families bonus to buy a

casa, e dava pra comprar uma casa estruturada quando eles conseguiam fazer isso demorava o processo pra vim pra aceitar e aí eles irem lá e aí demoravam 4, 5, 6 meses e aí é claro o morador da casa que ia vender acabava desistindo do negocio e vendendo pra outro, então isso não aconteceu uma vez, aconteceu acho que pra quase todos, pro meu irmão e pra mais todos os moradores que tentaram né desse tipo né juntando bonus e fazendo, e daí não deu e aí qq aconteceu meu irmão teve que comprar na praia, comprou uma casinha na praia (...) na praia de quintão aqui, litoral sul, mas aí oque acontece lá não tem né emprego pra ele, pra esposa né, daí eles tiveram que agora eles estão morando de aluguel aqui, a casa tá lá, que daí tem que esperar 5 anos pra poder vender a casa, e aí eles estão morando de aluguel aqui pra poder trabalhar, tem 3 filhos, e aí entende, e aí trabalha pra pagar aluguel a casa tá la parada, não pode vender a casa. Essas coisinhas...

Billy – Tu conhece pessoas daqui que saíram, estavam numa situação precária, saíram, pegaram um aluguel social ou bonus e depois voltaram pra cá em condição precária de novo, ou seja estão em terrenos ou coisas assim?

XXXXX – *Que estão em terrenos eu não conheço. O que eu vejo é o pessoal que tá vivendo de aluguel, tá tentando voltando de aluguel. Ai eu não sei qual é exatamente, eu tenho o exemplo do meu irmão eu tenho de outras pessoas que eu sei que compraram né, eu tenho um amigo que comprou lá no lami né, bem afastado mas pelo menos conseguiu comprar, tem mais gente que comprou na praia, eu sei de gente que tá em aluguel social, mas que tá voltando pra cá assim só de aluguel, que é o caso do meu irmão que veio morar, tá morando do lado do postão ali pro lado da faixa, ele alugou uma casa ali, paga R\$800,00 por mes na casa pra, entendeu, pq a condição dele... foi tirado daqui né?*

house, and when they could buy a structured house, the process to get the house accepted would take 4, 5, 6 months and then of course the resident of the house that was going to sell ended up giving up the business and selling to another, then that did not happen once, it happened I think to almost everyone, to my brother and to all the other residents who tried to gather bonuses..., and then I do not know what happened, my brother had to buy on the beach, bought a little house on the beach (...) on the beach of Quintão here, south coast, but then what happens... there is no job for him, for his wife, right now they have to live by rent here (in Porto alegre), the house is there, that's because you have to wait 5 years to sell the house, and then they're living here to work, they have 3 children,... you understand... and then you work to pay rent. The house is there, they cannot sell the house. These little things...

Billy - Do you know people from here who left, were they in a precarious situation, did they get social rent or bonus rent and then came back in a precarious condition again, or are they on land or things like that?

XXXXX - That are on occupations I do not know. What I see is the people who are living by rent, who are trying to come back from the rent. I do not know what it is exactly, I have the example of my brother... I have... of other people that I know that they bought, I have a friend who bought it in the Lami (neighbourhood), far away but at least he managed to buy,... there are more people that bought in the beach,... I know of people that are in social rent, but that it is... people are returning and paying the rent, that is the case of my brother who came to live..., is living besides the Postão... there next to the main road, he rented a house there, pays R\$ 800.00 per month for the house to, you know, because of his condition... He was taken from here, right?

Billy – Daí tu falasse em saúde teve alguma melhoria ou piora, alguma alteração em relação a saúde por conta da Copa, das obras da copa?

XXXXX – Não, só piora, só piora. Piorou muito pq piorou o acesso né pras pessoas daqui, a questão da higiene, pq antes a gente tinha casas aqui as pessoas cuidavam pelo menos, agora ta abandonado é um matagal, é rato, é bicho ali né, você pode fotografar e levar pra quem quiser ver, é ridiculo, buracos, esgoto aberto, quando chove alaga tudo, invadindo a casa dos moradores aqui muitas vezes inundou a casa, o pessoal perdeu móveis pq daí com a obra mexeram ali e deixaram tudo pela metade aí quando chovia a agua tomava conta, aqui da minha casa não pq é mais alto mas aqui no bequinho se o senhor entrar ali e perguntar pra qualquer pessoa eles vão te dizer a agua tomava conta das casas, e pra quem não mora aqui, isso é pro morador da vila, mas quem não mora na vila que precisa usar o posto aqui não tem acesso, quando chove ali tem um lago na frente do posto né, então e é assustador isso aqui, é a faixa de Gaza, eu não sei como explicar isso aqui, pq alguém que vem de fora e vai usar o posto de saúde se impressiona com oq vê é ridiculo isso, eu acho que é um desrespeito assim em todos os ambitos, sabe não é pq tu mora em uma comunidade que tu deixa de ser um ser humano que deve ser respeitado entendeu, então não é pq tu é pobre que tu tem menos direito ou menos né, deve ter menos oportunidade, sabe, tira, destroi aquilo que já não tem, que tu já não tem eles tiram de ti oq tu não tem aí é complicado. Pra quem tem negocio, no meu caso que tem comércio, quando a obra começou eu tinha 7 funcionarios aqui de carteira assinada, eu tinha 7 funcionarios, claro meu caso é comércio tudo bem, eu perdi, tinha dois atendentes, eu tinha açougueiro, eu tinha padeiro, eu tinha a menina que limpava todos com carteira assinada, tudo direitinho, hoje eu e meu marido aqui

Billy - So, you did talk about health, was there any improvement or worsening, any changes in relation to health because of the World Cup, the works of the cup?

XXXXX: No, it just gets worse, it only gets worse. It worsened a lot because it worsened access to the people, the hygiene issue, because before we had houses here people cared at least, now it's abandoned, it's bushes, it's rats, it's bugs there, you can take photos and take it to who wants to see it, it is ridiculous, holes, open sewage, when it rains it floods everything, invading the houses of the residents here, often flooded the house, the people lost furniture because of the work which messed up there and left everything in half, when it rains, water takes over, here in my house not because it's high, but here in the little alley if you go in there and ask to anybody, they'll tell you the water takes over the houses, and for those who do not live here - this is for the villager - but who does not live in the village that needs to use the medical centre here does not have access, when it rains there is a lake in front of the medical centre, then it's scary here, it's the Gaza Strip, I do not know how to explain it, here, because someone who comes from outside and will use the medical centre is impressed with what they see, it is ridiculous this, I think it is a disrespect like this in all areas, it is not because you live in a community that you cease to be a human being that should be respected, understood, then it is not because you are poor that you have less rights or less..., you should have less opportunity, you know, take, destroy what you do not already have, that you no longer have them take away from you what you do not have, that is complicated. For those who have business, in my case a commerce, when the works began I had 7 employees here with formal contract, I had 7 employees, "of course my business is gonna be fine", I lost, I had two attendants, I had a butcher, I had a baker, I had the girl who cleaned all with formal contract, everything right, today it is my husband and I here

Billy – Sete funcionários?

XXXXX - Todos, todos, carteira assinada, de todos, e aí vai né, todos os outros comércios devem ter sentido, pq, pq eu perdi toda essa rua que eram todos meus clientes, ta tudo bem vai ser pra melhorar, depois vai melhorar, só que isso não aconteceu, eu perdi todos os meus clientes né, as pessoas não vão entrar aqui pq isso aqui, ninguém vai entrar né, se assuta com oq vê aqui na frente né então eu perdi, eu perdi aquele que poderia entrar né, o pessoal aqui todo se prejudicou, então gerou um prejuizo pra todos assim até oq já ta aqui se prejudicou de uma forma ou de outra né, mas isso é só um exemplo né, mas o pior é o pessoal que morava ali que não tem condição nenhuma.

Billy – Sete pessoas?

XXXXX – Sete pessoas de carteira assinada.

Billy – E familia ...?

XXXXX – Exato, e cada pessoa dessa tem uma familia por trás né.

Billy - Eu tenho que te perguntar, sobre educação? Tu falasse um pouquinho da escola aqui, teve algum impacto pra melhor ou pra pior a copa, as obras da copa em relação a educação?

XXXXX – Com relação a Educação oq q a gente ve aqui né, Pra mim assim né, pq eu tb sou educadora, então eu tenho um outro olhar assim né, pra mim a questão do esporte e das promessas que vem com toda a Copa né cria um imaginário de que realmente pudesse, pra quem mora aqui né, de que isso ia acontecer, ia melhorar, e a propria criança que ta ali nesse processo assisti isso entusiasmada né, e oq que a gente viu né? Esse desmanche, e a violencia que aumenta aqui nessa região, não só, claro Porto Alegre inteira né, mas aqui nessa região da Cruzeiro, da Grande Cruzeiro se você fizer uma pesquisa e acompanhar ali voce vai ver que a violencia aumentou muito nesses ultimos anos né, nesses ultimos 4, 5 anos ai, a gente,

Billy - Seven employees?

XXXXX - Everyone, everyone, formal contract, everyone, and there you go, all the other businesses must have sensed, because I lost all this street that were all my clients, okay, "it's going to be better, then it's going to get better", only that it did not happen, I lost all my clients, people will not come here because this here (points to the works), no one will come, right, if they get scared with what they see here in front, then I lost, I lost the one who could enter, right? the people here has been harmed, then generated a loss for all so until what is already here is harmed in one way or another right, but this is just an example, but the worst is the people who lived there that does not have condition.

Billy - Seven people?

XXXXX - Seven formal contract people.

Billy - And family ...?

XXXXX: Exactly, and every person has a family behind right.

Billy - I have to ask you about education? Did you say a little of the school here, did it have any impact for better or for worse, the works of the World Cup in relation to education?

XXXXX - In relation to Education what people see here right, For me so, right, because I'm an educator, so I have a different view, for me, the question of the sport and the promises that come with the whole World Cup thing does create an imaginary that it really could, for those who live here right now, that this was going to happen, would improve, and the children who is there in the process watched it enthusiastically, and what we saw right? This dismantling, and the violence that increases here in this region, in the whole of Porto Alegre, but here in this region of Cruzeiro, the Grande Cruzeiro if you do a research and follow it there, you will see that the violence has increased a lot in these last years, in the last 4, 5 years, we, the people,

O índice de violência nessa região aumentou de forma gigantesca, e aí eu pergunto assim se a gente vai falar em melhoria, melhoria seria oq pra educação né, oq q seria feito? Não foi feito nada, foi diminuído o número de turmas nas escolas né, pra aproveitar melhor o professor bota 50 na mesma sala de aula, né, aqui essa escola eles estão fechando, eles estão fechando essa escola aqui na frente, essa Alberto Bins que é uma escola que eu toda vida vi na frente da minha casa uma escola, né é uma escola que atendia aqui as crianças da periferia, tá, são crianças que não tem dinheiro pra pagar passagem, pai e mãe trabalham fora o dia inteiro, pedreiro a mãe é faxineira, chegam em casa os filhos saem de casa e vão pra escola atravessam a rua vão pra escola, agora essas mãe não tem como pagar as vezes 2,3 passagens, quantos filhos tem né, ida e volta, olha o valor que tá a passagem de ônibus né (conversa)

Billy – Aqui uma última pergunta só, valeu a pena?

XXXXX - Não não valeu a pena.

Billy – Por que?

XXXXX – *Por enquanto não, porque eu acho o prejuízo pra essas pessoas é muito grande, eu acho que tu destruir a vida de uma pessoa dessa forma não tem o que, o que que valeu pra quem entendeu? Nem pra eles, nem pros próprios empresários e políticos que estão por trás disso, nem pra eles, pq é uma vergonha oq eles estão fazendo, então nem pra eles valeu a pena e destruir a vida das pessoas dessa forma não vale a pena pra ninguém, né, então se um dia se isso acontecer, se essa obra ficar pronta talvez eles possam dizer pra eles mesmos “ah valeu a pena”, mas pra essas pessoas que saíram que perderam né suas casas, pra essas pessoas não valeu nada a pena não, eu acho que quando tu brinca com a vida das pessoas vale a pena pra quem? Eu acho que isso é brincar. Essa é a minha opinião.*

The index of violence in this region has increased enormously, and then I ask if we are going to talk about improvement, what would it be for education, what would it do? Nothing was done, the number of classes in the schools was reduced, so that teachers could be better used... to put 50 students in the same classroom, right here, this school they are closing, they are closing this school here in the front, that Alberto Bins that It's a school that I've always seen in front of my house, a school, it's a school that serves the children from the periphery here, okay, they're children who do not have the money to pay for a bus ticket, father and mother work all day, bricklayer, the mother is a cleaning lady, they come home, the children leave home and go to school cross the street go to school, now these mothers cannot afford, sometimes 2, 3 bus tickets, how many children they have right, round trip, look at the value of a bus ticket, right?

Billy - Here's one last question, was it worth it?

XXXXX - *It was not worth it.*

Billy - Why?

XXXXX - ***Not yet, because I think the damage to these people is very big, I think that when you destroy the life of a person in this way..., what is worth for those then, understood? Neither for them, nor for the very businessmen and politicians who are behind it, nor for them, because it is a shame what they are doing, so neither for them was it worthwhile... and to destroy people's lives that way it is not worth to anyone, so if one day, if this happens, if this work is finished maybe they can say to themselves "ah well, it was worth it", but for those people who left, that lost their homes, for these people it was not worth anything No, I think when you play with people's lives it's worth it to whom? I think this is joking. That is my opinion.***